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Janet Tamalik McGrath
AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

M.A. (Conflict Studies)
GRADE / DEGREE

Faculty of Human Sciences
FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

Conversations with Nattilingmiut Elders on Conflict and Change: Naalattiarahuarnira

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Jean-Guy Goulet
DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Ken Bush

Donna Patrick

Gary W. Slater
LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTDOCTORALES /
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCORAL STUDIES

Conversations with Nattilingmiut Elders on Conflict and Change: *Naalattiarahuarnira*

Janet Tamalik McGrath

Thesis submitted to the
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Notes on spelling and word use:

The Inuktitut words herein are in Nattilingmiut dialect and should not be taken to represent other Inuktitut dialects. For people new to Inuktitut, please note that the symbol "&" is used to represent a sound that would be roughly "dsl"; this symbol has been adopted as a character in the Inuit Cultural Institute's (ICI's) standard Roman orthography. I have used the ICI's phonetic standard for Roman orthography Inuktitut, with one adaptation: The Nattilingmiut dialect has a retroflex "r" which is not represented in the ICI system. An "ř" is used to represent this phoneme to represent the dialect in a phonetically accurate way. A double "tt" is pronounced "ch" and "ll" is pronounced "dl". In ICI standard there is a rule that there should not be 3 consonants in a row (except nng with is taken to be two phonemes); the combinations shř used in this manuscript is in that

category of exceptions. Many Inuit names have multiple spellings in English, and in addition to versions of spelling offered to us by the elders or their family members, I have also recorded them phonetically according to ICI standard with the exception of the use of the retroflex "r". A verb stem in Inuktitut is signified by a dash at the end of the word (e.g. *ani-* to go out). In the ICI standard, the apostrophe in an Inuktitut word signifies a glottal stop.

There have been a variety of spellings of the word "Nattilingmiut" (people of the place that has seals) in literary contexts; for example, Netsilingmiut, Nettilingmiut, or Nechilingmiut. In this thesis, in accordance with the ICI standard, the spelling "Nattilingmiut" is used. Both Taloyoak and Kugaaruk are, unfortunately, not spelled according to the standard set by ICI, nor could they be without the retroflex "r" phoneme. They are, properly, Talurřuaq and Kuugaarřuk, but throughout this thesis I have used the spelling that appears on official maps. Inuit used to be referred to as "Eskimos," a term which has been rejected by many Inuit. As such, I have only used the word in its historical context (i.e., book titles and literary quotes).

Abstract

This study draws upon recorded conversations with 21 Nattilingmiut elders and relies on a close research mentorship with Nattilingmiut elder Nilaulaaq Miriam Aglukkaq. The Nattilingmiut were one of the last groups in the Canadian Arctic to become settled into communities initiated by the federal government, a project that began in the 1950s and ended in the late 1960s. While early literature about Inuit strongly suggests that Inuit pre-settlement society was extraordinarily peaceful and harmonious, there is little literature available that focuses on Inuit elders' perspectives on changes to their social experience in post-settlement times. The Nunavut Government and Inuit agencies are currently working to develop systems that reflect *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (Inuit epistemology) towards self governance and a consciously developed syncretism. As the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* initiatives rely on the input of the Inuit elders, this study meets a current need to enhance elders' participation by offering some of their perspectives on dealing with conflict and change. It also offers a decolonizing methodology and is based on local protocols of the East Kitikmeot communities.

I) Research Topic

This study explores the accumulated wisdom of the Nattilingmiut[1] Inuit elders on what was the basis for dealing with conflict in pre-settlement times. In addition, it examines views of the elders regarding their role and the role of their knowledge of pre-settlement Nunavut in contemporary times. The thesis began as a documentary exercise, which aimed at seeking a better understanding of Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives on conflict and change; a project initiated, guided and sustained by Nilaulaaq Miriam Aglukkaq, a Nattilingmiut elder.[2] Nilaulaaq's purpose was to document the current Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives on conflict and change given that this is a much needed perspective by government and also given that there was no research of this nature available to government to date. I was engaged in a Master's program in Conflict Studies at Saint Paul University in Ottawa, and I often asked her about her perspectives on conflict. She shared her thoughts, but she also challenged me to think about returning to the place of my childhood to find out more about the topic through recording her conversations with other elders.

After the field work and as I wrote up the analysis, I became aware of the dialogues on research and Aboriginal peoples facilitated by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC).[3] It then became clear to me that Nilaulaaq and I were collaboratively documenting a "decolonizing methodology," based on community protocols in the East Kitikmeot region, for which there was no existing documentation. So this study involves two kinds of documentation: that of Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives on conflict and change and that of our collaboration, which involved developing "decolonizing" research methods.

However, one important element that ties the two processes together is the subtitle: *Naalattiarahuarnira*: (listen well trying-ness my). A conversation cannot be understood

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[1] Nattilingmiut refers to a cultural sub-group of Inuit. Nattilik (meaning 'has seals') is a lake near Taloyoak that was bountiful in fish and seals; Nattilingmiut (Nattilik + -miut) means people of the place that has seals, or more generally "people of the seal", as their culture and livelihood centered around seal hunting primarily.

[2] Nilaulaaq asked me to use her baptismal and her husband's name once at the beginning of the thesis, and then throughout the document refer to her and other elders by the names their *ila* (relatives) gave them. The use of a husband's name for a surname is a new custom that was imposed by the federal government upon the Nattilingmiut elders and other Inuit (see Alia 1994). To respect the fact that people are also now known by baptismal and patriarchic surnames, there is a list of elders in Appendix D for cross referencing names from elders' quotes used throughout the analysis chapter.

[3] Craig McNaughton and Daryl Rock, "Opportunities in Aboriginal Research: Results of SSHRC's Dialogue on Research and Aboriginal Peoples", *Native Studies Review*, 15, no 2, 2004.

without deep and unhurried listening; nor can a decolonizing methodology be collaboratively developed without deep, careful, reflective listening in the language of origin. Many oral histories from my childhood and youth therefore began with the preface, "*Tuhaumařapkut kihiani uqauhirijungnarapku...*" or some variation. It means: I can only tell it to you as I understand it from what I heard. This is the essence of the subtitle in relation to understanding these conversations. Accuracy in listening is extremely important to Nattilingmiut elders, as it is to Inuit elders in general – masters as they are of oral tradition. *Naalak-*, among other things, means more than active listening; it means being in line with what is known to be good, to obey the precepts that embody Inuit values, to be in a relationship of respect with the one you listen to. To *naalak-* also means having a healthy regard for the consequences of not getting something right. Through this research project, I participated in Nilaulaaq's quest to help revive the "culture of listening" between generations in Nunavut. In documenting the process, I participated in her quest to make bridges across Inuit and Euro-Canadian cultures, to build more understanding and awareness of methodologies and ethical perspectives.

In seeking to understand Nattilingmiut elders' conceptions of conflict, formal theories and definitions of "conflict" are not all adequate or applicable. What is meant by conflict in this thesis is not violent or explicit opposition, and certainly not the politically organized violence we call war. Historically, militarized political violence is completely unheard of in Inuit culture and not for lack of technology – they possessed some of the most elaborate tools to kill animals for food. Violent outbursts were heard of, but they were rare and considered anomalies by authors of literature on Inuit culture. Inuit elders and early explorers maintain that Inuit nomadic life was extraordinarily peaceful and harmonious.[4] In order to be open to Nattilingmiut conceptions of conflict, Burton's broad definition of "struggles between opposing forces,"[5] is adopted. These struggles are understood as opposing forces that create tension and disharmony between members of a community, which sometimes lead to violence. A theory of violent conflict from Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives is therefore not sought, and neither is a theory of conflict. The purpose of this thesis is to begin to generate a knowledge base to understand the Nattilingmiut elders' conceptions of conflict, and to better

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[4] See overview in: Rasing, W.C.E. *'Too Many People': Order and Nonconformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process,* Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit, Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid, 1994, pp.3-26.

[5] John Burton, *Conflict Resolution: Its Language and Process*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996, p.21.

understand how they view their pre-settlement experience to be applicable in dealing with "struggles between opposing forces"[6] today.

Research Question

The main research question is: According to the Nattilingmiut elders, what principles, practices and injunctions helped them to deal with conflict in pre-settlement? Related questions are: How do the Nattilingmiut elders relate their experiences from being nomadic as young adults to being settled into communities? What do the elders cite as the reasons or causes for the changes they express? What are the concerns or challenges they express in regard to the changes they cite? How do they convey the usefulness of the old ways in today's circumstances?

The Nattilingmiut Inuit

The Nattilingmiut Inuit were traditionally nomadic people who lived and traveled within what today is referred to as the East Kitikmeot region in Nunavut.[7] Beginning in the 1960s, the government encouraged the settlement of the Nattilingmiut and other local groups through the introduction of education and rudimentary health services, police services and housing. The last of the people were settled into communities by the early 1970s. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s a semi-nomadic life was maintained in the region by many families through long periods away from the community in traditional hunting and fishing camps. Inuit in this area were considered to be among the most isolated from outside influences and, unlike some other Inuit groups in Nunavut, their use of drumming, traditional *ajaaja* songs and other aspects of traditional life were not prohibited by the churches. The Nattilingmiut now live, along with other various sub-groups of Inuit, in the following communities:

Kugaaruk (Kuugaarŕuk, formerly Pelly Bay, also called Arviligŕuaq);
Taloyoak (formerly Spence Bay, properly pronounced Talurŕuaq); and
Gjoa Haven (in Inuktitut Uqsŕuqtuuq).

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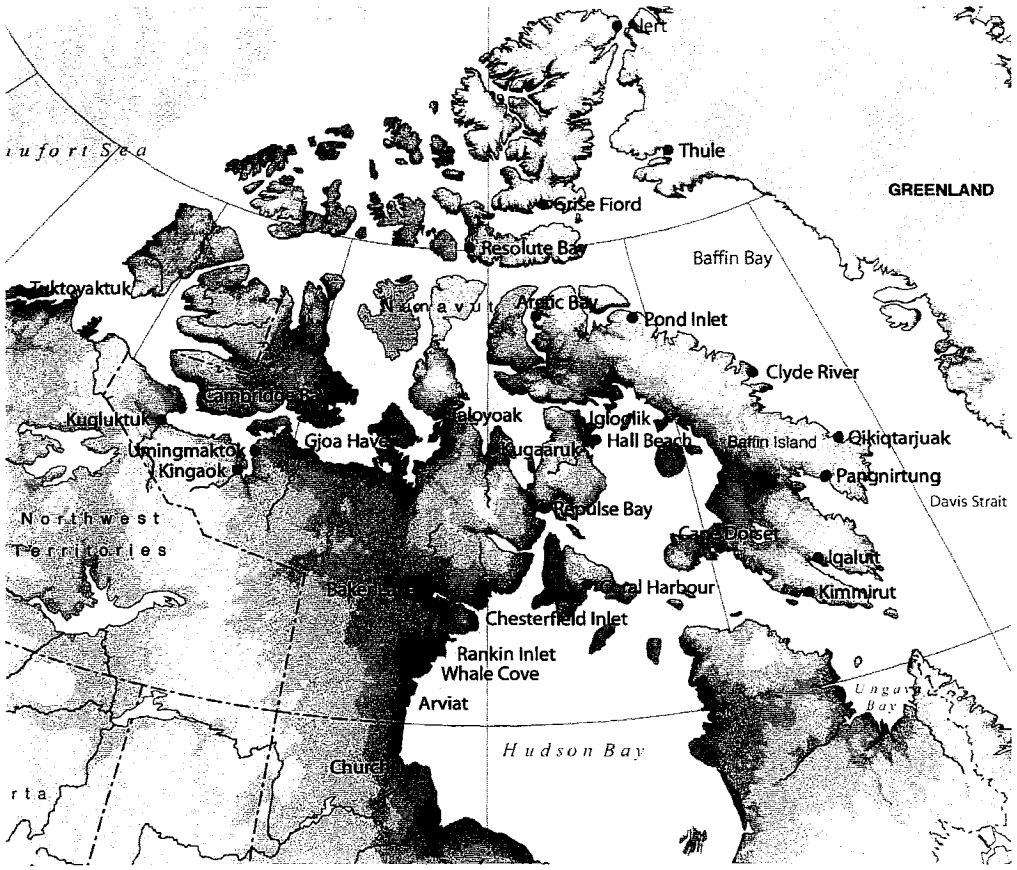
[6] Ibid.
[7] See map of Nunavut on next page.

The introduction of schools in the 1960s and a range of other colonizing influences represent a drastic change of life for the Nattilingmiut. Currently, in the East Kitikmeot area, there is a continuum of increased language loss which ranges from mild to severe, and it generally correlates to age. For example, among the older youth (twenty to thirty years of age) there are many passive speakers - people who can understand varying degrees Inuktitut but prefer to use English. Among the youngest groups (five to fifteen years of age) the most severe impact of language loss is apparent, as for many of them Inuktitut has not become a second language, but a foreign language.[8]



Indeed, without the language, the direct transmission of traditional knowledge loses its vehicle altogether. Language, culture and identity loss due to the abrupt forces of colonization were the primary concerns expressed by Nilaulaaq, and became a very important contextual factor for this study.

[8] Though no formal studies to date support any precise information on the state of language loss, recent anecdotal information from elders and youth alike is quite alarming.

Decolonizing Methodology

Decolonizing research has been identified, in part, by Lynn Davis as:

- Research conceptualized within Indigenous knowledge traditions, beliefs, and values and based on Aboriginal cognitive and spiritual maps;
- Research that adheres to Aboriginal protocols at all stages of its enactment;
- [Involving] Elders and Knowledge-Holders as recognized 'national treasures' and as decision-makers;
- Aboriginal researchers as the investigators;
- Partnership and collaborative research designs; and
- The use of Aboriginal methodologies, as appropriate to local traditions and the subject matter being addressed.[9]

The model of relationship that Nilaulaaq and I have developed in this research process demonstrates and develops all of these principles. These are elaborated on in chapter III which describes the methodology used in this study.

In the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's discussions on opportunities in Aboriginal research, there is a proposed national initiative "to identify, analyze and promote research protocols being established by various Aboriginal communities and organizations."[10] The methodology carried out in this study also demonstrates some characteristics of traditional knowledge research done on the community protocols of the East Kitikmeot communities. In particular, it examines the collaborative relationship, issues of consent, remuneration, and an ethical framework in the light of Inuit epistemology. It fits into the Nunavut Government's term for Inuit knowledge, systems and ways of doing things which is widely referred to in Nunavut as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ).[11]

In the evolution of Arctic social research, there has been a trend to come closer to Inuit ways, language, world view, and conceptions. This has followed along with the gradual blending of traditional Inuit and Euro-Canadian societies. As people from outside the Inuit culture become more sensitized to the context of the information they are looking at, through closer contact and integration with Inuit, their interpretations have become more reflective of the complexities of Inuit life. Without an in-depth study in the language of origin, however, most studies still fall short or default to Western concepts when material is translated into

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[9] Lynn Davis, quoted in Craig McNaughton and Daryl Rock, "Opportunities..." p.52.
[10] Craig McNaughton, "Opportunities...", p.47.
[11] *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, or IQ, is preferred to the term "traditional knowledge" (TK) that evolved in the 1980s.

English and used as a source. As an Inuktitut speaker from childhood, I have worked to bridge the academic world to unilingual Inuit elders through my collaborative relationship with Nilaulaaq, herself a unilingual Inuk elder. This study thus gives a basis to explore the richness of working very closely with the language and the people, and offers new lenses for research reflexivity.

The decolonizing methodology used in this project was refined and recorded over many conversations with Nilaulaaq. I had reviewed literature in English, asked her questions in Inuktitut and formed some strong assumptions based on her answers. To clarify what our approach to a decolonizing methodology is, it would help to review what a "colonizing" method could be. There are many examples to choose from, but a particular study related to the earliest project in conflict studies in Nunavut is offered as it clearly illustrates the first principle. The study is situated in Kugaaruk in the 1950s and was carried out by a researcher named Steenhoven.[12] He carried out his research at the height of the Canadian Government's thrust to affirm their sovereignty in the Arctic post World War II. Steenhoven's work is examined in more detail in the literature review in chapter II, but basically he claimed that there was no law *per se* among Inuit. The context of this research was a territory-wide federal government strategy to implement law where there was none. This began with the appointment of Justice J.H. Sissons to inaugurate the NWT Supreme Court in 1955.[13] It is difficult to claim that Steenhoven's research and the government agenda of instituting colonial law were not related, because the Canadian Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources[14] funded Steenhoven's research.[15] Clearly, the choices of questions, theories and methods were a product of the government agenda at the time. That agenda was to put Canadian government systems in place in order to affirm sovereignty and thus make claims to resources: Research that ascertained there were no valid systems in place was of utmost importance to have on record in the quest to assert Canadian Arctic sovereignty.

The first question to consider in a decolonizing methodology in Nunavut is: what agenda does it serve? Or more precisely: Whose agenda does it serve? There are many

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[12] Geert van den Steenhoven, *Leadership and Law Among the Eskimos of the Keewatin District, Northwest Territories,* Rijswijk [The Netherlands]: Proefschrift-University of Leiden. 1962.
[13] Dorothy Harley Eber, *Images of Justice*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, p.9.
[14] This department was a precursor to the current Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
[15] Steenhoven, *Leadership and Law*...p.i.

examples of Inuit-related research carried out in Nunavut that clearly do not have relevance to Inuit, and thus do not serve Inuit needs or agendas. An Inuk colleague lamented to me once that she heard of a study that claimed Inuit were getting shorter; the use of packing parkas and bumping on skidoos was cited as being influential.[16] From her perspective that did little to address the more pressing health concerns Inuit faced, and it perpetuated harmful stereotypes. She also questioned the methods selected given her view that with mixed blood, and a contemporary diet, Inuit are definitely getting taller. Regardless of the accuracy or bias of the method, or the inadequacy in conveying the results respectfully to the community, the issue is really: which agendas does this serve?

There has been some concern expressed among Arctic researchers about the problem of ambiguity as to what constitutes a community.[17] Further, in bringing attention to the problem of community agendas, defining those multiple agendas becomes problematic. Neither problem should lead researchers to stop asking the question of how to make their Inuit-related research more accountable to Inuit.

An important element in decolonizing research is *relevancy*. If the research topic, questions, and methods are rooted in the community's context, needs and priorities, and community members are engaged in the research as owners, then the research is more likely to serve the community's needs. Outside researchers and funding agencies will have their own agendas to meet, but if they are engaged in decolonizing research, they will have a clear way of communicating their agendas, and they will be very good at listening to community perspectives. As a priority, they will find areas where their agendas can overlap with community needs and values without overpowering those same needs. They also will be aware of how their own agendas can cause tension or even clash at both subtle and overt levels with the community's agendas. They will also take responsibility for those impacts. So in order to claim a decolonizing method, researchers need a framework to identify impacts of their research to take responsibility for conflicts and tensions they may create.

The framework for decolonizing research that Nilaulaaq described fits into Kenneth Bush's definition of peacebuilding as involving two simultaneous processes: the unbuilding

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[16] Apparently, there was a front page article in the Globe and Mail in the mid 1980s about this project, but time did not permit for me to investigate the archives to locate it.

[17] Fae L. Korsmo and Amanda Graham, "Research in the North American North: Action and Reaction", *Arctic*, 55(4), 2002, p.324.

of the structures of violence and the building or rebuilding of structures that support peace.[18] Bush asserts that any activity that has a peacebuilding impact should be considered peacebuilding, and not just activities labeled as such: He argues that some peacebuilding activities may have an overall conflict impact.[19] In the context of this study, a decolonizing methodology works simultaneously to deconstruct the structures that violate Inuit cultural self-determination, and to strengthen the community resources and resourcefulness in dealing with the impact and immediate sources of colonization. It must be cautioned that research labeled "decolonizing" can actually have an overall "colonizing" impact; structures that violate Inuit cultural self-determination can include assumptions and attitudes as well as systems and policies. How does one identify or measure impact?

In his work on peace and conflict impact assessment, Bush defines impact as "referring to the actual effects of an intervention – both intended and unintended – on the lives of its 'beneficiaries' and others beyond the immediate project outputs..."[20] Those effects or impacts are determined through an ongoing process of struggle that involves the voice, assessment and opinions of beneficiaries.[21] As Tommy Akulukjuk asks "What benefits does [the research] bring to Inuit....?"[22] we must bear in mind that it is Inuit that should determine whether Inuit-related research is useful, relevant and beneficial, and if so to what extent.

If we were to measure and evaluate decolonizing research as an *impact,* then the following questions arise: Does the research empower the colonized to address their circumstances on their terms? Is the research method fully accountable to local systems and protocols (if so how?)? Is the research carried out in the local dialect, respecting language diversity and not privileging English? Does the research facilitate the restoration of local Inuit systems? Do the research methods honor and affirm Inuit epistemology and reflect and respect Inuit axiology? Are these impacts measured by local research participants and the broader local community (and how is that adequately facilitated)? These are questions for a

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[18] Kenneth Bush, "A Measure of Peace: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) of Development Project in Conflict Zones, Working Paper #1", Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1998, p. 33.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Kenneth Bush, *Hands-On Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment*, May 2004, p.4.
[21] Id., p.30.
[22] Tommy Akulukjuk, "Looking Up Through the Microscope", *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 28(2), 2004, pp 211-212.

broader discussion on decolonizing methodologies that help to clarify some of the future applications of this thesis, but it also reminds us that in claiming to propose a decolonizing methodology, the actual impacts of the research have yet to be confirmed through a locally-led process.

In using the deconstruction-reconstruction model proposed by Bush, we challenge the assumption that a unilingual Inuk elder could not possibly lead fully in an academic research project. The academy is founded on "official" languages, educational credentials and protocols that Nilaulaaq and other highly capable Inuit elders are outside of entirely. Nilaulaaq and I deconstructed an unhealthy and useless assumption and changed the rules to fit the needs of this study, which could *only* be done with her leadership, mentorship, and guidance. The methods we chose addressed the local needs for re-construction of Inuit systems in the wake of colonization. In applying effective means of affirming Inuit epistemology and respecting Inuit axiology, we created space for elders to dialogue on the issues of conflict and change and a range of other topics. We also created opportunities for youth to strengthen their language skills, and provided a supportive environment for youth to develop new relationships with elders. By using film to capture these conversations we enabled access to the knowledge by other community members. The analysis also informs initiatives for re-building systems that address the elders' perspectives on the value of pre-settlement knowledge and wisdom on conflict.

This study is aimed at stimulating dialogue in the research community about methods for social research in the Arctic that are founded in Inuit community values. The study is not meant to prescribe what all "decolonizing" research should be like in Nunavut. By far, most researchers in the North are people from outside the culture and language. Funding for research is normally given to universities (which are only in southern Canada), so that very little research about the North is actually generated in the North. Therefore, new approaches that are grounded in principles of Inuit traditional knowledge and contemporary community values need to be developed through stronger partnerships with communities. A certain amount of role-modeling of the principles is required for any articulated principle or approach to make sense. This study offers a description of academic research done on Inuit elders' terms.

In the discourse on decolonizing methodologies the question of how or why any non-indigenous person carries out research in indigenous communities is extended to ask if they should do it at all. According to a growing number of indigenous scholars, all research carried out by non-indigenous people within an indigenous community is inherently colonizing in nature.[23] I have paid close attention to this debate, given my Irish-Swedish-non-Inuit blood line. But my story does blur the lines: I was raised in Nilaulaaq's ancestral hunting and fishing camps, and in the bay of Nattiqhiurvik with Uluulaaq's family, depending on the people, speaking their language, eating their food, and being accountable to the precepts by which they lived. This work is not an assertion of academic freedom; rather it is an expression of accountability to my community and the Nattilingmiut elders in their quest for cultural survival and revival.

Justification

In the new Nunavut Government's five year plan, called the Bathurst Mandate,[24] the government clearly laid out the importance of traditional knowledge or what they have now come to refer to exclusively as *"Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit"*, or IQ. A guiding principle within the Mandate states that "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit will provide the context in which we develop an open, responsive and accountable government."[25] Documenting Inuit elders' perspectives on conflict and change relates to the Nunavut Government's stated vision: "We respect the accumulated wisdom of our elders, examining and evaluating our actions based on the best of both modern knowledge and traditional."[26]

In seeking that accountability to Inuit traditions, the government has been focused on a number of initiatives that help government programs and services adapt in order to better reflect *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. Currently operative initiatives are: the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajiit, or IQK (Inuit traditional knowledge council); and the Tuttarviit (departmental research and convening services for Inuit traditional knowledge). Both grew out of consultative processes conducted by other initiatives that were

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[23] The overall debates are thoughtfully laid out in Marie Battiste, ed., *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000 and Devon A. Mihesuah, ed., *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing About American Indians*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
[24] Government of Nunavut, *Bathurst Mandate: Pinasuaqtavut*, 1998.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

discontinued: the Nunavut Social Development Council, and the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Task Force. While the two currently operative initiatives, the IQK and Tuttarviit give voice to some traditional elders, there is a growing need for territory-wide and community-based involvement of all elders. This stems from the problems and challenges government faces in effectively implementing *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* to transform systems to reflect the Inuit way and to ensure that the voices of elders are not ghettoized or tokenized. Another factor that makes this research critical is the quickly dwindling numbers of traditionally raised Inuit elders. According to statistics from the Department of Culture Language Elders and Youth, in Nunavut there remain only about 1,000 people born before 1949, a time considered as "pre-settlement" across Nunavut. In addition, 20% of the population born before 1949 died between 2001 and 2004. This study meets a practical need for research on Inuit elders' perspectives on their current circumstances, and is the basis for engaging them further to make their contributions to new systems that reflect many of the peaceful pre-settlement qualities they enjoyed as nomadic self-governing, self-reliant people. Thus this thesis serves to collect and assess their vision and understandings to bridge the traditional to contemporary life.

Operating on the assumption, stated in the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* mandates and policies of the Nunavut Government and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, that pre-settlement wisdom would still be effective in the new contemporary context, we look specifically at Inuit elders' wisdom relating to conflict prevention and harmony restoration practices. Through this study, the elders' opinions are sought regarding how their wisdom on social order is applicable today.

The elders' voices and perspectives on conflict and change, and their recollections of a very peaceful harmonious time in pre-settlement Nunavut are particularly important to consider if the government is to develop systems that effectively address the challenges at hand. With issues of cultural irrelevancy and dwindling family support for education, the 2001 Canadian census shows that a staggering 59% of Inuit aged 20-24 have not completed high school.[27] The rate of suicide in Nunavut, at 67 per 100,000 is more than five times

[27] The figure is averaged from a survey of community profiles available from Statistics Canada through their databases of Aboriginal Community Profiles at: www12.statcan.ca/English/census 01/home/index.cfm

higher than the Canada-wide average of 13 per 100,000.[28] The unemployment rate at 17.4% is more than two times higher than the national average of 7.4%[29] while cost of living is 2 to 3 times higher. Some in Nunavut consider many of these numbers conservative, as the numbers are gathered through samples and generalized. Under the Aboriginal Population Profile for Taloyoak, for example, the 2001 Census itself stated the Nunavut wide rate for unemployment as much higher at 22.9%, and the local rate for Taloyoak as 28.9%.[30]

Under the pressure of these and other social and economic crises, Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (NLCA) beneficiaries have recently filed numerous complaints through their representatives on the Nunavut Implementation Panel (NIP) to be brought to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Arbitration Board. The Arbitration Board was designed to handle disputes in the implementation of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement. Prior to November 2004 not a single issue had been put forth since the creation of the Board in 1994 pursuant to Article 38 of the Agreement. However, with unresolved conflicts in the implementation of the Agreement, twelve key issues were articulated in four letters from Nunavut Tunngavik sent to the Director General of the Implementation Branch at Indian and Northern Affairs between November 2004 and February 2005.[31]

Clearly, tensions are mounting in an environment of despair. In the midst of this context, the present study takes a close look at some of the elders' perspectives on conflict and change, offering perspectives not always available from the margins of the official systems.

II) Critical Review of Literature

There are two main categories of literature relate to this study: that of Inuit traditional knowledge and oral histories in general, and that of early anthropology and ethnography relating to conflict in Inuit communities. This study is positioned within both groups of literature. In relation to the first group, this study makes a contribution to the documentation of traditional

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[28] Statistics Canada, Table 1.4.19.2 Suicide (ICD-9 E950-E959), 1996, www12.statcan.ca/English/freepub/82-221-XIE/01201/tables/html/P14192.htm

[29] Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, Profile – Nunavut, www12.statcan.ca/English/census01/products/standard/prprofile/prprofile.cfm?g=62

[30] Statistics Canada, http://www12.statcan.ca/english/Profil01ab/

[31] Letters from Joe Adla Kunuk and John Merritt, NTI Members of Nunavut Implementation Panel to Mr. Terry Sewell, Director General of the Implementation Branch, dated November 16, December 5, 17, 2004 and February 18, 2005.

knowledge, but it is much more elaborate on methodology and reflections on ethics in research. In the second group, a contribution is made to Inuit-related studies not only in terms of how conflict is dealt with, but how conflict is understood and in specific terms, and how it is also indirectly dealt with. In addition, this study is also distinguished from former works in anthropology in terms of methodology and analytic rigor. It is the first thesis by a fluent Nattilingmiut speaker,[32] and the first to be carried out in the language with an elder mentor.

Inuit Traditional Knowledge and Oral Histories

The four main works concerning Inuit traditional knowledge and oral histories that this study relates to are, in chronological order: *Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English,*[33] *Inuuqatigiit: the Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective,*[34] *Interviewing Inuit Elders* series of Nunavut Arctic College,[35]and *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut.*[36] With the exception of *Northern Voices* which is a comprehensive overview of Inuit writing over time, region and inclusive of many age groups, these publications are collections based on Inuit elders' wisdom and worldview. This thesis similarly draws upon elders' wisdom, and similarly contributes first person texts, such as the transcription of the interview with Taalliraq and translated elders' quotes on thematic topics. All four studies mentioned above relied on "mediators" for their production: other than the Inuit first person voices were involved in researching, preparing, and editing the text for publication. This study also relies on this "mediation" in that I, a "mediator" across languages and ontologies, have produced the texts from our audio-visual records of the conversations: this thesis is distinguished from other works in that it describes in detail a collaborative methodology with an elder mentor and discusses explicitly issues in and frameworks for ethics in research with Aboriginal peoples. The texts in Inuit traditional knowledge and oral histories are discussed with a view to understanding the decolonizing context they occur within and possible contributions to cultural self determination they have made. In the process of this discussion, a conversation with this thesis is developed.

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[32] Rasmussen may be considered the only exception as he was fluent in Inuktitut and documented Nattilingmiut life, but his manuscripts show that he was not entirely familiar with or fluent in Nattilingmiutut.

[33] Penny Petrone, *Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

[34] *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective*, NWT, Education, Culture & Employment, August 1996.

[35] Saullu Nakasuk, [et al], *Interviewing Elders: Introduction*, edited by Oosten, Jarich and Frederic Laugrand, Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999.

[36] John Bennett and Susan Rowley, eds., *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.

Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English

Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English[37] is a comprehensive compilation of writings from early contact into the 1980s. While impressive in its breadth, all of the early writings from Nunavut were filtered through a translation of what was said, either through a priest or ethnographer. Many of the entries are not Inuit writing in English, but the result of these same intermediaries approximating into English literary text from Inuktitut oral form. Nevertheless, these same entries give a backdrop to present day Inuit and their own writing of their own experiences as Inuit.

A decolonizing impact can be understood through the opportunity given to Inuit for a first-person voice forum to express their right and desire for cultural self-determination. Its form of "text voice" is powerful in that the colonial society that surrounds and embeds Inuit today places much more emphasis on text to understand realities, arguments and experiences. Inuit generally do not employ the same epistemology as the society they are embedded within: arguments, realities and experiences can have real texture and substance without the all important paper trace. However, *Northern Voices* demonstrates how amply capable Inuit are of making their experiences known in an English literary form, a language for whom many of the contributors is a second language. *Northern Voices* demonstrates how for many Inuit, literary expression is something they embrace and master eloquently.

The only link to *Northern Voices* that the current study has is the basic agenda of promoting perspectives to a larger, more dominant and privileged audience, for the general purpose of promoting respect for the people and their circumstances. *Northern Voices* seeks to right perceptions of Inuit through first person narratives. This is achieved by the end of the book where the narratives are actually first person. The current study cannot claim any such status: Nilaulaaq and the elders rely on my interpretation from Nattilingmiutut to English for voice and my recording of the process for "presence" in the study. The youth we worked with were all invited to write, in the language of their choice, and only two offered some written thoughts. [38] The youth generally preferred to relish the actual presence, language and experience of the elders, and most did not see paper as an appealing medium.

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[37] Penny Petrone, *Northern Voices*...1988.

[38] See their quotes on pages 40-41.

I take responsibility as mediator between the experience of the video recordings of interviews and conversations and that of the written record, analysis and interpretation of the same experience by adopting a reflexive tone. The study is not only about Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives, it is equally about my learning to listen, learn and comprehend their sharing of their perspectives in conversations with other elders, youth and myself. In order to achieve this kind of study I recorded the process and my involvement in such detail that I worried at times whether I should not, like Petrone did in *Northern Voices*, become an invisible character that worked to amplify the voices she gave stage to. My final choice and commitment to be a decidedly active voice in the conversations that developed within the study's texts was found in my own upbringing on Inuit wisdom, "*qauřimařamnik kihiani uqauhiqarungnarama qauřimanngitaminik uqalai'nama*" (I can only tell you what I know; I cannot tell you what I don't know).

For this reason, the academic form of argument has been very awkward for me. If I am to defend anything, it can only be my experience of it that I can defend. This requires a detailed statement and record of that experience. While the elders' perspectives on conflict and change would risk becoming obscured by personal reflection and narrative, this thesis is actually about my lifelong journey of coming closer to understanding their perspectives. I share this journey with you, the reader, not to represent their journey, but to include you in mine. I do so because I believe you too can be moved to understand what it is in the Inuit way to be *Inuuqatigiit*, people to people, with respect and dignity.

If Canada needed *Northern Voices* to have a record of the rich intellectual and literary artistry of contemporary bilingual Inuit, this thesis promotes yet another reason for deepening our cross-cultural listening and appreciating perspectives where they are offered. *Conversations with Nattilingmiut Elders: Naalattiarahuarnira* is a shared project on conflict and change: *naalattiarahuarnira*. They have asked me to *naalak-*, to listen. What I share is their voice as I hear it, and my listening as I understand it. As in *Interviewing Inuit Elders* it is also observed, knowledge is "highly personal and rooted in practice."[39] I offer *atuqhimařamnik* (that which I have experienced).

[39] Saullu Nakasuk, et al, *Interviewing Elders,* p.9.

Inuuqatigiit: the Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective

It is stated that "Inuuqatigiit means....people to people, living together, or family to family. It implies togetherness and family unity between people."[40] The work *Inuuqatigiit: the Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* has as its foundation "the words and wisdom of the elders."[41] *Inuuqatigiit* is a rich source of anecdotes, summaries and reflections relating to the traditional world view of Inuit, one that has been scrutinized and contributed to by many Inuit from many groups. This foundation is built upon in a practical way in this thesis by the close examination of one group of elders' perspectives on conflict and change.

Inuuqatigiit was circulated among teachers and educational consultants in draft form through the Department of Education since the mid 1990s and finally made public through its formal publication and release in 2003. It represents a significant step in Arctic social research, though it is a curriculum framework document. It is the first focused effort whereby Inuit are articulating their own culture and axiology. It has accomplished this by using word of mouth oral traditions of gathering information. Bilingual Inuit teachers bridge the gap between the elders' world and the colonial school system that they sought to change for the better. It is ironic that the document's public debut was delayed by the split of the Northwest Territories in 1999 to create Nunavut, because the cultural reclamation that teachers sought for their communities was also the driving force for the creation of Nunavut. What Nunavut meant for Inuit was a chance to create institutions and services that reflect their value systems and worldview and protect, not undermine their culture.

The concept of *Inuuqatigiit* (people-to-people) informs a unique approach to conflict which has not yet been researched in depth with or by Inuit. *Inuuqatigiit* provides an elaborate framework and a stunningly resonant representation of Inuit axiology, but its purpose was to reverse the damage of cultural loss caused by colonial schools by creating a curriculum framework from the Inuit perspective. This thesis compliments that purpose without being oriented to curriculum development; it provides the basis for reintroducing Inuit systems for dealing with conflict, both in the community and within the schools.

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[40] Ibid.

[41] *Inuuqatigiit*, p.3.

Through a demonstration of a relational view of the world, *Inuuqatigiit* establishes the central value of being people-to-people.[42] It also provides a general statement of Inuit worldview and value system where before there was none made by Inuit. In the wake of cultural conflict left by colonialism, this perspective needs elaboration. This current study is utilized to clarify Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives of how fullness of *Inuuqatigiit* was achieved. What actions and attitudes guided the development towards being *Inuuqatigiit*? What restored *Inuuqatigiit* when it was disrupted by violence or change? What actions and practices allowed different Inuit groups to be *Inuuqatigiit*?

Interviewing Elders Series

The *Interviewing Elders* series produced by Nunavut Arctic College has five volumes in Inuktitut syllabics with companion English translation versions and covers a range of topics in traditional knowledge.[43] The volumes were produced within the Inuit Studies Program of Nunavut Arctic College under the supervision of Dr. Susan Sammons with support from visiting professors from southern Canada and abroad. Students in the program participated in interview sessions with elders and created the Inuktitut transcriptions and English translations of the recordings on various topics. The *Interviewing Elders* series ranges in topics from childrearing and health to cosmology, shamanism and law. The Oral Traditions course formed the basis of the series, was three weeks long, and involved oral histories and research training, as well as intensive recording sessions with Inuit elders.[44]

In terms of "decolonizing" agenda the series was a break through in both methodology and production. Younger generations were trained in oral traditions and engaged to ask their own questions of the elders, with no intervention by visiting professors during the recording sessions.[45] In the first volume of the series the description of a facilitator's learning curve is instructive. We are told that, "[t]he first week, the course followed a *traditional* pattern: tables placed in rows and the main emphasis was on *instruction*." (italics added, notice the assumptions

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[42] I use "people-to-people" as the translation of the term *Inuuqatigiit*. There are variations, however, such as *Inuuqatigiittiarniq* (being people-to-people well), and *Inuuqatigiittiarrahuarniq* (working at being people-to-people well).
[43] Saullu Nakasuk, et al, *Interviewing Elders.*
[44] Id., p.3.
[45] Ibid.

implied). [46] The second week, the tables were arranged in a square "to create a more informal atmosphere"[47] but by the end of that week an Inuk student recommended the tables be gotten rid of all together.[48] With students and instructors sitting on the floor in the following week and elders on the couches, the arrangement "proved to be most effective in terms of *eliciting information.*"[49] (italics added, note assumptions in epistemology). This learning curve may well have been due to the formality of a colonial-style institution of learning and the assumptions in pedagogy made by the visiting facilitators. However, the fact that the Inuit students influenced the situation and the facilitators made a record of this learning, contributions in "unthinking" the assumptions and patterns of relating in "traditional" colonial terms were generally achieved, and a "decolonizing" impact could be understood.

By far though, the production of the actual texts was a vast contribution in giving elders' perspectives more direct public access in both Inuktitut and English and in demonstrating the importance of inter-generational relationships in transmission of Inuit traditional knowledge. Volume I in *Interviewing Inuit Elders* describes many of the assumptions that Nilaulaaq and I operated on in our fieldwork. We too, recognized that "traditional knowledge is always produced in relational terms,"[50] and that "group interview" [51] is most effective context, and that highly informal settings are most important.

This thesis can be understood as similar to this series in the sense that one interview text was created, although not edited. It is different in that the academic analysis relies on and draws directly from the Inuktitut first language material and not translations. The elders' series was edited by the visiting professors from English versions produced by the students in the program as translations of the original Inuktitut recordings. The role of the youth on this project was not the same as that of the students on the *Interviewing Elders* series for a number of reasons: they were not in a program with curriculum demands, they were generally a lot younger than the participants in the Inuit Studies program, the time we had together with the youth was only one week in each of three communities, and the youth participation unfolded with the encouragement

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Id., p.4.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Id., p.10.
[51] Id., p.4.

and invitation of the elders and not, as in the *Interviewing Elder* series, based on expectations that they were to be "interviewing".[52]

Interviewing Elders and the current study both rely on elder and youth exchanges. It is well underscored by both that "traditional knowledge...is produced as an exchange."[53] As facilitator, directly participating in the language, however, I was involved in and participated in the exchange, as a part of the relational web of the community and knowledge generation and transmission. This may by some claims diffuse "objectivity". In fact I have written extensively and transparently about the process to make a record of another kind of role as a researcher and another kind of perspective in working together with elders and youth.

Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut

Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut was conceived as a project soon after the Agreement in Principle for the Nunavut Land Claim was signed in 1993.[54] In terms of a "decolonizing" agenda, the purpose was to tell the story of Nunavut before extensive contact from the words of Inuit elders who lived that experience, and in a format that brought their own perspectives of the North to life. This is achieved by drawing on interviews with 300 elders, many now who have passed away. The interviews were edited by two people, both who learned Inuktitut as young adults and have worked closely with Inuit, in both cases, for more than 20 years. The book is divided into two parts: Inuit Identity and Regional Identity. The later section follows the seasonal rounds of four different major groups of Inuit. Inuit identity topics are based on the contents of the interviews, and thus determined by the Inuit elders' expressions of their identity as Inuit. This thesis utilizes a similar thematic approach to *Uqalurait*, basing the themes on the actual content of the interviews.

Uqalurait differs from the *Interviewing Elders* series above, as many of the entries are comparatively shorter: many are only a paragraph or two long and some consist of only a sentence or two. For this thesis both long format and short quote formats are employed in the presentation of elders' knowledge. I transcribed one interview verbatim, and translated it, along with numerous shorter verbatim statements drawn from 13 hours of video. In chapter four, the *Uqalurait* format of listing comments organized in sequence with linking commentary was used

[52] Id., p.3.
[53] Id, p.10.
[54] *Uqalurait*, p.xxi.

to organize the statements. However, more than a descriptive commentary is employed in the current study in order to provide analysis to answer the research questions.

Christian names were used in *Uqalurait*, even for elders not well known by those names. While this is standard practice today, Nilaulaaq challenged the usefulness of that in our study, given that in recent memory all were known by a single Inuktitut name, and are today most properly referred to by *tuq&urauhiit* (kinship terms) or by Inuktitut given name. The practice proposed by Nilaulaaq, although it has always been in practice orally in the East Kitikmeot region has not been the practice in written works since Project Surname in the 1970s.[55]

Because different Inuit groups were consulted for *Uqalurait*, it stands as a rich resource for building on the research findings of this thesis, looking at themes such as naming, family, food sharing, leadership, justice and the role of the unseen in a broader view of Nunavut.

Anthropology and Ethnography

The literature containing reference to and analysis of conflict in Inuit culture in Nunavut has been largely generated by ethnographers and anthropologists. The work most clearly related to this thesis is that of Steenhoven, Briggs, Balikci and Rasing.[56] These works were selected because of their timeframe: all of the elders we interviewed personally relate to the times that these studies were situated within. There is a noticeable development and shift in analysis and cultural understanding from Steenhoven's published in 1962, compared to later works, beginning Briggs and Balikci in 1970, and that Rasing in the 1980s and early 1990s. The map on the next page shows how all of these studies and this thesis are related by geographic proximity.

Leadership and Law Among the Eskimos of the Keewatin District Northwest Territories

In his legal anthropological study published in 1962, Steenhoven sifts through issues of conflict with a view to establish whether or not law, leadership and thus government exist among the Inuit groups Paallirmiut/Ahiarmiut and the Nattilingmiut.[57] These Inuit groups live on the

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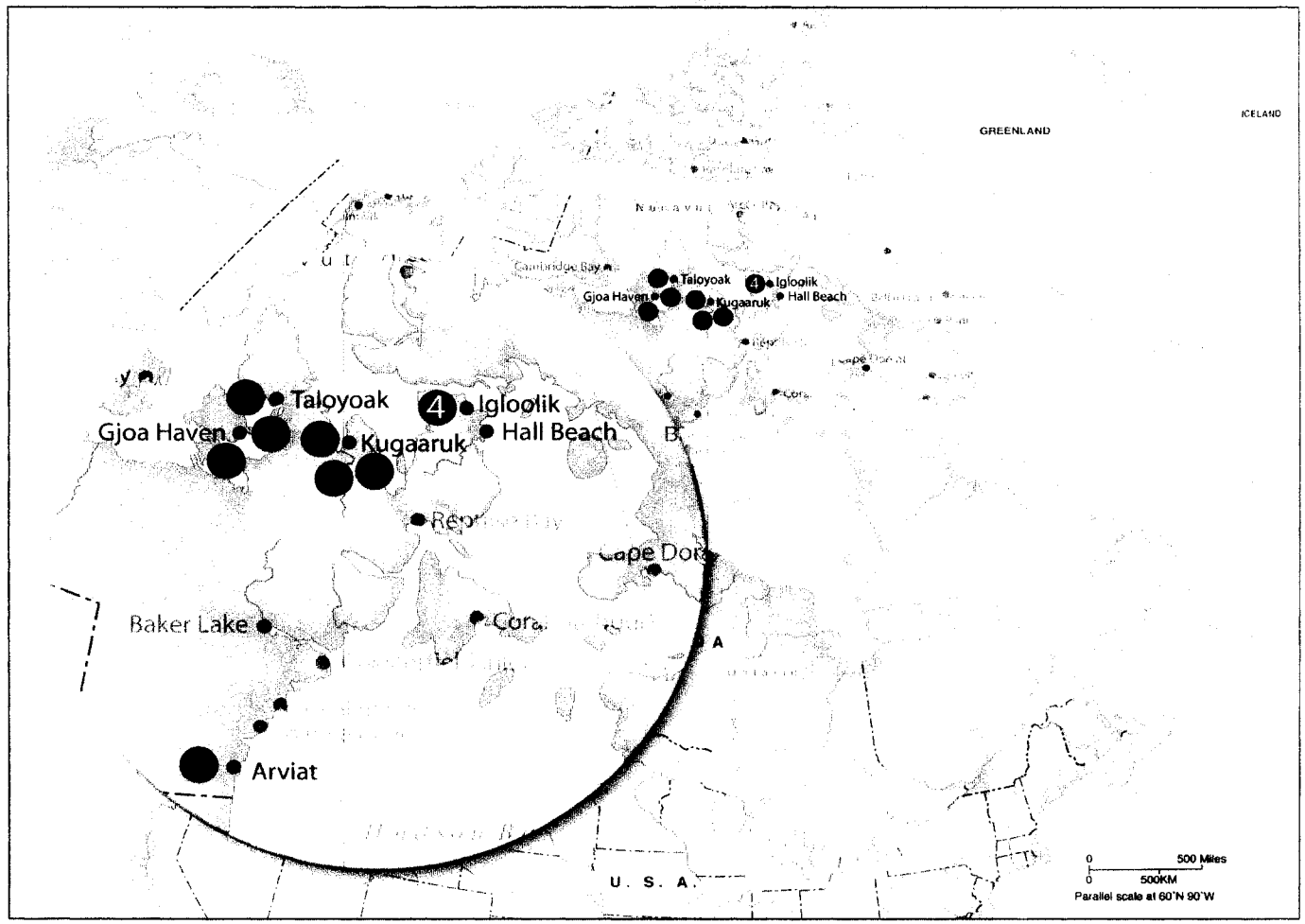
[55] Project Surname is documented in Valerie Alia's *Names, Numbers and Northern Policy: Inuit, Project Surname, and the Politics of Identity*, Halifax: Fernwood, 1994.
[56] See map on next page for an overview of where all these studies took place in relation to this study.
[57] Geert van den Steenhoven, *Leadership and Law.*



Map Legend:

1) Steenhoven's study published in 1962 covered the Nattilingmiut of Kugaaruk (Pelly Bay) and the Paallirmiut and Ahiarmiut of the West coast of Hudson Bay to the south of Kugaaruk.
2) Balikci's ethnography was published in 1970 and was conducted in Kugaaruk (Pelly Bay).
3) Briggs' study published in 1970 was conducted outside of Gjoa Haven in a camp in Utkuhiksřalik (Back River) among the Utkuhiksřalingmiut, who are neighbors of the Nattilingmiut.
4) Rasing's study was conducted in Igloolik and published in 1994.
5) McGrath/Nilaulaaq, 2005.

West coast of the Hudson Bay and in the area surrounding the Boothia Peninsula in the central Arctic. He chose these groups for two reasons: rich ethnographic data and isolation from daily contact with outside influences. His purpose was to describe societal practices for philosophers of law and anthropologists to examine further.[58]

Steenhoven documented "trouble cases"[59] and then laid out his theoretical framework, which was clearly a search for a Western construct of law. Though he outlined philosophical problems encountered in the process of defining law and leadership, he justified his approach with the assumption that law could only be law if it was collectively uniform and enforced by uniform means, regardless of the culture in question.[60] The highly individual responses he noted in the trouble cases led him to conclude that law, leadership and consequently government did not exist among Inuit.[61] In conclusion to his research he stated the following: "My search for the social phenomenon of law among the Keewatin Eskimos, then, must be said to have a negative result – with the sole and feeble exception that sorcerers and lunatics may be executed."[62] While Steenhoven's study may seem naive by today's standards of social research in the Arctic, his work clearly represents the futility of researching Inuit culture without a more thorough examination of Western concepts and measures and a debate about their utility. Steenhoven did not seek to understand Inuit conceptions of law, leadership and justice; He failed to look deeper at the problems that his study presented in regard to the narrowed approach he took.

Without a working knowledge of Inuktitut, Steenhoven relied on local missionaries as intermediaries in his fieldwork.[63] His data and analysis were both filtered by a complete dependency on translation and interpretation into English, a language unable to directly convey the complexities of Inuit intellectual and emotional life. While the input of the missionaries could have been reliable, he had no way of validating his information, and he did not discuss that problem in his publication. In contrast, the current study was carried out entirely in Inuktitut, and only written in English as a final step in the process. The analysis drew directly on the richness of the Inuktitut language and the guiding role of an elder-mentor. It thus provides an

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[58] Id, p.i.
[59] Id, p.68.
[60] Id, p.100.
[61] Id, p. 119-120.
[62] Id., p.112.
[63] In Steenhoven's foreword in *Leadership and Law*, he states that Reverends Lionel Ducharme of Eskimo Point (Arviat) and Frans Van de Velde of Pelly Bay (Kugaaruk), both missionaries of the Oblate Order, were his informants and interpreters.

informed reflection of the Inuit conceptualizations of approaches to conflict through access to the nuances of the language and Inuit elders as sources.

It is important to understand Steenhoven's work in the context of its time - when Inuit and non-Inuit were very much separated. Inuit had not been settled into communities yet and the only contact with the world outside theirs was through dealings with missionaries, trading post clerks and the RCMP. His bold search for Western law ended an era in Arctic research that was unidirectional. Inuit were not able to be active in the research process that many researchers engaged in during the 1950s and 1960s because, at the time, the researchers lacked the Inuktitut language to engage them and Inuit lacked English. When Inuit in the region acquired English in the 1960s and 1970s, there was more engagement between researchers and Inuit, and a new trend in research was set with a more self-reflexive quality. The research that followed Steenhoven's increasingly questioned the relevancy of Western theories, and to different degrees the researchers openly questioned their assumptions as researchers.

The Netsilik Eskimo

In terms of ethnography performed among the Nattilingmiut, the work of Asen Balikci made a small but significant contribution towards understanding issues of conflict in Inuit society. Balikci was an anthropologist who worked among the Nattilingmiut in Kugaaruk between 1959 and 1965. In his chapter on Conflict and Society[64] he challenged Steenhoven's conclusions that Inuit lived in "formal anarchy".[65] He sought to interpret actions of Inuit within the context they lived in rather than in light of formal conceptions of law, justice, anarchy or leadership. He argued that,

> Highly variable personality and situational factors make it impossible to establish any arbitrary connections between wrongdoing and sanction....Netsilik society did have behavioral norms, mostly concerned with the broad interests of the community as a whole.[66]

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[64] Asen Balikci, *The Netsilik Eskimo*, Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1970, pp.173-196.

Note: early ethnographers used a different spelling for Nattilingmiut. In this thesis we use the ICI standard Roman Orthography.

[65] Id., p.193.
[66] Ibid.

Balikci's interpretations of conflict in traditional Nattilingmiut society, though astute, are markedly few in number as he was mainly concerned with material culture. His work is important to the current research project because of the approach he took and a methodology he employed. Rather than unrealistically seeking to completely capture an untouched pristine culture (that can be a mind trap for an anthropologist), he utilized the opportunity to both record how Nattilingmiut society was in contemporary post-contact and early-settlement context, and to film reenactments of traditional life that were still vivid and personal to the actors.

Our study also places value on the blended contemporary reality, while calling to memory what the elders can remember about their lives before contact. Digital video was used to document the recollections of elders. These videos, like Balikci's films, will remain in the community as part of their own history. The difference between Balikci's study and this one is timing and context. We are engaging elders in conversations about pre-settlement, calling to memory their lives forty and more years previous. Less time had lapsed from nomadic life for Balikci's study. In contrast to his focus on material culture, this study's focus is social culture, based on a direct access to the language that is used to describe social organization, culture and ways to deal with conflict. To understand conflict and change, there is a distinct advantage to recording elders four decades from the transition from nomadic life versus in the early years of settlement: they may express more clearly what for them is still valid of the old ways, as certain aspects of their culture and value systems have survived the dramatic reconfigurations of colonialism.

Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family

Never in Anger[67] is a study in *Inuuqatigiit* (being people-to-people) in the post-contact and pre-settlement era. From June 1963 to March 1965 Briggs lived in the small camp of Utkuhiksřalingmiut, an Inuit group that overlapped in land use with the neighboring Nattilingmiut. *Never in Anger* provides a snapshot of a homogeneous Inuit group's peacebuilding strategies to integrate the "other". While it is from the perspective of the author, her detailed descriptions of interpersonal dealings and her reflections on the impact of her presence provide a snapshot of pre-settlement approaches to conflict.

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[67] Jean Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970.

In living with the Utkuhiksřalingmiut, Briggs intended to study the social relationships of shamans. When she realized that shamanism was not practiced in the way she had anticipated (it was either underground or not existing), she began to record everything of interest to her in the hope of having enough to derive her thesis from. She learned some basic Inuktitut and reflected thoughtfully on the words for emotions and interpersonal relationships. In doing this, she developed an annotated glossary of emotions which indicated her understanding of the complexity of Inuktitut world view.[68] In contrast to Steenhoven's approach, Briggs entered the world of her subjects, doubting that her own approach was right or that Western civilization had anything better to offer Inuit than what they already had. When she found her presence to be a source of conflict, she wrote very transparently about it.

Many words that the Nattilingmiut use to describe emotions relating to conflict are similar to the Utkuhiksřalik words described by Briggs in her appendix on emotional concepts. This is not surprising because the two groups, though distinct from each other, have similar phonemes and vocabulary and overlapping land uses. Briggs' glossary was developed over a year and a half of fieldwork, and as a newcomer to the language. In contrast to Briggs work, the language work in this thesis was drawn from video analysis of five weeks of fieldwork by Nilaulaaq and me, already two fluent speakers. I have provided in some cases single words or a series of words, to help the reader see the variants that may apply to different contexts, but unlike Briggs, I have not given long explanations on the terms or examples of uses. Because this thesis is a joint project with Nilaulaaq, the concepts and vocabulary are identified for further discussion and research with Nattilingmiut elders. The definitions and descriptions in Briggs' work are aimed at demonstrating the conceptual emotional framework for social interactions among the Utkuhiksřalingmiut. The descriptions in this thesis, however, look beyond social interactions to begin to record Nattilingmiut elders' conceptions of conflict by mapping out injunctions taught and values and principles laid. Some of the concepts for emotion in conflict that Briggs documented are pointed out in the interview with Nattilingmiut elder Taalliraq in the attached appendix.[69]

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[68] Id., pp.311-366.
[69] See Appendix A.

'Too Many People' : Order and Nonconformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process

A significant contribution to early post-settlement and contemporary conflict resolution among Canadian Inuit is the work of Wim Rasing. His work in legal anthropology built on Steenhoven's work in the same discipline and contributed to the trend in interpretation that was set with the works of Balikci and Briggs. His major study *'Too Many People' : Order and Nonconformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process,* published in 1994, looks at the cultural trauma of going from nomadic communities to settled communities in the course of less than a generation. Rasing drew for his approach from what Norbert Elias defined as the "figurational perspective."[70] This perspective, explained in the following quote, is remarkably close to the relational worldview and axiology described by Inuit in *Inuuqatigiit*[71]:

> The concept of "figuration" captures the fact that people are dependent on each other for their survival, their safety, well-being and the satisfaction of individual needs....The bonds between individuals that follow from this mutual dependence are manifold (affective ties, economic, religious ties, etc.) but they bind people together in a specific web of relations. The nature of the bonds between people vary with such characteristics as the division of functions and the distribution or the balancing of power that exist within figuration.[72]

With this approach he made a strong departure from the work that had gone before him in the area of law, and his analysis took on a much richer texture than anything that had come before him. Rather than look through the reductionist lens as Steenhoven did (Does law exist? Yes/No), Rasing's views took on a holistic quality which accounted for a more accurate view of what the sources of conflict were in the context of a society in the midst of dizzying change.

Rasing's MA thesis in cultural anthropology "Conflict Management with Nomadic Inuit: An Ethnographical Essay" [73] was the first to rigorously question Steenhoven and others in terms of interpretation, though Balikci first questioned Steenhoven's work in relation to the Nattilingmiut as mentioned above. Rasing notes that although previous works like Steenhoven's

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[70] Rasing, *'Too Many People'...*, p. 28.

Steenhoven is credited as one of Rasing's MA thesis advisors for "On Conflict Management with Nomadic Inuit: An Ethnological Essay", 1984.

[71] *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective*, 1996.

[72] Wim Rasing, *'Too Many People'*, p.28.

[73] Wim Rasing, "On Conflict Management with Nomadic Inuit: An Ethnographical Essay", unpublished MA thesis, Department of Cultural Anthropology, Catholic University Nijmegen, May, 1984.

gave vivid and accurate descriptions of behaviors, those same behaviors were "insufficiently, or not at all understood and analyzed within the society at large."[74] In other words, he observed that most studies overlooked the general context of culture and society for a more functional or versatile analysis. Rasing's observation was a sign of the growing maturation of social sciences in the North. An articulated self-reflexive quality has since then become the standard that Northerners have come to expect from researchers.

Rasing also challenges many works done prior to his in their pre-determination of concepts. He follows an approach developed by anthropologist Anton Blok which involves "sensitizing concepts."[75] According to Blok sensitizing concepts lack a "fixed outline of definitive concepts"[76] and "only focus attention and provide us with a provisional guideline for the research of empirical cases...".[77] The sensitizing concept that Rasing introduces is "conflict management" further discussed as "conflict regulation". By doing so he moves away from the connotations and limitations of the concept of "law". This study introduces Inuktitut concepts, on their own merit, proposing English explanations not as parallel concepts or even sensitizing concepts. The use of an Inuktitut concept with an Inuktitut analysis allows for the perceptions of Inuit elders to be developed in the language of their conceptual framework. In this study, the use of Inuktitut as a starting point is in and of itself a sensitizing process, opening up the analysis to being as sensitive as possible to the conceptual frameworks imbedded in the language.

Rasing's work represents the development of a new trend in interpretation which began with Balikci and Briggs. The characteristics of this new approach to interpretation involve the researcher being critical of his or her own cultural assumptions (specifically the Eurocentric or Western cultural world view) and becoming attentive to the context and environment to guide the inquiry. Balikci, Briggs and Rasing carry out their studies in environments with evidences of the traditional and contemporary blended to different degrees, they all take both old and new into account for a fuller picture. This trend has not been sufficiently developed by people who have more direct access to the language, but this thesis aims at contributing to that end.

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[74] Id., p. ii.
[75] Id., p.23.
[76] Anton Blok, 1976, as quoted in Wim Rasing, "On Conflict Management" 1984, p. 23.
[77] Id., p.24.

III) Research Methodology

This chapter explores the characteristics of a decolonizing methodology within the East Kitikmeot local culture, which have not been previously researched or designed. Current needs and priorities for culture and language reclamation are addressed through the process of research. To Nilaulaaq and I, the way we researched was as important as what we found out as a result of our research. Both the method and questions were formed by conversations with Nilaulaaq, and further informed by Nilaulaaq's ongoing dialogue with other elders. The research project design and delivery were carried out in conformity to community protocols through Nilaulaaq's mentoring role. Informal and formal semi-structured interviews were carried out resulting in 16 video recorded sessions that were used in this analysis. Grounded Theory informed the analysis of the videos, as both Nilaulaaq and I viewed, reviewed and discussed the recorded sessions. Below I review the background to our methodology. I then present my standpoint as a researcher, and discuss ethical aspects of the co-researcher relationship and the choice of Grounded Theory for analysis. In describing all these facets of our methodology I make a record of our particular protocols and approach to ethics in East Kitikmeot traditional knowledge related research.

Background Context for Fieldwork and Interviews

There are two characteristics important to the context of this study. The first point is that this research was carried out was in response to Inuit elders stated needs and wishes. Secondly, this work came from a long association and relationship with Nilaulaaq, and work with the Department of Education elders in the curriculum section.[78]

In the fall of 2002 Nilaulaaq came to Ottawa on an Inuktitut language project initiative funded by the Department of Culture Language Elders and Youth, Government of Nunavut. While she was here, she participated in university seminars on deep-rooted conflict at Saint Paul University with my help as interpreter.

In May of 2003 she returned to Ottawa with elders from the Department of Education in Arviat, Nunavut. They came to explore the archived collections of photographs, sound tracks, and artefacts housed in national institutions. I helped them with interpretation and

[78] I worked at various times as a consultant and research assistant for the elders who are full time employees of the Department of Education between 2000 and 2003.

logistics in those sessions, and had many conversations with them on their views of the changes that had taken place in their lifetimes. In between those visits, Nilaulaaq and I worked together over the phone at various times. We developed the ideas for the research topic and methodology and discussed a variety of other related activities.

Early on in this process, Mark Kalluak of the Department of Education in Arviat, one of the elders who came to Ottawa in the May 2003, confirmed the need for recording elders on their early experiences in dealing with conflict so that they could use the work to develop school curriculum to address issues such as bullying. In his view it fit into the trend the department was taking to "decolonize" the curriculum and apply Inuit philosophies and pedagogy in education. This could only be done with more attention to the elders' perspectives and contributions while they are still alive to share their perspectives and make their contributions.

In the late fall of 2003 Nilaulaaq called me and asked if I would come and help out with a Nunavut-wide drumming festival that was to take place in Gjoa Haven. During the drumming festival, which took place in May 2004, I volunteered my time and used my video camera to film most of the daytime and evening events. I made copies at cost for all who asked, and made a few extras to give to the oldest elders. During this time, Nilaulaaq reintroduced me to people from the region, as I had been away since 1982 when I was a young adult. The purpose of my participation in the festival was to share the proposed research with many elders that were attending. Many came to Gjoa Haven from Kugaaruk and Taloyoak by skidoo.

With financial support for the research in place,[79] in the summer of 2004 I went to Gjoa Haven to work with Nilaulaaq for five weeks.[80] Because the information and knowledge the elders have is all oral and not recorded, an interview method was utilized to generate a recorded knowledge base. In addition, conversations over many themes were recorded, because Nilaulaaq was interested in general in video taping older elders for posterity, so that the growing swell of youth has a reference point to the last generation of traditional elders – the last people who spent their formative years in the pre-settlement era.

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[79] The funding sources are listed in the acknowledgements on p. vi.

[80] May 31-July 6, 2004. One week was spent in Taloyoak and one week in Kugaaruk; the other time was spent en route or in Gjoa Haven.

During those five weeks, among other activities and recordings, 16 sessions of conversations with Nattilingmiut elders were filmed in Gjoa Haven, Taloyoak and Kugaaruk for this study. The semi-structured interviews were recorded on Hi8 digital video with separate digital audio back-up recordings. Each conversation was between one hour and 1.5 hours. In order not to give the impression of privileging the Nattilingmiut over other cultural groups with whom they now overlap in those three communities,[81] we remained open to interviewing all who were interested in participating in the project. We also visited elders of other groups, in some cases recording them, and in other cases just visiting to share the knowledge of the work that we were doing. Thus there were approximately 25 hours of video recorded.

My Standpoint as Researcher

> Interpretation comes to the forefront of [reflexive research and]...turns attention "inwards" towards the person of the researcher, the relevant research community, society as a whole, intellectual and cultural traditions, and the central importance, as well as problematic nature, of language and narrative (the form of presentation) in the research context.[82]

I have a combination of skills and experience that I would consider advantageous in the kind of research we carried out. I grew up in Taloyoak, Nunavut one of the communities we visited. I also traveled as a child to both of the other communities. My family of seven moved to Taloyoak in 1971 when a number of Nattilingmiut families were still semi-nomadic, meaning they depended on the settlement only for trading supplies. Some of my friends only started school at the age of eight or nine and did not speak any English; they were well versed in the traditional nomadic ways. I remember both admiring and envying their ingenuity and self-reliance of my childhood friends. Even with peers I was always the learner, pressured to catch up to their exquisite knowledge and know-how. I learned to speak the Nattilingmiut dialect of Inuktitut before learning other dialects.

My parents were hired as economic development workers by the territorial government to help develop alternatives to the fur trade which had all but collapsed by the

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[81] In Gjoa Haven there are Iluilirmiut, Ki'linirmiut, and Utkuhiksalingmiut among others; in Taloyoak there are Kinngarmiut and others; and in Kugaaruk there are Aivilingmiut as well as Nattilingmiut.
[82] Mat Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications, 2000, pp.5-6.

late 1960s. My father is a Newfoundlander, and his trade was in the fisheries as a captain of sea, while my mother was an artist and educator from California. The fisheries, arts and crafts were considered the main economic alternatives to fur trading in the North at the time. My parents moved to the community with five children, I being the second eldest. When we first moved there we were the first non-Inuit children to attend the newly built school in the community, and the only non-Inuit children living in the settlement.

Through the family tragedy of the death of my younger brother, who was next in age to me, we became very dependent upon the kinship and extended family network of the Nattilingmiut in particular.[83] This was due in part to the Nattilingmiut being in the majority and in part because most were on a daily basis extensively involved in the arts, crafts and carving projects my parents facilitated. There was a constant stream of people to and through our home, and I remember many traditional drum dances and feasts in our sunken living room. As I have learned about kinship, grieving, death, naming and renaming and a number of other cultural factors from both a lifetime of observation and from personal experience, I bring an informed perspective to this research project. These are all aspects of *naalattairahuarnira* – my learning to try and listen well – and the accountability and answerability structure within which I operate.

The elders we interviewed, without exception, know my family first hand through my parents' work and our presence as a family in Taloyoak as well as through my own work and travel to the other Nattilingmiut communities of Gjoa Haven and Kugaaruk as a young adult. Though I left the Kitikmeot region in 1982 to go to school in southern Canada, I have maintained strong relationships with community members and the people I was close to as a youngster. Through professional work in traditional knowledge collections since 1978 that have included work in the Nattilingmiut dialect, I have maintained my abilities in Inuktitut.[84]

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[83] My brother Seumas Anguti Ki'mik Michael died of a rare virus at the age of 8 in May of 1972. He is buried next to Nilaulaaq's father Iharrataittuq Iturujuk Ak&a in the old Roman Catholic grave site in Taloyoak. Our field work was dedicated to both of their memories. Both of their names live on in my family in the Inuk tradition of naming.

[84] Transliteration and translation (Inuktitut-English) of the tape recorded legends and oral histories of Rankin Inlet elder Tautungie Kabluitok, 1978-1986; Adaptation of S.T. Mallon's "Inuktitut Phase One", Dialect transfer of manual, Nattilingmiutut, 1982; Cherished Listening Taloyoak Stories Project, transliteration and translation, stories and songs in Inuktitut for TV adaptation and book publication, 1994; Inuktitut to English oral histories research: Akinilirmiut Place Naming Project, translation of Baker Lake elders oral histories; Nattilingmiut elders interviews regarding art and

Since the Nattilingmiut dialect has become underrepresented in literature and practice, I have recently re-focused my efforts to work with the Nattilingmiut elders.

In the early 1980s I was hired as an interpreter-translator for the new government regional office of Kitikmeot and became known to the hamlet councilors though my role as interpreter. A significant project at the time involved assisting hamlet councils in the process of government devolution of services to communities, an initiative called "community devolution". I had rewritten the document from a Baffin Island dialect version into Nattilingmiutut and created an audio tape précis for the hamlet offices that was played widely on local radio. Over twenty years later, an elder from Kugaaruk I met on a plane told me he still kept and treasured the documents. Giving them informed access to the system was a gesture of respect they were not often paid at the time, though their own local system was rich in leadership and intellectual creativity. The comment the elder made about the document so many years later inspired me to think about the quality of access to information for Inuit elders today, and the barriers to participation in these new systems they may face.[85] His own urgent concern was that his grandchildren had rejected the Inuktitut language, and therefore he could not even speak to them. Nilaulaaq and others also echoed this strong concern about their life's circumstances.

In this study I aim to make a contribution to conflict studies by generating insights gained through linguistic analysis in the first language, Inuktitut. I take a close look directly – not through a translation – at language used to describe concepts from an Inuktitut world view. However, I do not claim to make any definitions of that world view. Neither do I claim to make word or phrase definitions in English, although I offer English equivalents for non-Inuktitut speaking readers to develop their own understanding of this worldview. In Inuktitut meaning is dependent upon context to a very high degree, any of these words, concepts or phrases have multiple meanings, and so I offer some of them to show the variety. I do so to explore the nature of the language the elders use to describe their perspectives on

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shamanism, Winnipeg Art Gallery; Utkuhiksalingmiut Research Project (Gjoa Haven),1997-1999; Pangnirtung oral histories for History of Nunavut project, McGill-Queens University Press, 1999 (published as *Uqalurait* 2004).

[85] Hence I wrote: "Traditional Voices in Contemporary Inuit Governance: Perspectives on Conflict and Change", *14th Annual Conflict Resolution Symposium Proceedings*, Carleton University, Faculty of Law, 2005.

themes of conflict and change, and not to build a dictionary or prepare a glossary. All definitions offered in this thesis are fluid, based on 34 years of personal experience.

Though I do have a rare insider-outsider's view which is well informed by early socialization in Nattilingmiut early-settlement culture, I ensure a higher degree of transparency and accuracy in my analysis by relying on many conversations and feedback inquiries with Nilaulaaq. During the fieldwork period, I often gauged my impressions against Nilaulaaq's by asking her questions, or just listening to her feedback and comparing it to my own internal reflections. We spent time speaking on the phone as much as possible. Though I have the advantages of language and insider experience of the culture, I hold my work accountable to a high standard of rigor in terms of interpretation. I am also aware that my inside knowledge may give the work added credibility to the outside research community. Not only does my Inuktitut ability hold advantage and privilege in this context but my English language and access to the research community gives me a weight of responsibility. I seek to continue to gain the input of the elders in terms of verifying the conclusions and building on this study, as well as receiving their guidance on what kind of follow-up they deem appropriate.

I have a great deal of sympathy and empathy for Indigenous peoples experiences in Canada, as I evaluate my own experience in the Inuit culture and try to make sense of this recent history of blending of cultures. In my case colonization is not an abstract concept derived from historical knowledge but instead a powerful everyday experience of childhood as I watched and heard *Inummariit* – the term used by Nattilingmiut for Inuit with a traditional worldview, or traditional elders - strive against the forces of colonialism. As a youth, I attended the historical meetings in Taloyoak when the Polar Gas Company came in 1976 to sell their idea of building a pipeline two kilometers out of town.[86] The courage, perceptivity and piercing wisdom of the *Inummariit* was juxtaposed against the overall picture of power, money, development, and determination that sprung up all around us as Canada's affirmation of Arctic sovereignty was being made. I believe those defining moments were the beginning of my own quest for decolonizing.

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[86] A verbatim transcript written by Bob Williamson of one of these very meetings was published as an appendix in Margaret Mary Feeney's MA thesis, "Cultural Conflict in Decision Making in the Northwest Territories", School of Community and Residential Planning, University of British Columbia, 1977, p. 121.

I believe shame and apology both have a place in reconciling the historical injustice Indigenous peoples have suffered through land expropriation and forced settlement by Euro-Canadian cultures. My position in this story is that I depend on the strengths of both cultures, but it seems to me that the Inuit side is the only one that has been adept at "listening". I take comfort in the fact that other non-indigenous authors see the problem for what it is: "There is little evidence that Euro-Canadians can truly be receptive to an agenda other than their own."[87] Polar Gas and others came in to claim, argue, and validate what they wanted to do. I believe that assumptions of entitlement, power and privilege preclude any real listening. For a *Qablunaaq*,[88] learning to listen would mean learning to acknowledge and deconstruct those same assumptions that are structurally embedded in *Inuit-Qablunaat* relations in Nunavut's past. In my view, there is no other way out of this profound state of injustice.

In valuing the multi-disciplinary approach, it was natural to be drawn in a practical way to conflict studies. Within the discipline of conflict studies my particular interests is in intra/inter cultural dialogue forms. I have a well developed background in group process both from my upbringing in this collective society and my university training which included drama in education, and through certificate training in community-based conflict resolution through the Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution.[89] In addition to my earlier work with Inuit elders beginning with summer work as a high school student in 1978, I also worked as an elder assistant over a number of Nunavut-wide elder advisory meetings for the Department of Education from 2000 to 2003. I observed and reported on their deliberations and interviewed elders extensively. In 2002 I was hired by the Department of Culture Language Elders and Youth (CLEY) to conduct background research for the Elders' Council (now called Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajiit). I also received two grants from the Department relating to oral histories preservation and the development of a model of language training that addressed the need for cultural orientation. All this is to say that most of what I bring to this project is a life education and cultivation of skills that uniquely place

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[87] Jean-Guy Goulet, "The Dene Tha of Chateh: Continuities and Transformations" in *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, 3rd edition, eds. R.B. Morrison and C.R. Wilson, Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 175.

[88] *Qablunaaq* is singular for 'white person', the plural form is *Qablunaat*.

[89] Third Party Neutral Certificate and Deep-Rooted Conflict seminar series, 160 hour program.

me to carry out a very innovative kind of research. No one to date with early childhood socialization among the Nattilingmiut and full capacity in the dialect has carried out an academic study of the Nattilingmiut.

Co-researcher Relationship with Nilaulaaq

The research topic, questions, methodology, ethics, analysis and follow-up process developed with a complete reliance on Nilaulaaq. In every sense she is a wise elder and role model to me, her life-long student. She is one of the last generations of Inuit that lived nomadically in the pre-settlement era, and the story of the elders is her story too. She strategically saw three components blending together to create this project: the work going on at Saint Paul University in Conflict Studies, my skills, abilities and interests in traditional knowledge and working with elders, and the urgent needs for language and cultural revitalization through work with elders and youth.

Nilaulaaq has been involved, since its inception in 2003, in the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Katimajiit (traditional knowledge advisory body) within the Nunavut Government. The vision for this council was conceived at a meeting of the Nunavut Social Development Council, on which Nilaulaaq also served.[90] She has been involved for more than thirty years in the East Kitikmeot communities in language and culture preservation and has been given many kinds of recognitions and awards for her distinguished contributions. She is someone who straddles effectively between two worlds, traditional and contemporary, though she speaks little English. She personally remembers the transition to settlement life, and the conversations she had were a "remembering together". Many of the older Nattilingmiut elders in the region are her relatives and personal mentors.

Our research relationship was made possible because of my fluency in Nattilingmiutut.[91] As I was growing up in the community of Taloyoak, from 1971 to 1978, I spent whole seasons in the traditional Nattilingmiut sealing camps of Nattiqhiurvik with Uluulaaq and family and in Nattilik with Nilaulaaq, as a member of her family. My early acceptance into Nattilingmiut culture and my growing to share similar values helped me to contextualize Nilaulaaq's urgency about the language and cultural loss in the region. Thirty

[90] The NSDC was dissolved in March of 2002 to be continued as a Department of Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI).
[91] Nattilingmiutut is the dialect of Inuktitut spoken by the Nattilingmiut Inuit of East Kitikmeot.

years ago it was rare to meet a child who didn't speak Inuktitut fluently; today the opposite is true. There are no studies to date that quantify the levels of language loss by region or that look at local resources for possible interventions to counteract the trend towards English-only patterns of communication among young people. As someone who is well aware of the rich intellectual life with which one was bestowed along with the language, the losses the elders fear are quite obvious and convincing to me. Our particular study does not look at language loss. Our methodology, however, served to bring youth in contact with the richness of the elders' language, and the video recordings are now being used to collect word data (vocabulary and syntax) for language reclamation and revitalization resources.

From lifelong observation I have come to the conclusion that personal relationships are critical to Inuit epistemology. Nilaulaaq's good rapport and familiarity to the interviewees was in most cases essential to the interview process. I was known in one way or another to all of the elders we interviewed, but Nilaulaaq's presence represented much more familiarity.[92] She also developed the context of my involvement in the project for each interviewee in different ways. For some, she talked about the visits to Ottawa and the multi-cultural and international nature of the Conflict Studies program at Saint Paul University. She would elaborate to them on how she felt Inuit elders' perspectives fit into the larger picture that the program represented to her. For others, she emphasized my parents' work in economic development in the region,[93] and their respect for Inuit culture as demonstrated in their allowing me to live on the land with her family and Uluulaaq's family. She also shared with them some conversations I had had with her, giving them more personal background to relate to who I am today. I noticed how she increased the participants' familiarity with me through these narratives. This context of familiarity was essential to opening up the channels for traditional knowledge to be recorded, but there was also an ethical element to being well-known. One can have more voice with those better known to them.[94] Nilaulaaq also heightened the context of familiarity in other ways, for example in one interview she began by framing the event: "You are with your father's cousin's daughter, this must be known." Relatives' relationships carry added significance and responsibility and are to be recognized.

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[92] See page 114, line #12 in Appendix A, Taalliraq's phrase "We knew each other well" and my comments on familiarity in the right margin.
[93] 1971-1978 in Taloyoak, in fisheries, carvings and arts and crafts development.
[94] See note 92 above.

In the Inuit culture, knowledge requires strong and good relationships for knowledge transmission; Nilaulaaq was masterful at weaving the relationship webs between all the people in the room with her comments, whether to invoke my familiarity, or her relations to the interviewees, or their relationships with the youth.

In the interview process itself, I also depended on Nilaulaaq completely. Instead of engaging in question and answer form, I watched, observed and learned from how she entered into the relationship of inquiry through her conversations with other elders. Often she would make small talk, which included stories of my family, or the school program at Saint Paul University, or the weather or funny stories. Then she would discuss the ethics forms, and give an overall summary of the points on our interview guide sheet. Through pre-interview phone conversations and visits, all of the elders had been familiarized with the purpose of the study, and with the kinds of questions we were going to ask. During the recorded visit this information was therefore just a review.

Nilaulaaq's use of humour got us through some awkward moments in trying to deal with the ethics forms gracefully. Our normal trusting relationships with many of the interviewees became tense over the unnaturalness of the use of paper for demonstrating something like trust. For us, as people known to the community with natural relationships to many, the atmosphere shifted from informal to that of unfamiliar and formal with the presentation of these forms. I observed Nilaulaaq deal with this in ever more inventive ways, depending on the needs of the interviewees. A few times she had me read it out loud, so as not to burden them with reading it. Other times she went over the sections and gave examples of stories so that people could relate to why something was written as such on the form. I took her lead in that and shared in that process of explanation. In a few interviews, where the elders were not familiar with being recorded, she said a number of times throughout the hour "*taqaliraangaphi uniqatta'javuhi*" (stop at any time, when ever you are tired).

She also used humour to help people feel comfortable, or to bring them out of their shyness. When she instigated what broke into a hysterical laughing session before one interview was to start, the youth jumped up, all smiles, and turned the video camera on to capture the moment. There were six decades between the elders and youth and the laughter that went on and on seemed to transcend those gaps entirely.

In the interviews, I noticed how Nilaulaaq would jog the memories of the other elders in different ways by saying for instance, "*Itqaumattianngi'napku, qanuruuq*?" (I don't remember exactly how it went, how was it now?) She would also show elders examples of their life experience that pointed to a certain concept she wanted to clarify on record, given her awareness of the importance of recorded memory. One example of that is in the attached transcript of the interview with Taalliraq where she mentioned a kind of naming that Taalliraq uses.[95]

From interview to interview the story seemed to build, as conclusions were tested and retested in further conversations. Nilaulaaq often expressed her thoughts and conclusions and tested them in the interview conversations, finishing her statement with the invitation to confirm or contest the statement, "*taima'nailingaqquuraluaqtuu'jaŕuq*" (approximately: now, is it really this way or possibly some other way perhaps?) The Nattilingmiut dialect is quite elaborate on the indirect forms of inquiry, the art of indirect relating to politeness, with certain kinds of directness often equated as rudeness.[96] Early on in the interviews I struggled between cultural divides on that notion, because in the academic world directness often equates to clarity. In one interview, I had used the word *akiraq* (meaning opposition), and in my opinion I had framed it indirectly enough ("what did people do when there was *akiraq* between them?"). Nilaulaaq rescued me by very quickly reframing what I just said using the term *i&uijjuti*, meaning cause of discomfort or disharmony. I was aware of the *faux pas*; this was part of my learning (remembering) to listen.

On a couple of occasions, as an intervention, in order to dispel the formality that the running video camera represented, Nilaulaaq demonstrated her own introduction of herself and her history. This was clearly to help the participants feel more comfortable by giving them her own example, as all the people present knew who she was and her background. She was demonstrating how to narrate for a video audience, so that even as we were in a regular conversation in the interview, she helped them feel comfortable with the technology present.

During the fieldwork in June of 2004, which was in the twenty-four hour daylight period, sometimes Nilaulaaq prompted me to visit somewhere very late at "night". I recall

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[95] See Appendix A, p.116, lines 10-24.
[96] Examples can also be found in Appendix A, pages 116-121.

one evening we were coming home from a pre-interview well after 1:00am and the all-terrain vehicle that her grandson drove to pick us up in got stuck in the river slush. We all struggled to hoist it out, and with each attempt, it sank deeper and deeper. The richness in the twilight glow, and the solemn call of Arctic spring completely overshadowed my despair and fear; all was completely right, and I was learning how to "listen" better. The previous moments of the visit we had had with the oldest elder in town were still strongly resonant. I had experienced the privilege of sharing the lives, experiences, dreams and aspirations of Nilaulaaq and her *illuq* (cousin), and being tired and wet seemed like such a small price to pay for this bounty.

I learned to trust Nilaulaaq's spontaneous approach and became more in tune with my own promptings. For example, while in Kugaaruk after Nilaulaaq had returned to Gjoa Haven without me, following that sense of timing, I happened upon one of our interviewees in the midst of re-telling a dramatic scene from the epic tale of Kiviuq. I felt like I had walked back in time and entered the scene itself: so vivid were Iminngaaq's words and so nonchalant about my approach was she. The midnight sun was golden and the air carried the scent of heather and lichen from the tundra close by. I stopped and sat on a rock. On one hand, I agonized about my interruption of such a spectacular moment in life, as she sat at the edge of her chair outside her house speaking to a grandchild who was smoking a cigarette and rocking a baby in her *amaut* (packing parka).[97] On the other hand, I knew all too well how this way of being - the stories, the richness of the language – depends on shared space and contact with elders. The elders were conveying to us that their role is unsupported in the larger picture and they don't have the spaces and opportunities to convey their knowledge to the younger generations. Learning to listen was more than about hearing more. It entailed understanding my role based on how the elders saw it, and how I understood my role in return or what I was willing and able to give. This is the most difficult kind of listening, but my relationship with Nilaulaaq facilitated that, both directly and indirectly.

Finally, the overall approach that Nilaulaaq and I took has never been done in the North before, nor have I found any models of it elsewhere. Nilaulaaq speaks very little English and relies on me to bridge the chasm between her high level of expertise in Inuit

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[97] There are a few fortunate younger people who have quality time with elders and are exposed to the richness of the elders' language. One of the projects that Nilaulaaq and I are proposing is to develop an inventory of language speakers, learners and teachers in the East Kitikmeot communities. For language projects and revitalization efforts, we want to strategically work to strengthen language where it is spoken in order to increase the impact of that natural language activity - language learners also need strong pockets of speakers to speak with them.

traditional culture and the Western world of research. At the outset I am framing this as our joint research, while at the same time I am aware that in the academic setting I am the one who is acknowledged as the researcher because I have the academic credentials. As the one who documents the research in English, a language she cannot read, a problem of ethics arises if I don't have a high level of transparency, accessibility and availability. Providing material in Inuktitut summary or translations of the thesis draft submissions are not enough to allow her the input she requires, especially given the primacy of oral tradition in Inuit culture. We drew on our relationship – my inclusion in her camp as a child, her role as Inuktitut teacher in my elementary school, our own collaborations on language work in the early 1980s and our work in recent years. In a sense, though, many hours on the phone and great efforts to travel to meet each other are all I had to bridge the chasm between her and the academy.

While I was mentored in Inuit ways by Nilaulaaq, learning to listen and see and become a better researcher in the context of Inuit traditional knowledge, she received support in recording the elders' perspectives on their lives, and support to begin to address the issues of language and cultural loss. I became aware of our research relationship as one of *ikajuqtigiit*, a kind of helping each other within ones' own means that produces a synergistic effect. In between the interplay of our experiences, a new understanding of Inuit elders' voices in contemporary society emerged for me. With the use of Grounded Theory, the relationships between the collections of recorded conversations with twenty-one Nattilingmiut elders, and Nilaulaaq's mentoring, this knowledge emerges. While I have recorded my understanding of the elders' narratives as best I could, I feel an ongoing responsibility to continue "listening", trying to listen, trying to understand. The new understanding of Inuit elders' voices in contemporary society for me is that very practice: *naalattiariaqarapta* (it is told we are to listen well).

Youth Participation

> I didn't know I could learn that much from the elders....I didn't feel strongly about what the elders did in the past. The elders really want the kids to learn about how they lived in the past [and they] are depending on the kids to keep tradition alive.[98]
>
> Bernadette Iqqugaqtuq, youth research assistant

[98] Bernadette wrote this piece to express her experience working on the project.

> When one is given an opportunity to speak it brings joy. When finally one is approached with a chance to share, it brings a feeling of belonging back.
>
> Qauqřuaq (elder recorded in Taloyoak)

> It had opened my eyes to the fact that they really want to share their knowledge, and they are just waiting for a chance to give it to youth. The way that they had dealt gossip or rivalry really surprised me, because it is the complete opposite. Back then you deal with it right then and there then its over. Today it's not dealt with right away and it just escalates until someone goes too far.[99]
>
> Corrine Tavvi Boisvert, youth research assistant

Three young men and four young women, between the ages of 18 and 23 participated in the interview recordings in the three communities. Nilaulaaq wanted to work with youth to meet a local need for young people to have opportunities to work directly with elders to strengthen their language skills in Inuktitut. Nilaulaaq's approach to the youth was very flexible. Her only expectations were for them to be reliable in showing up each day we worked. I talked with the youth participants about research, ethics, the interview process and the academic world to give them a sense of the context of this study. Ultimately both Nilaulaaq and I invited them to *ilautuinnarluhi* (just come along). They were welcome at anytime to ask questions or make comments during recording or otherwise. Often at the end of a session, Nilaulaaq, I or the interviewees explicitly invited them to add their own questions. While we encouraged them to talk at times, we were careful not to pressure them in anyway.

Some of the epiphanies experienced in working with these intelligent and sensitive youth are too personal to them to be described here. Their ability to grasp and appreciate much of the complexity of Inuit elders' worldview was a source of inspiration and delight to both Nilaulaaq and me. All had a self-proclaimed weakness in Inuktitut comprehension and articulation. Nonetheless, because of the cultural capital they bring to their work, they were able to understand and experience enough to draw very thoughtful comparisons between their own lives and those of the elders.

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[99] Tavvi sent this be email after reviewing the section on youth participation.

One day, for example, after a third interview, the youth participants asked us how the elders could have such similar responses to the general outline of questions. I asked them which responses stood out for them as being similar. They emphatically replied *kiŕguittailiniq*, which is a term the elders had described for a law which amounted to a prohibition on backbiting or negative gossip. The verb *kiŕgui-* means to spread rumours. The elders described the law as being such that if someone had a conflict with another person, they were not allowed to talk about that conflict with anyone other than the person with whom they had the conflict. They were required to go directly to the person or people and were free to say anything on their mind. In response, the person or people concerned were allowed to speak their mind freely about the matter too. After this was done, there was a clean slate between them, a complete forgiveness or even a kind of amnesia about the problem. The issue would never be discussed again, and would not impede their relationship further, or become a cause of discomfort in the community. One of the youth thoughtfully said, "If we used the elders' law *kiŕguittailiniq* in our town this would be the best place in the world to live!" A discussion ensued about the pressures many young people have with the gossip that is perpetuated about them by adults and other youth alike. "It's like youth are constantly on probation," one said, another emphatically nodding. Notice also the statement by Corrine Tavvi Boisvert at the beginning of this section. The youth in this project invariably described a deep, awakening pride in their culture as they became familiar with the practical wisdom of the elders' way.

In working with the youth, I observed a strong healing quality with the elders' input into their lives through words, actions, and interactions. In one community, at the end of the week, they set up a recording session themselves with Nilaulaaq. During this session other youth were drawn in. In another community, as previously mentioned, I noticed the generational barriers come down when the youth participants jumped to turn the video camera on to capture a hysterical laughing fit between four elders. I noticed too, that in many of the recording sessions, the elders actually prompted the youth for questions. In our relaxed, informal environments of kitchens, living rooms and floors, it could hardly seem at times to be an interview at all, except that there was equipment running. At times though, when the elders asked the youth questions, we were reminded that it was an interview with inquiry as a goal. The elders would inquire "What kinds of things can I tell you, for

instance..." and they would list areas of knowledge and experience, while the youth obviously thought out some answers.[100] The youth responded to these promptings with ever increasing confidence.

In the present day communities there is a lot to separate youth from elders. There is currently a huge demographic shift in Nunavut with 50% of the population under the age of 20. In smaller communities, such as the ones we visited, the figures are even higher. When the population swell of youth is viewed against the rapidly dwindling number of elders, one can see why one-on-one time with elders is rare. Structurally they are also separated by the school system through their hours in classrooms.[101] Once youth are out of the school system, there are few activities that bring them in close personal contact with elders unless they have an elderly relative they are close to. Many become intimidated by elders through being unaccustomed to spending quality time with them. Our interviewing process became a practical demonstration of what that experience could be for them, as we let the youth define their own roles and boundaries in the process. They invariably emerged with knowledge of how the elders value them and how much the elders want to share their knowledge and experiences with them.

To support the youth in their participation in the research, and in their moments of transition and discovery, we spoke with them casually as we walked from interview to interview. We spent as much informal time with them as possible, eating lunch together, walking, doing chores or running errands for the elders we interviewed. We also participated together in community events that involved elders, whether games evenings or drumming gatherings or feasts. Disposable cameras were available throughout all these events and activities, and the youth were invited to document the process however they saw fit. Together we selected and purchased small items to contribute as prizes for the elders to win. In most cases we also visited the youth participants' homes and adapted our schedules to their childcare needs or family responsibilities.

The presence of the youth gave the elders a strong contextual reality: this research is for communal memory and is about finding ways to restore opportunities for knowledge transmission. Through our work together, social ties were re-knit between generations and

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[100] See an example of this in Appendix A, on page 123, line 15.

[101] This was an issue that came out of this research, and you can see Taalliraq's comments in Appendix A, p.107, line 19 on to the following page.

the networks for transmission of knowledge were being revived, re-honoured and remembered. The discoveries that both the youth and the elders made in relation to their work together with us were a profound source of discovery and insight for both Nilaulaaq and me as well.

Ethical Reflections

We sought to frame the methodology in the most ethically sound way possible from the Inuit cultural perspective. In reviewing the literature on ethical conduct in research in general, I was left with a sense that ethics in academic research were often based on risk-management principles. The tools that represented ethical obligations, such as the consent forms, were conceived through cultural filters that were inappropriate and ineffective in the oral cultural society in which our study operated. I was interested in a reflexivity model of qualitative research. What could those unspoken tensions between worlds be?

In *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*[102] Alvesson and Sköldberg's provide a broad framework for researcher reflexivity in terms of research procedures, interpretation, political-ideological aspects, and issues in representation and authority.[103] However, this broad framework does not address the specific needs of how to research in a way that gives research traditions steeped in *Qablunaat*[104] cultures a sound basis to become more accountable to Inuit values and worldview. Alvesson and Sköldberg's definition of reflexivity does, however, reflect the goals of such an accountability structure: "interpreting one's own interpretations from other perspectives, and turning a self-critical eye to one's own authority as interpreter and author."[105] What mechanism could be used to keep this process ethical and accountable on Inuit terms?

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[102] Mat Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg, *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications, 2000.
[103] Id., p.7-8.
[104] *Qablunaat* is the plural form of *Qablunaaq* which is Inuktitut for white person, person of or resembling Caucasian decent.
[105] Mat Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg, *Reflexive Methodology*, p.vii.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

Nilaulaaq was supportive of the use of the following six principles that were collected from interviews with elders by two Inuit researchers.[106] The principles have been adopted by many Inuit as a framework for negotiating systems that reflect Inuit values. These principles have been used in Nunavut informally to guide curriculum reform and, more formally, to renegotiate the Nunavut Wildlife Act.[107]

- *Pijitsirarniq*: serving or service;
- *Aajiiqatigiingniq*: consensus-decision making;
- *Pilimmaksarniq*: skills and knowledge acquisition;
- *Qanuqtuurungnarniq*: being resourceful to solve problems;
- *Piliriqatigiingniq*: collaborative relationships or working together for a common purpose; and
- *Avatimik Kamattiarniq*: environmental stewardship.[108]

Each principle is discussed below in relation to ways of proceeding ethically in this project which we felt were ethical in light of the principle. The following interpretation of these principles is based solely on this research project, and not intended as a template or a recipe for ethical research on Inuit terms. It is offered as an example of an application of the Inuktitut principles we used to ensure adherence and accountability to Inuit epistemology and values.

Pijitsirarniq: serving or service

The Inuktitut concept *pijitsirarniq* or "service" is close to the English concept of "usefulness". While Nilaulaaq and I may have had our assumptions about how useful this research project was for Inuit elders and youth and the community, we carefully gauged that

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[106] Jaypeetee Arnakak and Joili Sanguya compiled the data in the late 1990s as consultants to the Department of Sustainable Development in Nunavut. They are used not as all encompassing principles or an attempt to define *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* but instead to give guidance from an Inuit axiology for developing new systems in the Arctic. In this case, we applied them to explore a framework of *Inuuqatigiit* (being people together) for this project.

[107] Jim Bell, "New Wildlife Bill Built on Inuktitut Principles", *Nunatsiaq News*, April 4, 2003; "Nunavut Wildlife Act Receives Third Reading", Government of Nunavut, Press Release, Iqaluit, Nunavut, December 5, 2003.

[108] Jaypeetee Arnakak, "Commentary: What is Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit?" Special to *Nunatsiaq News*, August 25, 2000.

gave us feedback on how "useful" this was for them. For us, it had to be clearly accountable to their agenda and needs at every turn. I personally was mindful of the gap between the local community and the world of the academy, and worked to convey to both elders and youth how this was going to be developed as an MA thesis. For unilingual elders this was difficult given there is no vocabulary to distinguish an MA thesis from a book or article or personal correspondence (it is all "writing" - *titiqqat*). The follow up work to the research will be carried out on the same terms of service and usefulness, but with particular attention to media preferences. A video form of research results is being explored, given the strong preference for audio-visual means, and the video format of the interviews themselves. Other non-*titiqqat* forms will also be explored in service of the community's preferences, needs and agendas.

Aajiiqatigiingniq: consensus-decision making

While the proposed way of proceeding was developed through consultation, guidance and mentorship from Nilaulaaq, and formally with the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI)[109] through community feedback on the project proposal, it was always respected that within Inuit epistemology, consensus decisions are open to revision. The key thrust behind *aajiiqatigiingniq* is a strong sense of responsibility to the collective community. At all times the project was to be accountable to the collective sense of well-being and collective good so highly valued by elders. Within each of the three communities there are other Inuit groups who have blended with the Nattilingmiut. Within the time we had, we operated with a collective sense that includes their interests and promotes their opinions to be heard and understood as well. In addition, within the project itself, youth were engaged as valued partners in daily decision-making. It should be noted here that the word *angiqatigiingniq* is a more commonly used in Nattillingmiut areas used than *aajiiqatigiingniq*. The former literally means "agreed together" with the connotation of ongoing consultation (not a fixed agreement).

[109] See Appendix C for a copy of the 300 word abstract submitted to NRI for this study.

Pilimmaksarniq: skills and knowledge acquisition

The general approach in working in the communities was an open door one. We freely engaged youth and others who were interested in learning from us about what we were doing. The principle was to promote *pilimmaksarniq* or capacity building for other projects to unfold. We anticipated that if other Inuit groups within the communities wanted to learn how to interview and document other elders, we would encourage them to be involved, not only by explaining it to them, but by including them in the process. With more time in Gjoa Haven this actually developed with Iluilirmiut elders, and three recording sessions in their dialect were included in the overall collection.

Qanuqtuurungnarniq: being resourceful to solve problems

The resourcefulness we drew upon to persevere through fieldwork snags involved a well-developed support system of people and agencies interested in the research, both Inuit and Qablunaat, people in the community and people afar. We worked through, delays and setbacks through consultations within an interdependent network. I recall Nilaulaaq's ever assuring words in times of difficulty or ambiguity, echoed by so many other Nattilingmiut elders, "*Nalunaruirniaq*...", roughly: things always become clear eventually. In maintaining a high level of tolerance for ambiguity, subtle Inuit ways were not overshadowed by fear or anxiety or quick fixes. We were after all working to decolonize and it was understood that this was paradoxically going to be the more difficult and the easier path.

Piliriqatigiingniq: collaborative relationships or working together for a common purpose

According to Nilaulaaq, in our approach this includes other principles such as *inuuqatigiittiarniq* (being people-to-people well together) and *quviasuqatigiittiarniq* (together being joyful for common wellness).[110] It was assumed that extra efforts are required for a high level of comfort in working together with others. "Work" isn't divided into "more important" and "less important" tasks. Many times in research, the ones with the pens (or laptops) have the "most important" job. This stereotype was avoided in our project by a high value for work that includes visiting and sharing knowledge by radio and other

[110] See Taalliraq's words in Appendix A, p. 126, lines 2-4 and my comment in the right margin.

local means. The writers must do their share of being with others, and while they may well have a vital role, it is not the most important.

Piliriqatigiingniq also involves a division of labor that is suited to the skills, interests and abilities of each person. None the less, the final product is a collective achievement, and in the presentation of the findings all roles are interdependent. In the final production of this thesis, I was awkwardly concerned that my degree granting institution could not have other people on the project co-listed as authors. However, I accepted the production of the thesis document as one small step in the beginning, and not an end in itself. By working within the Conflict Studies program, utilizing the thesis format, with all the supportive academic review and guidance received, this small first step has been consistent with the aforementioned principle *pilimmaksarniq* (skills acquisition). I have received academic training to utilize for the ongoing *pijitsirarniq* (service) to the community and *qanuqtuurungnarniq* (being resourceful to community needs): In the context of *piliriqatigiingniq* (working together) I understand this as a responsibility.

Avatimik Kamattiarniq: environmental stewardship

While this principle may seem more suited to the natural sciences, the essence of this principle relates to the Inuit view of the land as being part of who they are. In Inuit worldview, the natural world and the human world are interdependent and inseparable. So *avatimik kamattiarniq* relates to a holistic and interdependent view of the human and natural world. For us, *avatimik kamattiarniq* is related *to tamai'nik ihumattiarniq* (taking all into careful consideration), meaning that global, holistic and comprehensive approaches are respected even though within those schemes, specific areas of knowledge are sought. In the interpretation of interview data, a comprehensive approach was taken to avoid eliminating, overlooking or being selective of knowledge. All of the recordings we made had a role in the interpretation. In terms of interpretation and data analysis, it was respected that elders often give direction indirectly or have answers imbedded in seemingly extraneous information, so all the videos were analyzed rather than selecting samples. Also, in respecting a holistic view of knowledge that stems from relationships with the natural world, our approach also involved a view to affirming those relationships: we spent time on the land making fire, sharing tea, cutting meat and softening seal skin.

The Interviews

Nilaulaaq and I had decided on a simple four-part conversation guide. We did not inquire directly about what kinds of conflicts people had, as this seemed much too direct to ask. We did not even use the word conflict (in any of its Inuktitut variations) in the question guide we presented at the beginning of the interview. We just knew that people would talk about conflict within the framework we provided. When they did, we inquired with a clarifying question. The following guide was written from our notes in Inuktitut below with translation in English:

1) *Inuuhia miksřaanut* – about their life (context, experiences, origins);
2) *Uqau'řauřuhiit angajuqqaami'nit inuuttiarnirmut* – the counsels, injunctions received by their parents for good living;
3) *Inuuhirmi'ni a'lanngurahugiřait nunamiinirmit ublumimut* – what they consider the differences are from being on the land compared to today's life; and
4) *Hunat piřřutiunahugigaluaqtait a'lanngurniuřut pi'lugit* – the causes or factors they perceive in relation to the changes in their lives that they cite.[111]

The use of and reflection on Inuktitut concepts for conflict helped determine how to be "appropriate to local traditions and subject matter being addressed."[112] In developing clarifying questions during the recorded conversations, instead of *akiraq*, which in noun form means enemy and in verb form means confrontation, the word *i&uiřřuti* was used more effectively, meaning "reason for discomfort". This is very consistent with the Inuit way of being "indirect". As previously mentioned, I did use the word *akiraq* once in conversation and quickly realized that it was not appropriate. So in a conversation about the past, a clarifying question was more typically, "What did people do when they had *i&uiřřuti* (reason for discomfort) amidst them?"

The questions and statements were developed in Inuktitut, and translated only for reference in the project reporting. This was an important step so that our questions didn't become filtered through an English world view through conceptualization in English and

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[111] I did not set out with the understanding that conflict needed to be understood by indirect means. I just followed what conformed to the Inuktitut world, and wrote about what seemed uncomfortable. It became clear to me by the end of the study how indirect the means really needed to be.
[112] Lynn Davis, in McNaughton and Rock, "Opportunities...", p.52.

approximation in Inuktitut. As previously mentioned, Inuktitut language was a starting point, but it was not enough; Nilaulaaq's guidance on even how language was used to ask questions was very important. Nilaulaaq and I had both agreed that the main inquiry was the question of how Nattilingmiut dealt with conflict in pre-settlement times, but an Inuktitut conceptualization of the questions also relied on her input in the recording process.

In the semi-structured interviews, we did not predetermine that elders would be interviewed one by one. The interview guide sheet was the only aspect of the semi-structured interviews that was shaped by me and Nilaulaaq. Some elders wished to be interviewed as pairs, and in one case there were three elders in one session. Research participants were invited by word of mouth through our knowledge of the elders and Nilaulaaq's contact with them. They are few in number, only a few dozen in total. They are known to their communities for the rich knowledge of traditional life that they pass on to others. They are Inuktitut-only speakers and are generally 60 years of age and older. Most are much older, for example from 75 to 85 years of age, and in one case an elder was over 100.

Anonymity was not desirable in the case of documenting collective knowledge for local access. The local hamlets were contacted by the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI)[114] for permission to issue a research licence (required for all research in Nunavut). We aimed to be inclusive of all who have a local reputation for being a traditional knowledge holder and did not have a predetermined minimum age for "elder". It was made clear to participants that the purpose of the recording was to create documentation for the local community and to undertake research in Inuit approaches to peacebuilding. The role of the elder in Inuit society is in part to pass on teachings through orally transmitted knowledge. They take pride in sharing that knowledge with their name associated with it. Nonetheless, in each case the elders' wishes were carefully verified, the details of which were included on the consent form. The series *Interviewing Elders* published by Nunavut Arctic College included each elder's name with their transcripts.[115] Another example of this is *Uqalurait,* published in 2004 by McGill-Queens University Press as the first history of Nunavut from the elders'

[114] See Appendix C for plain language summary and Inuktitut version submitted to Nunavut Research Institute, November 15, 2003.
[115] Saullu Nakasuk, et al, *Interviewing Elders*.

perspectives through oral histories.[115] In that work, translations of elders' interviews usually bear their names and community of origin. For this thesis, elders' names in Inuktitut are given with their exemplar quotes, and a list of people with Christian names, surnames and communities is included in Appendix E.

Pressure on participants was avoided by allowing them, at any time in the process of either the unstructured or semi-structured interviews, to opt out of the project without any consequences. This was communicated to them in an ongoing way to avoid any discomfort. We explained to people in advance not to worry if during the interview, their phone rang and they wanted to answer it, or if a grandchild or a visitor required attention.[116] Using the open design of the interview schedule, we minimized the chances of discomfort. As a researcher I was aware of the value of even partial involvement on the part of any participant because of how it contributes to field notes and contextual impressions. We calculated involving enough participants so that there was allowance for people to discontinue if they chose to without greatly affecting the project.

Because the informants' input is supported by other data, for instance through our inclusion of non-Nattilingmiut interviewees, there was less pressure for any one interview to go in a particular direction. In this way a higher ethical level was achieved. This is particularly important given the nature of social research in the Arctic in the past. Inuit elders have often felt *ilira-* (intimidated) or *nalu-* (confounded) by researchers and the research process. Even given the "insideness" of my language skills and my Nattilingmiut elder mentor's role, sharing and recording respectfully is a delicate art. I discovered that maintaining openness and flexibility in the interview process was key to creating a positive experience.

Generally, at the beginning of each interview Nilaulaaq would enter into conversation with the other elders and explain our areas of interest. As previously mentioned, our interview guide sheet included:

- about their life (context, experiences, origins);
- the counsels, injunctions received by their parents for good living;

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[115] John Bennett and Susan Rowley, eds., *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut.*
[116] See Appendix A, p. 111, line #15.

- what they consider the differences are from being on the land compared to today's life; and
- the causes or factors they perceive in relation to the changes in their lives that they cite.

Every interview touched on all four points of inquiry, but not in any particular order. Each interview was as unique as the person being interviewed. In seeking to follow Inuk protocols for respectful inquiry, I realized that Nilaulaaq and I were not comfortable with forming direct questions up front. Once she briefed the interviewees with an overview of the four points, they often gave long reflective answers. We usually added some direct kinds of questions, relating to the four areas of inquiry, well into the interviewee's talk. The unspoken tension around asking direct questions was best articulated by Taalliraq:

> The ancestors were not told what topics they had to talk about, they would give their teachings without directions. These are the ones we were nurtured by, we grew aware through, and we learned from. I ask myself 'Why is it that those good ways we are not trying to use now?' , when I think of this situation.[117]

Taalliraq's comment above also demonstrates the constant struggle one has in working with Inuit traditional knowledge: The current situation – contemporary settlement governed by foreign systems - is unnatural and counter-intuitive to Inuit epistemology. We made due with the present circumstances and did our best to acknowledge and make explicit the challenges we faced. Given the urgency of the elders to pass on their knowledge while they are alive, we are committed to facilitate the recording on the elders' terms and in an ethically sound way from their perspectives. We are hopeful that through engaging the elders in dialogue we can develop alternative methods that work for them.

Isolating Nattilingmiut Reponses

One area of ethical consideration is that of our choosing to interview Nattilingmiut elders, as opposed to other dialect groups. Nattilingmiut have integrated into the three communities of Gjoa Haven, Taloyoak, and Kugaaruk with other groups such as Iluilirmiut, Utkuhiksalingmiut, Ki'linirmiut, Kinngarmiut and Aivilingmiut. It is natural that a Nattilingmiut elder (Nilaulaaq) be alongside to interview other Nattilingmiut and that a

[117] Taalliraq, see Appendix A, p.107, line 4-7.

Nattilingmiut speaker who is closely associated with Nattilingmiut families be assisting in the process. However, when other elders wanted to become involved, we were prepared to interview them. We were also confident that if the taped conversations became conversations included people of different groups, it would still be possible to identify and isolate the comments of the Nattilingmiut elders. Some of the elders we interviewed in addition to the Nattilingmiut were Nilaulaaq's father's cousins from the Iluillirmiut group. In some ways, there is unnaturalness in dividing people by sub-groups. People certainly identify themselves in this way, but they really enjoy collaborating on projects with Inuit from other sub-groups. Among elders involved with traditional knowledge, there seems to be a local and regional trend towards combining their efforts, and blending in their work so as to jog each other's memories about the things that now lie far back in their early lives. There is a strong sense that current Inuit elders are related by generation, given their small numbers, their shared experience of disempowerment through settlement, and a shared urgency to transmit their knowledge while they can. In being sensitive to this trend, and respectful of elders' needs we tried to work as broadly as possible in the community within the somewhat limited timeframe we had.

Over the last thirty years, through intermarriage, almost every family in each community has become in some way related to Nattilingmiut elders. They are generally respected by all for their traditional knowledge. To further reduce the possible perception of favouritism however, Nilaulaaq and I compiled a list of all Nattilingmiut elders, discussed possibilities for interviewees, and contacted these people. As we shared the basics of our project over local radio to inform the community of what we were doing elders from other groups showed some interest. We interviewed and/or visited them as well. Being as inclusive as possible required a lot of time, effort and energy, but it was the only way to meet the ethical requirements and local needs as we understood them.

Ethics of Remuneration: Nakuruhiqturniq

> We have no voice today, only when we are given money, when money is presented to us we describe the Inuit culture, this is what we oldest people do.[118]

[118] Taalliraq, attached interview, Appendix A, p. 107 line 1-4.

It is not the fact that money is presented that is the problem Taalliraq cites here, but rather the lack of authority within the present system, and the dilemma of a way of being that was changed abruptly. This new system dictated what role their knowledge had, if any. Money is not a gift, but a fee for service dictated by the payer. Inuit elders, and particularly shamans, were always given gifts, through the practice known as *nakuruhiqturniq;* when they were asked to assist with their knowledge or shamanic powers, something was given to them out of acknowledgement for their authority and not fee for service. So today, the gift of money is not so much the problem as is the context of the gift within a system that is marginalizing the elders' role. As previously mentioned, we constantly sought to help the people we interviewed by running errands or doing chores, or bringing gifts of various kinds. Many older elders cannot even buy what they want with the money presented because they do not know where or how to acquire the special things they can't get in local outlets. In a number of instances we offered to look for things they wanted, whether an old style of thimble, gill nets, radios, kettles, a tape recorder, tool catalogues or other items. This is the principle of *ikajurniq*, being helpful, which is the proper way to address an elder.

Nunavut Research Institute encourages and even prefers that interviewees are paid for their time. I agree with that expectation, and it is part of a local economy in the North where expenses are high and income from most employment is low. There is some controversy among researchers[119] about this issue, because they feel that if they as researchers are giving their time and expertise for little (i.e. as students), they should not have to pay Inuit elders to do something that is their natural role in their community. They worry that paying people cheapens the event. I disagree with that. Often elders have grandchildren and great-grand-children that they adopt and raise. I have seen elders who live in three-bedroom homes with sixteen other extended family members to feed. They do this with little ability to participate in the local economy except through carvings and crafts. Other pursuits require English language skills. For this reason, I sought and acquired the funds to pay elders $50 per session of 1.5 hours. This is a standard amount which has been given by others who collect audio tapes of local knowledge. The youth were remunerated at a rate of $50 per day, based on the budget allowances.

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[119] This was a subject of informal debate at the International PhD School for the Study in Arctic Societies (IPSSAS) in Iqaluit in May of 2003.

Before I went to do the fieldwork, a researcher told me that I was setting the standard for remuneration too high and they themselves would never be able to afford to do their research again if these were going to be the expectations raised through our project. My response to that problem is to remind them of the highly individualized approach to issues that Inuit take. If one catches a very large animal, they have more to share, and their apparent generosity does not outshine that of someone who with humility and caring apportions what they can of a smaller catch. Remuneration is not "payment for data", or even payment for time, or expertise, but a sharing out of the necessities of life with people whom we have relationships with and responsibilities toward.

Our model of research relied on the ability to remunerate community members to contribute to the local economy and promote training opportunities for youth. Within the ethics of remuneration was, for us, a spirit of caring exercised by finding out what the elders needed and helping them in any way possible. We didn't consider the extra costs of these small items. When viewed from the perspective of the elders' high level of expertise and unique knowledge, $50 for an hour of consultation is very low indeed compared to any field in the "Western" paradigm.

The Problem of Paper Forms

After the fieldwork, while writing up the thesis, it was a relief to discover that the "use of consent forms is one of the most highly contested areas for qualitative researchers."[120] It was probably the most difficult area of ethical dilemma I experienced in the whole project. It just didn't fit with the rest of our epistemology and methodology. In terms of free and informed consent, a great deal of effort was made to communicate the project in person and over relaxed visits. But each time paper was presented it was awkward to different degrees, depending on the interviewee's relationship to paper and their degree of traditional outlook. We tried different ways of bridging the gap between orality and paper, for instance by my reading the whole consent form out loud for them, but in most cases even that felt unnatural.

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[120] Will van den Hoonard, "Ethical Norming and Qualitative Research" in *Walking the Tightrope: Ethical Issues for Qualitative Researchers*, Will van den Hoonard, ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, p.10.

In retrospect, I would prefer to have been able to obtain consent by a video or audio recorded statement. In some ways a form is meaningless: "When I think of paper, I think you can tear it up and the laws are gone," one elder, Aupilaarjuk, has explained.[121] Yet in other ways paper is overpowering, by its symbolic ability to frame the interview in "foreign" terms. Paper was used in formalities by priests (certificates, texts), HBC traders (inventories, records), RCMP (warrants, laws, records). In these early cases in the elders' lives papers were either irrelevant or symbolic of power and privilege through the roles of the bearers and keepers of papers. We used humour to offset the tension we experienced in dealing with the consent forms. In one case, we all burst out laughing as I read through the items, as somebody joked it was like the reading of *tukhiutiit*, holy texts. Sure it was all carefully crafted in Inuktitut, but the use of a paper form just didn't speak the "language" of our way of communicating in Inuktitut. Presenting the forms at the beginning of the interview often jeopardized the flow that began in the pre-interview sessions and in the first moments of getting ready for the recorded interview.

One moment of relief I had in the midst of these tense episodes was when one of the interviewees said, with an admiring intonation "*qujaginnanngittunaluit*", which would translate as "at least these [papers/words] are not lacking in being prepared", referring to the copious points of information. We often prefaced the use of these forms with, "*Qablunaat maligalinaluu'mata ukua pittiammaringnirmut atuqtunalui*" (As the *Qablunaat* have many laws, these ones are to show good treatment of people). I learned to add as a preface, that these laws have been made because some people didn't naturally treat people well in the past. Nilaulaaq and I both casually explained the informal nature of the interview, referring to their need to be comfortable during the process, to refrain from answering anything they were uncomfortable with, to go ahead and answer the phone, and to allow children come and go, and so on. We gave them practical examples of the principles dealt with in the consent form, and in this way we wove threads across the divide between paper and orality to achieve the actual spirit and intent of the forms.

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[121] Mariano Aupilaarjuk, et al, *Interviewing Inuit Elders: Perspectives on Traditional Law*, Nunavut Arctic College, 1999, p.4.

Nevertheless, the forms created barriers I was extremely uncomfortable with. In remembering that "consent is a relationship, not an event"[122] the event of working with paper forms so strained the otherwise natural, trusting, highly ethical and transparent relationships we had with research participants that I would agree that "the signed consent form in most cases does virtually nothing for the subject in social sciences and humanities research."[123] Further, I would make a future case for oral consent based on the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's Ethics Special Working Committee's own challenging of the universal relevancy of signed consent forms.[124]

We have no new solution to offer from our experiences, but only feel strongly that regarding the idea of consent, the most culturally-rooted and ethically sound method from an Inuk point of view is not yet known. When it is better known, however, the interviews will go smoother, the information will be richer, and most importantly people will be better informed of their rights and powers because the message will be conveyed in cultural and symbolic ways that are consistent with Inuit epistemology. Getting around the use of paper by using other technology would be a vast improvement for traditional elders such as we interviewed.

The Choice of Grounded Theory

To be open to new theories that are rooted in the experience of the language of the text or audio recording itself, the grounded theory approach offered the most generative possibility. Grounded theory in essence is the "discovery of theory from data" [125] is often used in ethnography and anthropology.[126]

According to Bernard, the Grounded Theory approach is used primarily for "(1) identifying categories and concepts that emerge from text, and (2) linking the concepts into substantive and formal theories."[127] Conceptual models are also developed from a process

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[122] Social Sciences and Humanities Ethics Special Working Committee, "Giving Voice to the Spectrum: Report to the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics", June 2004, p.27.
[123] Id., p.27.
[124] Id., p.28.
[125] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of the Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, San Francisco: University of California, 1967, p.1.
[126] H.R. Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Walnut Creek: AltaMira, 2002, p.463.
[127] Id., p.462.

referred to as "memoing,"[128] which relates to the practice of journaling about relationships observed between themes found in the transcripts. A repetitive process is required of the researcher whereby they become more and more familiar with the text through a number of strategies. Indeed the analyst becomes "grounded"[129] in the knowledge embedded in the text.

Grounded Theory was suited to the task of developing an understanding of how Nattilingmiut elders perceive their circumstances of conflict and change, because it allowed for much of the analysis to develop entirely in Inuktitut. This is important because this is the language the elders conceptualize their world in. By relying on current theory alone, the risk is also taken that the elders' unique perspectives are filtered through a theory system that doesn't adequately reflect the complexity of their knowledge or experience.

A form of Grounded Theory was used by Inuit researchers Jaypeetee Arnakak and Joili Sanguja to articulate some principles of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, or Inuit traditional knowledge as used above as guiding principles for reflections on ethical matters. While working for the Department of Sustainable Development, they interviewed Inuit elders about what *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is. They realized that the elders answered all their questions, but true to Inuit culture and communication forms, they did not give direct answers. The transcripts of their interviews were surveyed for themes and key phrases and they came up with six basic principles which were at the core of Inuit survival. These principles have struck a chord with many groups in Nunavut, and feedback has generated positive interest from elders in particular, though they may have different dialect renditions. The principles have been used by a wide variety of government departments and agencies for informing an Inuit-centered approach to curriculum and policy development, and they were successfully used to renegotiate the Wildlife Act of Nunavut.[130]

Very few academic exercises have been carried out in Nunavut fully using first language material, and Arnakak and Sanguja's work is only example of the use of Grounded Theory method to date, though it was not an academic study, and they were not aware of Grounded Theory at the time. Their success illustrates the usefulness of this approach in an

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[128] Id., p.469.
[129] Id. p. 463.
[130] Jim Bell, "New Wildlife Bill Built on Inuktitut Principles", *Nunatsiaq News*, April 4, 2003; "Nunavut Wildlife Act Receives Third Reading", Government of Nunavut, Press Release, Iqaluit, Nunavut, December 5, 2003.

environment where Inuit epistemology, axiology and ontology had been filtered for decades through the lens of Western academic theories and foreign languages.

IV) Thematic Analysis

Overview

True knowledge is understood in many hunting and gathering cultures as being personal and individual knowledge.[131] In seeking to understand traditional Inuit elders' knowledge in a way that supports Inuit epistemology, it is therefore not appropriate to seek out a universalized "Nattilingmiut" view of the questions at hand. Consider Taalliraq's words about her own conclusions: *"ta'naittuksřauřuugaluaq ta'nainngitkunilukiaq..."* (Approximately: it is probably most likely so, but for some it might not be.) The conclusions herein are based on analysis of similarities, differences, and variations in comments made by the Nattilingmiut elders on various themes. The goal in this analysis is to identify patterns within themes that help to answer the research questions and to identify further questions. Comparisons across age groups are made and patterns noticed between genders are also described. However, an in-depth gender and age analysis was not employed due to time constraints. A detailed description of the analysis procedure is followed by an outline of how the framework for final analysis developed. This is followed by an analysis of grouped macrothemes.

Local Populations

The overall general sampling, whether by age, gender or population representation, provides a strong basis for a clear overview of themes on conflict and change according to the current Nattilingmiut elders. The themes and issues identified are a foundation for a more in depth community-based project to dialogue on approaches to conflict using *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. The themes and issues identified also provide a foundation for

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[131] Jane Chrisitian and Peter M. Gardner, *The Individual in Northern Dene Thought and Communication: A Study in Sharing and Diversity*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977; George W. Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991; Peter Gardner, "Symmetric respect and memorate knowledge: The structure and ecology of individualistic culture", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 22: 389-468, 1996.

replication studies in other Inuit regions and groups to develop an *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* knowledge base on the study of conflict.

The following table is an overview of most current available population statistics as well as statistics on research participants by community and gender ratio.

Community	**Census 2001 population survey**[132]	**CLEY statistics 2004, born pre-1949**[133]	**Elders participating in this study**	**Numbers of men and women in this study**	**Male-Female ratio in this study**
Gjoa Haven	960	69	8	2 men 6 women	1:3
Taloyoak	720	52	9	3 men 6 women	1:2
Kugaaruk	605	19	4	2 men 2 women	1:1
TOTAL	2,285	140	21	7 men 14 women	1:2

Population and Gender Ratios **Table 1**

Even though the ratio of men to women is not balanced, at 65+ in most populations, women outlive men and are therefore more strongly represented in numbers within elders' groupings. When the question of male sampling is viewed in light of the regional elders' population (as adapted and explained above), it is still a 7-10% sampling.[134] The disproportionate ratio of men to women in this study is taken into careful consideration in the gender analysis.

Overall community demographics provide an understanding of the sampling aspects of this study and how representative the findings could be in terms of theme groupings. For this study a total of 21 Nattilingmiut elders were recorded in conversation. The Department of Culture Language Elders and Youth (CLEY) statistics on elders show that in Kugaaruk, Taloyoak and Gjoa Haven there are only 140 people older than 56 years of age, or born prior to 1949.[135] The youngest elders participating in this study were in their mid-60s. CLEY's

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[132] Statistics Canada, http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01/PlaceSearchForm1.cfm

[133] Government of Nunavut, Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth statistics, Igloolik, December 2004.

[134] If Nattilingmiut are estimated at less that 100 in the three communities, and 7 Nattilingmiut men were interviewed, they represent a 7-10% sampling of total population which *includes* women.

[135] Government of Nunavut, Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth statistics, Igloolik, December 2004; Note: Census Canada 2001 community profile on Taloyoak shows no people over

statistics are only based on age and not cultural grouping, and so even with Nattilingmiut in the majority in the region of East Kitikmeot, the number of living Nattilingmiut born before 1949 would be less than 100.[136] Our interviews were with elders born prior to 1940. It is therefore quite safe to say that more than 20% of the Nattillingmiut elders are included in this study.

Age Groupings

It is not consistent with local protocols in building relationships to inquire specifically about age. We felt it was therefore inappropriate to ask people how old they were so this was never asked in the interviews. Only one person volunteered his age in the recordings, and one other mentioned her mother's estimated age. All of these elders were assigned arbitrary birth dates by the federal government in the 1950s and 1960s and some even in the 1970s. Their age of birth was based on government or church official's best estimate based on stories told. For example, a person born at the first snow would give them an August birth date, and their approximate birth year would be determined by stories that could be related to known events, for example, Knud Rasmussen's travels to the region in the 1920s.

After the field work, Nilaulaaq and I discussed the research participants' age groups, based on which elders are the same ages, and which she remembers as adults when she was a child, and so on. Even though it was a comfortable conversation, I felt somewhat uneasy in being so inquisitive about age. I knew I had to figure out the age groups, because there were four decades between the two who mentioned their ages.[137] This gap represents at least two generations, and thus without age groupings the Nattilingmiut elders would be homogenized simply as Nattilingmiut men or women, with no way to distinguish their individual places within a very wide window of change (1900-1940).

Part of my discomfort in inquiring relates to comments I remember from my youth like: "We should have named the white people the *qaphinirmiut* (people of the 'how

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the age of 75. The disparity between the two sets of numbers is apparently due to the methods used: CLEY includes every household and Census Canada relies on sampling.

[136] This is based on the wide variety of other groups included in the region: Kinngarmiut, Iluilirmiut, Ki'linirmiut, Utkuhiksalingmiut, Aivilingmiut and others.

[137] There is a very good possibility that the ages that were disclosed in the interviews were accurate within reason because the youngest participant was known to Nilaulaaq, whose own age was verified, and the oldest participant's age was verified by family to be over 100 based on a variety of events she participated in as an adult. She was also a grandmother to grown and married children in the 1970s.

much')".[138] This Inuk impression of *Qablunaat* was based on a seemingly senseless quest for recording numbers of everything, from numbered days and times, to counting caribou, fish, fox, bird's eggs, houses, children, and money earned, etc. Early government intervention involved giving Inuit numbered leather disks to give them access to privileges within the system the government was setting up in the North. [139] This practice was symbolic of how *Qablunaat* displayed an inadequacy in being *Inuuqatigiit* or people-to-people with Inuit. Nilaulaaq and I had an understanding of why the elders' rough ages were needed, but it never the less felt awkward to ask for such details.

This reflection on such a seemingly simple statistical question is in part, a description of a decolonizing methodology. Since age and numbers were introduced in oppressive and culturally inappropriate and irrelevant ways, carefully inquiring and grouping according to what makes sense to Nilaulaaq was an extremely important step in this analysis. Distinctions between generations, for instance were much more relevant than specific age of individuals. However, in order to establish distinctions between generations, approximate numbers were required. From Nilaulaaq's stories and from inquiring in one case with someone related to a number of the elders I figured out the age of four participants. From that list, I inquired further with Nilaulaaq whether the rest of the participants were older or younger than those whose ages we knew. From that process, I created three groups that corresponded to three generations: (a) mid-60s to early 70s, (b) mid-70s to early 80s and (c) late 80s+. There were 10 people in group (a) and 10 people in group (b) and only one person in group (c). The basis for analysis between age groups is strongest between groups (a) and (b), but research participation of currently the oldest person[140] in Nunavut, born at the turn of the century, does give a rare window of insight to some themes across generations.

Names

The exemplar quotes taken from the videos, which are used to convey certain aspects within a given theme, use only the elder's Inuktitut name. The choice was based on Nilaulaaq's advice on the matter. The government's way of dealing with the outmoded

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[138] This statement has been attributed to Anaija from Taloyoak in the 1970s.
[139] This is well documented in Alia, *Names, Numbers and Northern Policy.*
[140] Niviuvak's family is proud of her age, and she takes pride in her own title *amiakkupituaq* 'last remnant'.

number tags mentioned above, was not to respect the Inuit naming system, but to impose a hybrid of their own. In 1970 the federal government launched "Project Surname,"[142] and accordingly gave people surnames by using the Inuktitut given name of the father of the household, and recording Christian first names (in those days provided by church officials), for "given" names. I had no problem understanding the impact of the confusion this created for Nattilingmiut: Christian names were hard for them to pronounce or remember. Moreover, the essence of one's identity as expressed in an Inuktitut name is officially erased through non-recognition. More than twenty years have passed since the implementation of Project Surname. To respect the fact that many participants have become accustomed to using their English given names, an attached appendix lists all peoples' names as written on the consent forms for this project and as they are known in Inuktitut in the community.[143]

Analysis Procedures

The coding procedure for inductive analysis is laid out in detail in order to inform the presentation of the findings. Bernard concurs with Miles and Huberman that "[c]oding is analysis."[144] In order to better understand current Nattilingmiut elders' views on conflict and change, I used Grounded Theory to carry out several exercises in "listening". The material created through these processes is the basis of the analysis. This analysis has yet to be verified through further conversations with Nilaulaaq and others; henceforth I write mainly in the first person singular to signify clearly that I am presenting what I myself have noticed and observed. While Nilaulaaq has summaries of this analysis in Inuktitut, we have yet to go over the work in detail. This work was delayed, because we needed to be together in person to accomplish this.

For the analysis process, I:

a) surveyed the corpus of 16 videos once, making observation notes;
b) selected 13 videos for in-depth review, one for transcription and 2 for negative case analysis;
c) reviewed videos again, this time in depth, and madke notes using themes that had emerged from (a);

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[142] Alia, *Names, Numbers...*,p.63.
[143] See Appendix D.
[144] Bernard, *Research Methods...*,p.465, quoting Miles and Huberman from *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 2nd ed, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1994, p 56.

d) took the notes from (c) above in Inuktitut and then translated to them English and formatted them into tables, retaining the main Inuktitut concepts;[145]
e) further organized the macrothemes and subthemes using the notes from (d);
f) printed the sayings in large font type and created color-coded cue cards to analyze relationships between macrothemes, subthemes, and age and gender groups;
g) made notes that drew from the macrothemes, the subthemes, and from notes on connections or overlaps between themes, using a technique in Grounded Theory called "memoing";[146]
h) transcribed Taalliraq's recording into Inuktitut syllabics and translated into English; and
i) used the overview of themes to make commentary on Taalliraq's interview in the right side margin, to demonstrate in text some of what took place in the video analysis process and to invite the reader into a conversation with one elder.

Transcription of Taalliraq's Interview

In the midst of developing the framework for analysis, I sensed the importance of being thoroughly immersed in the Inuktitut language experience. I proceeded to transliterate and then to translate one full interview of a conversation with Taalliraq.[147] Each page in syllabics took approximately one hour to transliterate. Given that the retroflex 'r' (ř) is not on the Inuktitut keyboard, I copied and pasted this character each time. This was time-consuming, but necessary to produce a text that is accurate to the phonology of Nattilingmiutut (Nattilingmiut dialect of Inuktitut). The Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) standard orthography does not account for this phoneme in its syllabics systems standardized in the 1970s. Another hour per page was required to complete the translations to English, and generally another few hours to proof and edit the English and cross-check it back to the Inuktitut manuscript. A total of 60 hours was required to create the English appendix.

It was important to create the appendix so that the readers of this thesis can have a link to at least one interview. Aspects of the appended interview with Taalliraq are referred to

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[145] In keeping close to the Inuktitut original, I kept key words in Inuktitut within the English text. I also referred back to the original Inuktitut theming notes and to the videos themselves in the analysis process.
[146] Bernard, *Research Methods...*,p.463.
[147] See Appendix A for one hour of text of Taalliraq's interview transcript, which is also included in audio form on the accompanying CD.

throughout the thesis to make, in as much as it is possible, the analysis process more evident, and to engage the reader more closely in a conversation with at least one elder. This recording reflected many of the other conversations recorded, although each conversation is highly individual. Her presence in the conversation text and the themes she presents are similar to those of the other videos analyzed in depth.

I chose to work with Taalliraq's interview because I felt comfortable in asking her to focus on her recording. I lived in the same sealing camps as her family during the summers 1972-1975 in Nattiqhiurvik, and her birth mother Iřittuaq was like a grandmother to us children in the community during the winters. My choice here relates to the assumption that Inuit epistemology relies on strong relationships for accuracy. The context of our collaboration in the research goes well beyond an interview and a week's translation. I also feel more ethically grounded in this context, because we can discuss the use and application of the transcript, or share any levels of discomfort more freely given our many years of association.

It was important that Taalliraq's daughter Lena had the skills and experience to read the work being done, which created a more transparent process. Given Lena's awareness of the work, she could also further convey the context to her mother. When Taalliraq received her interview transcript by mail, she told me in a phone conversation that she was thrilled that all her children will have her words *uqauhummaripti'ni* (in our real language). Taalliraq also said that having never seen her own words on paper before, she was pleasantly surprised how interesting and informative she "sounded": *tuharniqtualuunniqqunga.* Taalliraq had enjoyed reading it and had a good laugh with Nilaulaaq over the phone about how odd it was to see *Nattilingmiutummarik* (real Nattilingmiut dialect) come to life on paper. As I told Taalliraq how much I appreciated learning from this detailed work with her recording, she said that if Inuit knowledge was all put to paper, there would be more books in Inuktitut than in *Qablunaatitut* (English). I agreed with her and replied, "Look at all the paper created over just one hour of speech," referring to the attached appendix which is almost 30 pages in each language.[148]

[148] Copies of the thesis document sent to the communities and to Arctic College have the entire Inuktitut text, whereas the copies used in the review and defense have only a sample page of the Inuktitut text.

Video Survey

The transcription of Taalliraq's interview followed the review of the 16 video sessions to revisit the experience through being more of an observer than a participant. In this broad survey of 16 hours of footage, I reflected on both the interview contents and process. I watched the videos until I could draft different possibilities for the detailed analysis based on the interviews themselves. I used this strategy to develop an analysis framework that was broadly "grounded" in the experience of the interviews.

To develop an understanding of the Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives on conflict and change, I reflected primarily on their use of language in expressing their views. In Grounded Theory analysis a process called "in vivo coding" is used whereby "the words of real people [are used] to name themes."[149] The general findings at this stage were consistent with the interview framework that Nilaulaaq and I used. Many comments related to before settlement, after settlement, perceived reasons or causes for change, and injunctions they lived by in the old days. However, intermingled with these themes were local histories, personal narratives and cultural demonstrations of games and songs. Elders had recorded was what they wanted recorded for communal memory.

In this first overview of the videos I made notes on themes for analysis and tried to understand how all of the information recorded fit into our framework for inquiry. Examples of the narratives include, for instance, how to avoid drowning when one falls through thin ice, how to catch birds without guns, and how to heal a boil using a lemming skin, or heal an open wound with dry caribou skin membrane. These kinds of narratives were in the background, confirming a sense that the elders felt that specific areas of traditional knowledge relating to survival will always be useful and relevant. Other narratives related to personal history, community history, and early contact history. This speaks to their role as historians and knowledge keepers in an oral society. As they advance in years the elders see the importance of recording oral histories with current technologies for younger and future generations. The elders are therefore interested in participating in the recording, sharing and transmitting of this communal memory heritage. I did not specifically prompt them for oral histories, but Nilaulaaq, as an elder with similar concerns as the other elders, was many times in conversation with them piecing together the family lineages, personal narratives and histories of contact.

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[149] Bernard, *Research Methods*...,p.464.

Grounded Theory is an inductive method of analysis, and thus whether elements seem particularly logical or not, the fullness of the knowledge is understood through being open to all possibilities with a great deal of interaction with the data. I therefore ask the reader to be patient here as I describe now the process of juggling between languages and ontologies. In reflecting on the language and the content of the interviews, a word that came into clear focus early on was *piřřutiit*, which relates to causes or reasons for negative experiences.[150] Either unprompted or prompted, the reasons or causes for change and conflict were expressed very unambiguously, regardless of whether the source or experience of conflict was expressed directly or indirectly. There is no blaming tone, but more a clear statement of "this is the *cause* of the effect or condition I describe". Each interview had at least one explanation of cause, and some had 7 or 8 such explanations. Other themes that emerged along with *piřřutiit* were:

a) *uqau'ři-* (verb) relating to injunctions for living (both preventative and corrective measures);
b) *taiphumani* generally meaning before settlement;
c) *ublumi* today, now, contemporary life;
d) *aturninga* the usefulness or relevance of the old ways today; and
e) *aksřuruutauřut* hardships faced, challenges (as a result of the conditions or circumstances described).

I also noticed with regard to the theme *aksřuruutauřut* (hardships, issues, concerns), that while we had invited local histories and narratives in our interview guideline, the hardships, issues and concerns were the only category to be considered unsolicited. We also did not specifically ask for their opinion on the usefulness of the old ways. We operated on the assumption that the old ways are useful in today's context. However, the theme *aturninga* (the relevance of the old ways today) illumined how the elders viewed the usefulness of the old ways in more specific terms. At times, both *aksřuruutauřut* (hardships, issues, concerns) and *aturninga* (the usefulness of the old ways today) were expressed indirectly, or not prefaced with those labels, but they emerged as themes to complete the framework of interrelated themes nonetheless.

[150] The suffix *–řřutiit* also means instruments (without the final *–it* it would be singular: *piřřuti (pijjuti)*.

During the video analysis, Nilaulaaq and I were in communication and visited over Christmas of 2004. She had a complete set of the videos which she also reviewed for content. Being a Nattilingmiut elder herself, with a similar context of knowledge and similar reference points to the interviewees, she was mainly concerned with making sure the record of knowledge was complete. She prepared taped commentaries as she reviewed the videos to create a record of areas of traditional knowledge she saw could be elaborated on for posterity. In doing so she became familiar with the same videos I was reviewing, and so we would discuss them. She clarified words, names, and concepts, and we spoke in general about her understanding of how these terms are used today.

Of the 16 videos, I chose Taalliraq's interview for transcription, and 13 for in-depth review. In making these choices, to control for researcher selectivity, I made observation notes on my reasoning for choosing Taalliraq's interview over others, which I have summarized in the previous in the subsection entitled "transcription". In addition, I carefully analyzed the two recordings that were to be excluded in the in-depth video review. There were very few comments in two of the videos that fit in with the main themes that answered the research questions. Bernard calls this kind of reflection "negative case analysis."[151] All of the information in these two videos contained community and personal narratives, and examples of traditional knowledge the speakers wanted to record for the youth. The review of these videos confirmed that the elders' participation in the recording affirmed their role as knowledge holders, with the implied statement that they consider their knowledge useful today. These two cases ended up not being negative case analysis material, because there was nothing in their contents that contradicted the other videos. The conversations just did not evolve to speak about conflict and change. This may have been due to our own communication of the project, or due to their disinterest with the topic, or any other number of reasons. In sum, 14 of the 16 videos related strongly to themes on conflict and change, and the two that did not informed other aspects of the analysis and did not in anyway detract from or contradict statements in the other videos.

Video Analysis

Once I scanned the corpus of videos for themes as explained above, I watched 13 of the videos a second time in detail. I used large 12"x18"sheets to include all the information from

[151] Bernard, *Research Methods...*, p.470.

each interview on one page. The use of exemplar quotes or verbatim quotes from respondents is "one of the most important methods in grounded theory text analysis." [152] In Grounded Theory, "text" is understood to be print or other narrative media such as film.[153] I wrote verbatim and summary comments for each recording, in Inuktitut using the following diagram:

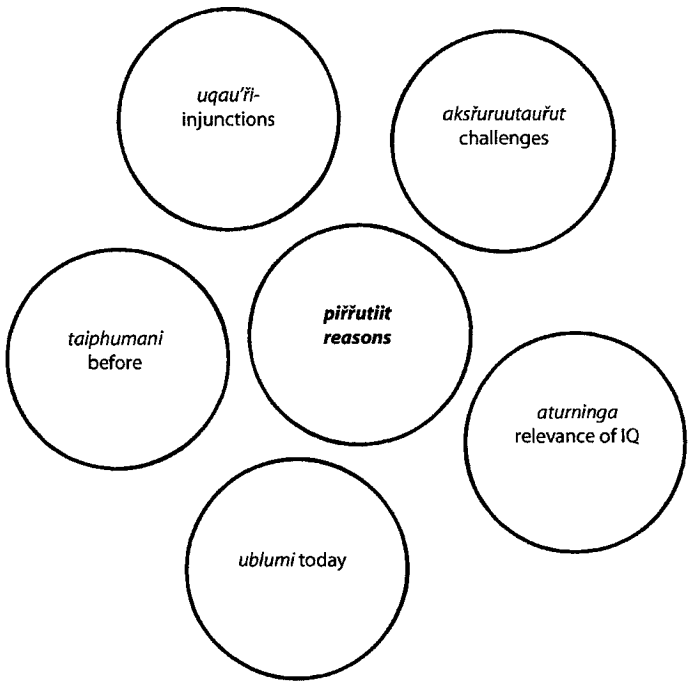

Diagram 1a

The circles above were used like sorting baskets. A map of each interview was created with the details of responses in each category listed in point form within the circle to which it corresponds. I made notes on vocabulary used within each theme, and then discussed the words with Nilaulaaq. I then reflected on the survey maps of the interviews and compared the maps to my original notes on the first video survey.

In order to improve validity and objectivity of the research and to better control for researcher selectivity, I switched "back and forth between emic and etic perspectives."[154] Having both interview and field note data, I found more consistencies, inconsistencies and negative evidence between themes, and I also became more aware of variations on themes. For example, elders generally described the past as being peaceful, harmonious and orderly, a picture

[152] Id., p. 471.
[153] Id., p.477, with the example of Cowan and O'Brien's study in 1990 using 56 movies.
[154] Bernard, *Research Methods...*,p.430.

confirmed by other elders in Rasing's research.[155] Having two sets of notes on the videos, I could see that many while elders were positive about the past some had very clear cautionary statements about how "positive" the past was, for example there were two personal stories of being saved from infanticide and one of extreme neglect in childhood.

I also made observations on the comparisons between the video survey and the in-depth video analysis in order to further reflect on how I was "seeing" things at different stages of the analysis. In the first round, for instance, I noticed a more emotional and personal quality to my notes. In these first notes, I was revisiting the conversation and the presence of the speaker without the concerns I had at the time of filming for keeping the camera running or other logistics. In trying to be open in this round of exploration, I wrote details like Hakiqtaaq's description of the sound of her grandfather's labored breath – her *hi'naaqti* (defender), and his endearment to her *hi'tigiřaujummaaksřaraaluk* (does this little one seek defense of some kind?), and her detailed description of his giving her *mamarnirnik* (the select morsels of food). This whole scene came back into focus when I looked at the macrotheme notes in Inuktitut as it spoke of the importance of relationships, the caution about the needless defense of children, and the importance of food in bonding relationships. This story also illustrated how even though there was a strong principle regarding the needless defense of children, some children were defended as an endearment.

The next step I took was to translate the Inuktitut interview maps to develop a file with the comments and statements typed in English, to be used as exemplar statements in analyzing the themes, and writing up the thesis. I kept track of key Inuktitut concepts by keeping them in Roman Orthography Inuktitut within the English texts. Below is a summary of the numbers of entries in each macrotheme:

Macrotheme	***Uqau'ři-* injunctions**	***Taiphumani* before**	***Ublumi* today**	***Aksřuruutauřut* hardships**	***Pirřutiit* reasons/causes**	***Aturninga* relevance**
Number of entries	98	96	68	22	59	30
How many people made up those comments	all (17)	all (17)	all but one (16/17)	all but 8 (9/17)	all (17)	all but 3 (14/17)

Overview of macrotheme entries from 13 interviews. **Table 2**

[155] Rasing, *Too Many People...*, p.1.

The bulk of the statements were from the themes "injunctions" and "before" with all 17 people from the 13 recordings participating in comments within those two themes. This is more evidence of how Inuit elders emphasize the positive to express areas of concern. With few exceptions (described below), statements in "injunctions" and "before settlement" were all positive in nature and expressive of Inuit value for social order.

All 17 elders also expressed their views about causes for changes they described. This demonstrates that they have thought about the causes and that they express those views easily. Views about today's life were readily shared as well. The category of "usefulness [of old ways]" was relatively strong at 14 out of 17 people offering comments. However, the comments were proportionately fewer than groups mentioned above. This is likely due to the art of indirect communication in Inuktitut. A lot of the usefulness of the old ways is expressed indirectly in the detailed descriptions of the old ways. Finally, "hardships" was the category with the least participation at 9 out of 17. Only half of the elders explicitly expressed hardships, concerns or challenges they face. Inuit elders are extremely magnanimous, and so the fact that half of them expressed direct concerns is something to be understood as significant. The other issue to keep in mind is that for the other half, hardships, concerns or challenges may be expressed indirectly, and embedded in comments like "I wish for very good meat...", meaning their younger members do not or cannot hunt, or are not sharing the way they were supposed to according to Inuit traditions. A comment like this could well be regarding any or all of these issues: proper nutritious diet, continuity of the old ways, social bonding through food sharing, and so on. In an effort to be non-confrontational, which is a very strong code within Inuit culture, Inuit elders often do not express certain concerns or issues directly, and so in this analysis extra attention is paid to the context of statements made. Later on, under the section "Analysis" I describe how these macrothemes were subthemed, matched, linked and compared in order to answer the research questions.

Epistemological Discoveries

During the field work in June of 2004 Nilaulaaq and Taalliraq demonstrated a seal bone game called *inugait*. This was done for the youth on one of the visits to Taalliraq's home in Gjoa Haven. *Inugait* are game pieces made up of the multiple bones of the seal's flippers. They are

stored in a skin bag and dumped on the floor, to create village scenes in different seasons and recreate a day of hunting. They may also be used for a number of other games, including competitive ones, and games of chance involving two or more opponents. When each game is over, the collection is scooped up and dumped out once again to continue the fun.

I remember playing this game in a tent on rainy days in Nattiqhiurvik in the early 1970s in Taalliraq's summer camp, and Nilaulaaq taught us some variations in elementary school in Taloyoak, but I was sketchy on the rules we used to play by. In the thematic analysis of the interviews the game *inugait* emerged as a metaphor for me. At one stage of the game, the *inugait* are arranged to form a certain framework, as do data as described in the video analysis section above. In the next stage of the analysis, like in the game, the data were gathered, scrambled and re-tossed, as if I was starting all over in a sense. I felt I was trying to keep up with the rules as they kept on changing, and I had to patiently figure out what was going on. The data and themes remained the same, but they were interacting in ever new ways. As I observed what was happening and tried carefully not to manipulate the information back to something known or familiar, the themes were dramatically rearranged.

At first, using the 6 macrothemes identified and previously discussed, the sheets I developed as a framework to gather information from each taped session were laid out thus:

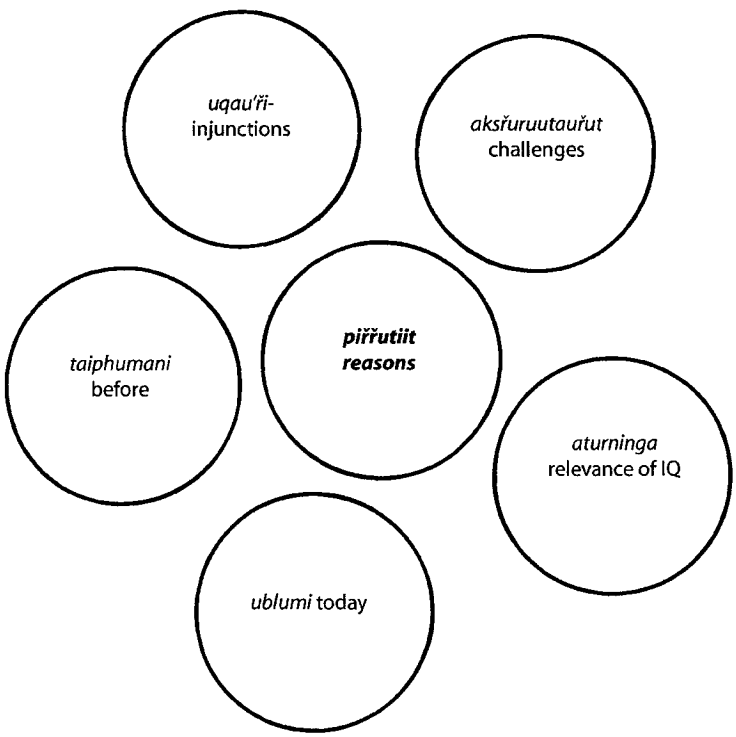

Diagram 1b

Pirřutiit seemed to be clear in many of the videos and was therefore placed at the center of the diagram, with the other themes in relation to it. As explained in the section above on the in-depth video review, I had used this format to record exemplar statements in the detailed video review. However, when I reviewed the actual collected comments from the contents of the interviews, I realized that *pirřutiit* were no longer in the center, but that *uqau'ři-* were more central. When I heard the strong comments about reasons or causes for change during the video analysis, I heard them as a focus, because they were affirmed by strong indirect comments. But when I mapped out all the verbal comments over numerous interviews, I saw, through both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of theme group items that the collective approach of the elders was consistent with the Inuk tendency to be more indirect.

So after I closely analyzed the videos, the framework looked more like this:

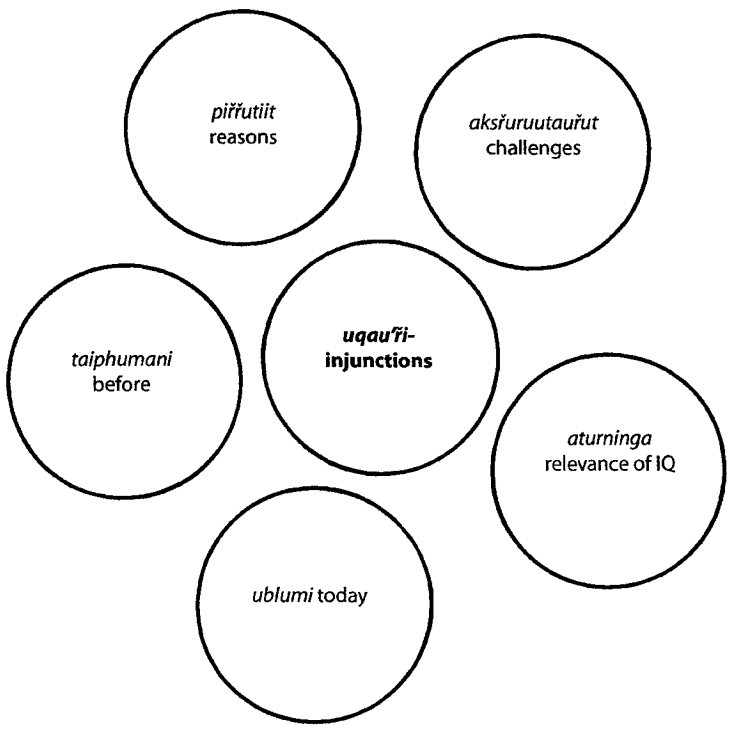

Diagram 2

The analysis (game) still contained the themes I started out with. Like the *inugait* game in a subsequent toss, the pieces had a different focus and organization, or new meanings assigned. The overall analysis didn't make sense to me until the injunctions for living were the focal point. In part, I believe the reason for this shift, is that the Inuit way is to put positive things at the center of focus, rather than potentially negative things (even though the negative

came across strongly in the video analyses). Negative or unpleasant things seem to be dealt with in one of two ways: indirectly through hinting, joking, teasing (*uřřirititttiniq*, making to observe) or directly and swiftly through strong comments (*uqau'řiniq* and *huakturniq*).

In the overall picture, the elders emphasized injunctions and ways of a good, orderly life rather than focusing on the relationship breakdown within which they reported to be struggling today. Their negative statements are no less strong and direct, but overall are consistently presented using more neutral or positive-toned facts, statements and opinions relating to the order of the old ways. It was then that I realized that I needed a method of keeping track of the interrelations between themes. I devised color coded cue cards which included all statements made within each theme. The colors chosen did not have any symbolic meaning, and were only functional as a tracking device. With the color coding, I could easily re-group the cue cards without losing track of the original macrotheme in which they were placed.

Analysis

When I looked back at the main research question and the related questions, I could see how the answers could be found in the six paired or cross-linked macrothemes. The links between macrothemes were achieved through a careful analysis of the statements within each macrotheme with the research questions in mind.

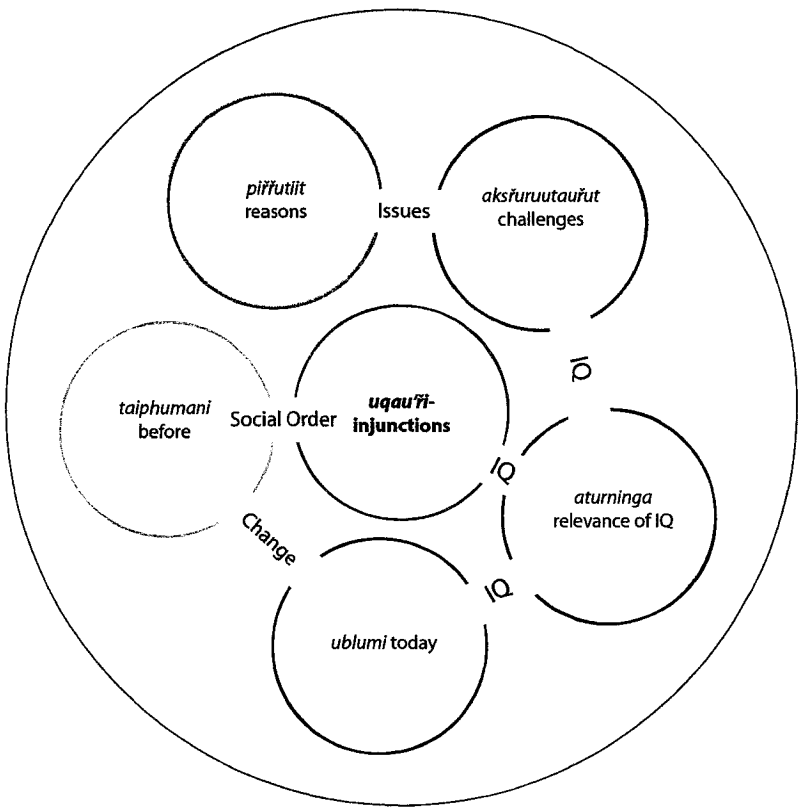

Diagram 3

To answer the main question - according to the Nattilingmiut elders what were the principles, practices and injunctions helped them to deal with conflict in pre-settlement times - the comments grouped in *taiphumani*/before and *uqauři*-/injunctions were grouped together as a new theme "social order". This new theme contained all the statements relating to principles, practices and injunctions applied in creating and maintaining social order.

To answer the question of how the Nattilingmiut elders relate their experiences from being nomadic as young adults to being settled into communities, a comparative analysis was made of the comments in themes *taiphumani*/before and *ublumi*/today, which when paired, formed the new theme "change".

Causes, hardships, challenges or concerns cited in relation to change are analyzed together under a blended theme called "issues". Nonetheless both original macrothemes *piřřutiit*/causes and *aksřuruutauřut*/hardships and challenges, are treated individually to allow for comparison between the two themes. The elders' expressions of the relevance of the old ways in today's context are evaluated on their own as a theme group (*aturninga*/relevance) and then cross-linked to the "social order", "change" and "issues" summaries in a discussion.

Macrothemes

The following is detailed analysis of grouped macrothemes beginning with "social order", then "change" and then "issues" and "relevance of IQ today".

Social Order

In order to answer the question of how conflict was dealt with, I surveyed the statements made under the themes of "today" and "injunctions". All but a few key statements relate to the prevention of conflict. In regard to the presence of conflict these two statements demonstrate what many other elders expressed:

> There may have been conflict back then, but I did not hear about it very often at all. Quviqtilik

> People had some mild conflicts back then. Kunnaaq

In the statements regarding how to deal specifically with conflict that arises or how to restore interpersonal harmony, there were two common aspects: gathering and speaking. Gathering could be over food, games, drum dancing, or visiting with a specific, albeit implicit goal to speak about the issue. In these forums of gathering, words of wisdom and

guidance were spoken, whether by elders or parents, to correct the behaviors or perceptions of the parties involved. The elders' role in dealing with conflict and social tension was authoritative. Nuluq explained, "Even adults back then were corrected by elders, and they would not ever answer back." Iminngaaq pointed out, "Even sometimes people were made to *ilungiq-* (grieve) as scolding was understood to be a way of healing." However Arnahaaq stated that, "[the ones being corrected] were to be treated with moderation and not agitated." Arnahaaq's statement is similar to what Taalliraq and Nilaulaaq said on page 126 lines 25-27.[156] And Nuliajuk similarly stated: "People could restore harmony if they spoke to one another and not out of animosity." It could be concluded that both directness and compassion in speech was required by those giving guidance to others in such gatherings.

Conflicts were not to be held inside a person or allowed to fester, as Aqqaq explained, "Back then if something was not verbalized, it would cause problems and not be fixed." Iliktaaq further explained the function of talking: "Something held inside a person was released to be gone." When speaking together to restore harmony, sometimes there were strong words of guidance to be adhered to by those who needed to correct their behavior, as Aqqaq recalled, "We were guided and told how to be..." The verbalization of issues also served to correct perceptions or clear the air between parties, as Iliktaaq explained, "Back then families used to talk together to restore harmony." And Arnahaaq stated,

> People were supposed to visit one another when they had a problem to solve with them. They would go to their place and talk to them and the problem would be solved and they would be good to each other again. Arnahaaq

Whether conflict was addressed directly through talking, or admitting wrongdoing to a shaman, or indirectly through competitive games, once it was dealt with, as Arnahaaq explained, "the problem was left behind," as if erased from memory. This idea of restored reputation within the community, confirmed with conversation after conversation, was novel and impressive for a number of youth.

As previously mentioned, Nilaulaaq and I did not inquire as to what kinds of conflicts people had, as this seemed much too direct to ask. Where people did offer examples on their own, the conflicts that they mentioned were related to behaviors such as stealing, being unkind, gossiping and undisclosed infidelity, all of which would create unwanted social tensions. The elders also described how people were corrected and guided when they failed to respect social values such as sharing, hard work, and interdependence. It seemed that a person, by their very lack of character, could threaten the group's harmony and well-being.

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[156] See Appendix A, also Taalliraq's comment p.125, lines 23-24.

This made others wary of them, and their undesirable behavior the likely subject of to an elders' exhortation.

By far, however, the approach to dealing with conflict seems to be that of prevention. The notions of preventing conflict, sharing material needs and surviving were intertwined as can be noted in these statements:

> In most ways we survived by principles known for living right, doing good, and being kind and good to others.[157] Nirlungaŕuq

> The people did well through sharing food and possessions, and by talking things through. Qauqŕuaq

> If you give to those who don't have anything, the hunters will be blessed with plenty. Kunnaaq

Themes of conflict prevention included a reinforcement of fear for the unseen, a strong value for parents' authority and parent-child responsibilities, a strong prohibition on negative gossip, the value of the wisdom of the elders as expressed in words and injunctions, a reinforcement of relatives' bonds through sharing in life's necessities, using kinship terms, and participating in rituals of eating, visiting, playing games and parting. In the category of *uqauŕi-* (injunctions), age group A, (younger elders) stated more injunctions relating to food and raising children. Age group B, (older elders) were more varied in their responses, but the most participation was within the subthemes of gossip and respect for parents. Both groups A and B participated equally in terms of numbers of comments. Group A's comments were more practical in nature; in their lives, gossip and disrespect for parents has increasingly become the norm. Group B, however had more comments which were attitudinal in nature; having been raised in an environment where prohibition on gossip and respect for parents was the norm, they may see this as more critical to today's issues. Group C (the oldest elder) participated in comments regarding how to parent. As for differences in participation between men and women, it is noted that men were more varied in their comments, and women participated more within the themes of gossip, husband and wives, food and child-raising. Men, however, contributed comments in all themes without distinct patterns becoming noticeable.

Examples of comments made by different elders from each of these subthemes are presented in Table 3a and 3b on the following pages. Together they paint a picture of how the elders' pre-settlement life was ordered to prevent most kinds of conflict.

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[157] The Inuktitut words he used were: *inuuttiarniq, pittiarniq, inuuqatigiittiarnirlu.*

Nattilingmiut Conflict Prevention in Pre-settlement	Table 3a
Theme	**Examples**
Fear of the unseen	"Back then people were afraid of the invisible." Niviuvak "People were afraid of the unseen, and because they had shamans, they would tell their doings quickly..." Arnahaaq "They were afraid of the unseen back then. For instance, it was said that if a person stole something a hand would appear to grab them." Qauqřuaq
Parents' authority and responsibilities	**Authority of parents:** "It was expected that you respected your parents and obeyed them." Iliktaaq "Back then parents had authority and we knew not to mouth back." Hakiqtaaq "Only when we have no more parents do we have the power to *ihumaksřuq-* (determine things on our own)." Aqqaq "One must always *naalak-* (respect, listen, obey) their parents." Iminngaaq **Reponsibilities of offspring to parents and parents to offspring:** "Back then they had food together with their parents, sharing housing and their dogs with them." Quviqtilik "New couples were not always happy in their relationship....they would be guided and told by their parents on how to be happy." Nirlungařuq "A watchful eye was kept over children at all times." Hakiqtaaq "Children were not needlessly defended back then, so that they would live a good life." Nuliajuk "Children were forbidden to listen in on adult conversations. They were sent away first." Iqallířuq "Children always had to work hard to learn from their parents....in efforts to become capable of contributing." Quviqtilik
Prohibition on negative gossip	"It was forbidden to gossip about others doings, as it was said to break up relationships. It caused turmoil in the communities." Iminngaaq "People were not allowed to inquire for gossip or listen in on others' business." Arnahaaq "Back then we did even give any thought to gossip because it was forbidden." Hakiqtaaq

Nattilingmiut Conflict Prevention in Pre-settlement, continued	Table 3b
Theme	**Examples**
Elders' wisdom and injunctions	"People were guided by their elders back then." Arnahaaq "We must follow our elders in everything related to *inuuttiarniq* (good living)." Uttaq "Life will be shortened if one does not *naalak-* (listen), *malik-* (follow) or *tuhaa-* (give ear to) the *uqau'řiniit* (injunctions)." Angmalluq "The sayings are followed *i&uarnirmut* (to be well)." Nujaqqiq
Sharing in life's necessities	"Food was what bonded us as people together." Iqalliřuq "In order to have harmonious relationship they shared their food and helped each other with their clothing needs....Food strengthens relationships." Hakiktaaq "Food is the source of familial harmony." Iliktaaq "Food is the only thing that can bond people as they never forget the kindness." Nuliajuk "Apportion the meat to your elders and bring them of your fresh catch." Angmalluq "People were helped with clothing. This brought people closer together." Naalungiaq "In our joined dwellings we even pounded blubber for all the lamps, all was shared." Nuluq "They shared each other's meat reserves....and gave people of their belongings to use without thought of payment." Qauqřuaq "Food was always divided and shared, always put in a common place for everyone." Uttaq
Use of kinship terms	"The use of kinship terms brings us closer together; it promotes harmony and bonds families, as does food."Angmalluq "They even gave each other kinship terms based on the names of the pieces of meat of the seal..." Qauqřuaq
Rituals of eating, visiting, playing games and parting	"They ate together in one place and they shared meat by *amiqqaaq-* (a meat sharing ritual)" Aqqaq "There was a [food sharing] ritual called *hanirairniq...*" Haqiktaaq "We had all kinds of games to keep our relationships strong..." Aqqaq "It was expected that you would help someone who was embarking on a trip." Iqalliřuq "When going on a long trip people first assembled together." Aqqaq "Back then we would go each morning and each evening to our relatives' places to see them." Quviqtilik "Men and women were required to visit relatives each morning." Niviuvak

Change

The subthemes within "before settlement" and "today" were so remarkably similar that I checked them three times for stray topics. Elders often speak in very precise terms and have well thought out words, and in their speech they often made their own comparisons in Inuktitut, *taiphumani....ublumiuliqturli....* "back then it was.....and today it is now....".

The subthemes between *taiphumani* (before settlement) and *ublumi* (today) were further grouped thus:

Piqutiit (material goods) *Niqiit* (food)	Material being
Inuuttiarniq and *Pittiarniq* (right living, doing right)	Social action
Tuq&urauhiit (kinship terms) *Ilagiingniq* and *ikajuqtigiingniq* (extended kin and interdependence)	Relationships
Angajuqqaanik naalangniq (parental authority) *Nutaqqanik kamattiarniq* (parenting) *Angajuqqaat* (parents)	Parents

Table 4

The table on the following page compares the statements made relating to "before settlement" and "today". In the elders' view, life in the past was generally orderly, purposeful, guided by strong principles, and dependent upon principled interactions, rituals and beliefs. Today's world for them is characterized by breakdown of relationships and belief systems that supported Inuit values in the past.

Comparative Summaries of Changes Noted		Table 5
Grouped Subthemes	**Before Settlement**	**Today**
Material being	sharing, interdependence, material hardship, precision in craft and maintenance	not sharing, lack of ritual in eating together, belongings not cared for or hard to care for, hardship due to lack of employment and money
Social action	gossip forbidden and almost unheard of, conflict resolved in the presence of others, collective forms of resolution, guidance provided by *angajuk&iit* (oldest ones), fear of the unseen as a barrier to wrongdoing, sharing of all things important to community well being, talking to solve tensions was important.	too many influences available, different Inuit groups put together in one community, inappropriate use of local radio to scold or correct others, not afraid of the unseen and not respectful of the older ones, youth caught between two ways, new ways of healing not rooted in Inuit tradition, gossip uncontrolled and harmful, elders are not esteemed as an authority, people answer back when told something, people are not committed to the old ways.
Relationships	elaborate kinship term system that was very precise and made relationships strong, hunting together and living *qariariik-* (joined porches) made for strong relationships, harmonious families at the core of the culture, extended family support, helping others constantly, needs were met through people helping each other, ritually visiting relatives and elders every morning and night, young people didn't tire easily, couples relied on each other, no single parents, rituals of gathering before a long trip, some abuse or neglect was part of what happened but not prevalent or acceptable.	kinship terms improperly used or not used, thus relationships are weakened, there are so many youth it is hard to teach them all the land skills, people move out on their own to avoid being accountable to parents, today *qariariik-* (the joined porch arrangement) has not been practiced for a long time, rejection of some relatives and favoring others, alcohol abuse and couple relationship breakdown, lack of interdependence among people, people leave their children at home to go do things, impulsive behaviors noted, youth tire easily, people focused on their own needs and not on the needs of the group.
Parents	parents guided new couples, parents were the authority without any others to depend on, answering back to parents was forbidden, parents-in-law were also respected, children were watched over carefully, children had constant chores, children not *hi'nigiřauřuq* (defended needlessly).	children often left without being watched, many more children and less supervision than the past, many adult children do not have the skills to hunt and be independent, people are confrontational with their parents-in-law, there are many single parents, the authorities today are the government and the social workers and not the parents, parents are afraid of displeasing their offspring, parents unquestioningly defend children in disputes.

For the elders we spoke with, life before settlement was more conducive to well-being than today, even for those with negative evidence examples. When scrutinizing the negative case evidence provided, it becomes evident that some elders reject certain aspects of life before settlement. One example of a practice that was rejected was infanticide. Two women mentioned being rescued from this fate. Both rejected infanticide on moral grounds (that it was not right to take a life). Although infanticide was part of the Nattilingmiut culture, these women emphasized that it was due to the constant struggle for life. Infanticide was therefore *ajurna'mat* (beyond control). Another example of rejecting the past as positive was the case of a man who suffered as an *iliarřuk* (orphan). He said that life was generally very good and positive for those with parents, but for those without parents, life was hard, even with the cultural injunctions to care for the parentless. In comparing before settlement and today however, in relation to *iliarřuit* (orphans), this man stated that it is not much better because now there are so many children that there are not enough adults to train and look after them. In his estimation life is just as difficult for those without parents in today's world but for different reasons. One hardship was exchanged for another. Also, consider these two statements of concern, cross linked here from the theme "challenges":

> It used to be that people would only stay up all night in order to hunt, or with some other specific work purpose. Today I worry so much for all the youth staying up all night with things to get into. This is a cause of great concern. Iliktaaq

> I am struck by how things have changed: some have nothing and some have enough. We are burdened by the problems brought by material belongings, and changes in our language and culture. Qauqřuaq

The notion of one hardship exchanged for another is echoed in other statements made by the elders. The constant struggle for survival through hunting has been replaced with a constant struggle within the new system for work, money and maintaining familial bonds.

Material Being

There were twice as many statements in *taiphumani*, before settlement, than in *ublumi*, today, from both food and material goods themes. The statements from *taiphumani*, before settlement, are mostly positive, and statements about *ublumi*, today, are generally

showing concern or negative breakdown of something valued in the past. The fact that there are twice as many positive comments is consistent again with the elders' tendency to present issues in a positively centered and indirect way.

Food

The food statements from the theme *taiphumani*, before settlement, are all positive statements, and there were no references to hunger or starvation.
Nuluq stated: "Our food was the best part of life back then; food was delicious."
Food statements from *taiphumani*, before settlement, mostly related to sharing and interdependence. One of the interviewees, Hakiqtaaq explained, "Meat sharing was important, nothing was hoarded to one's self, all was for sharing." This value for sharing was reaffirmed in a ritual called *amiqqaaqtut*, which a number of participants described. In this ritual a single morsel of meat was shared in a circle in a clockwise direction. There was also a ritual called *hanirairniq* that Hakiqtaaq described, in which a piece of meat was carried in one's mouth to another iglu to give to someone else. In the statements regarding food today, there were mostly statements of concern that food is not shared or apportioned to relatives. As Iqallirŭuq explained, "Food was what bonded us as people together." Food strengthens the bonds between people; not sharing food weakens social bonding. A number of questions follow to seek to reinforce the Inuit value for conflict prevention, for instance, what kinds of food sharing practices can be developed in today's context? Could a return of *amiqqaarniq* ritual strengthen relationships? What other food rituals can support the reinforcement of Inuit cultural values for sharing, connection to the land, and social connection?

Social Action

In the life "before settlement" macrotheme, the elders articulated the strong principles that guided their actions between and among one another. There were prohibitions on gossip and defending others needlessly. People were expected to share all their belongings and food, and they were enjoined to speak with others to resolve tensions. Conflict was resolved collectively and guidance was provided by the oldest ones. Fear of the unseen was reinforced by warnings spoken to children and sayings spoken to remind adults. For the

elders, today's life is contrasted against the pre-settlement time by uninhibited gossip, not sharing food, space and material items, no strong accountability to others or elders, a break down in parenting principles, and diminished fear of the unseen. Through further community-based research the role of different teachings of the elders in social interactions could be explored. The youth who participated in the research, for instance, commented favorably on the idea of controlling gossip through a return of the elders' teachings.

Relationships

Under the theme of relationships in the past, the elders portray a picture of well being, harmony and interdependence. This is reinforced through the use of kinship terms, hunting and living together, a ritual visit to relatives every morning and evening, eagerness and readiness to help others, and a ritual of gathering when leaving for a long trip. Some described a degree of abuse and neglect, but it was neither prevalent nor acceptable. The elders contrast this with today's life through their statements of kinship terms neglected or misused, problems in conveying their values to youth, who are numerous, and a lack of interdependence among people, as individuals focus on their own needs and not those of the group anymore. A question for further community-based research would ask what ways the elders' teachings can be conveyed widely within the communities and how a better understanding of the principles can be reinforced. For example, Nuliajuk says, "Today people do not live together *qariariik-* (with joined porches). I have not seen tents joined together the way they used to be."[158] Could a local demonstration of *qariariik-* help convey the closeness and kinship that the elders value to the younger generations? Through a public demonstration which involves a remembering experience for elders, could the symbolism of *qariariik-* be shared and discussed in intergenerational dialogue?

Parents

The comments on parenting from *taiphumani*, before settlement, related to how the parents' authority was the central organizing force of life. This notion is reinforced by the negative case statement of an individual who was an *iliarřuk* (orphan). Such a child lacked

[158] Both iglus and tents were joined through building adjoining porch tunnels. Extended families were reinforced in their interdependence by this sharing of adjoined shelters although practically in the cold winter it provided extra shelter. The elders described the function as a social one however.

in the protective authority of parents in a system that relied such authority as a central organizing influence, from provision of life's necessities to skill building, to belonging within a group. Children were guided and watched over carefully, and had chores and obligations. Parents-in-law were respected as much as parents. Answering back to parents or older people was forbidden. Parental authority has been replaced by foreign systems (government, social workers, schools, justice system). The new generations of adults are considered by the elders to have difficulties in parenting. Examples of parenting concerns the elders expressed included lack of proper supervision of children, lack of sufficient hunting and sewing skills to provide for the family independently, disrespect for in-laws, and disassociation from parents and elders. In addition, the problem of parents conveying their advice is summed up by Quviqtilik: "The parents have become impotent to give advice for fear of displeasing their offspring". This issue is further explained below in the "Issues" section. Another question for further research would enquire how an understanding of Inuit systems of family can be restored within the community.

In considering gender and age differences within the responses in the analysis, it was noted that all age groups participated more in statements from the pre-settlement time, and most of those statements were positive and educational in nature. Although it seemed that variation was the norm in terms of content, it was noted that the two older groups (mid 70s to mid 80s and 90+) were positive about the past but not sentimental. The youngest group (mid 60s to early 70s) made the most statements about loss of culture. The oldest ones made fewer comments expressing regret for cultural loss, and the oldest one made none. One could surmise that the reason for the oldest person not having any comment would be due to age, but in fact she made comments that dismissed many experiences of the past as particularly desirable, even though she was consistently positive about the past in terms of its orderliness. In terms of gender, in the categories of "before settlement" and "today", participation of men and women is consistent with the gender ratio of the participants in this study.

Issues

While the Inuk way seems more to avoid laying blame (*pahik&iittailimařut*), the causes and reasons for the changes perceived by the elders we spoke with were clearly stated.

We inquired about the causes or reasons for change so that we could think about the root problems from the elders' perspectives, but often elders offered their own unprompted perspectives on causes for changes they described. To counteract the difficult changes on their terms, it seemed logical to understand what the sources of change are from their perspectives and experiences.

The six theme groups that emerged from the comments relating to *pirrutiit* (causes/reasons) were: The introduction of school, the lack of sharing food, being settled into one place, being exposed to too many new influences, a weakening of family ties, and the erosion of parental and elder authority. There were not any patterns noted either between age groups or genders in relation to *pirrutiit* (causes/reasons). However by re-evaluating the themes for gender and age differences I noticed that causes relating to being settled into one place had the most participation and the most comments in comparison to all subthemes in *pirrutiit* (causes/reasons). Being settled into one place and being exposed to many new influences may be *ajurna'mat* (beyond control), however if this is a key reason for breakdown of culture and source of conflict from the elders' perspective, the question can be asked: can communities dialogue on ways to live together in one place that better reflect Inuit traditional values? What are the currently developing mechanisms that address the issues related to coerced settlement and blended groups? For example, what is the role of regional sports, fishing derbies, and seal hunting contests? What other activities strengthen collective identities and interaction? Further studies could look at the impact of communal activities on community identity in the midst of cultural change.

The next strongest theme was related to the education system and the introduction of schools. In relation to this and other causes: how can mechanisms be developed that deal with issues in education, sharing food, weakened family ties, and the erosion of parental and elder authority? How can these mechanisms be developed on the elders' terms, given their experience and knowledge of pre-settlement conditions of harmony? Through the development and introduction of such mechanisms, could a concerted effort be made to strengthen *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* in the school system, and could programs be introduced to strengthen family ties, food sharing, and the role of elders and parents in the Inuit way? This study would suggest that intergenerational dialogue would provide the answers to such questions.

Some elders offered statements of their struggles and hardships in today's context. This theme group had the lowest participation rate,[159] however we did not specifically inquire for statements regarding struggles. From that perspective, the participation rate at 50% can be understood to be high. The three areas of explicit concern were: breakdown of relationships, concern for youth's survival skills, and erosion of elders' authority and role.

> The lack of good relationships is becoming a huge burden for us now....Life is like *hiqumiktutut* (as if broken) today. Qauqřuaq

> It seems these days it is not a happy life because the relationships are no longer strong together. Iliktaaq

> I fear that the girls do not sew and boys do not know the survival skills they need to in order to depend on themselves for food. Niviuvak

In terms of the erosion of elders' authority and role, Iminngaaq expressed many of the aspects of this issue that others made mention of:

> A person who is not *naalaktauřuq* (respectfully obeyed) by their family members can become broken inside. Their mind becomes something that is *piruřigiřaq* (something covered over). It is *haalaunnaqtuq* (defeating, cause of oppression). It is *iktaringnaqtuq* (makes one heavy)....We do not *uqau'ři-* (advise, guide), as we are helpless to do so because we may be talked back to.....The *angajuk&iit* (oldest ones) are *hapiliqtut* (discouraged, helpless, given up)....the cause of our helplessness is that the younger ones cannot be told what to do. Iminngaaq

A contrast can be noted between the elders as knowledge keepers of a pre-settlement life that was highly ordered, fulfilling and harmonious and the elders in settlement life today in terms of their ability to influence or order community life in light of their knowledge.

When looking at the theme of "challenges" with an eye to age and gender patterns and verbalizing change and loss, it is noted that in age group A, (younger elders) relationship breakdown and issues brought on by change in circumstances are more prevalent. In age group B (older elders) the challenges stated are more relating to *naalaktaunnginniq* (not being respectfully listened to by younger people). It appears that the older a person, the less

[159] See Table 2 on Page 70.

sentimental about change they are. In group C (oldest elder) the kinds of concerns expressed were exclusively practical: youth need to have good survival skills and to be able to *huliaqtaq* (go on the land), hunt, fish and sew. Clearly, the younger the person, the more they verbalized loss and regret for the old ways, and the older they were, the more pragmatic they were about it.

However when I re-grouped all the statements to look at gender patterns, I noticed that the issue of *naalaktaunnginniq* (not being respectfully listened to by younger people) became very strong for women, regardless of age. Men's statements were more varied in comparison to the women's. The fact that the women's concerns are all similar and the men's are varied makes the strong female-male ratio (2:1) an interesting question. Though there were fewer men interviewed, the quotes from men and women were close in number. It is clear that men participated in commenting more about issues and the variety of topics was greater. In light of this, if life expectancy is factored in, one possible reason for this difference is that men may have a stronger urgency to share issues given their shorter life expectancy. Also, perhaps women feel the burden of *naalaktaunnginniq* (not being respectfully listened to by younger people) more than men because they live longer to guide their families. However, it was not clear whether the differences in responses between men and women were due to a gendered division of labor.

Relevancy of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit Today

The comments regarding the usefulness of the old ways can be summed up in Qivuqtilik's words:

> I feel great pity[160] for them: what quality of life will they have when we are all gone? They don't have the knowledge that we have, and they are drawn to so many other things. They will be left pitiful without the good foundation for life we have. Quviqtilik

There is a certain urgency with regard to providing the foundation for good living. With regard to any possible doubt as to the usefulness of the old ways Qauqřuaq, unprompted, argued:

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[160] The word she uses in Inuktitut is *naglik-* which connotes compassion or sympathy for one less fortunate.

> Some of the old ways are obviously useful, because we lived well and we generally lived in great harmony. Qauqřuaq

And yet Angmalluq, like a couple others was quick to point out that not all of the old ways were to be viewed as useful:

> Some of the old ways are not good to use today, like *turiguhuutit* (taboos for women), and some are very much useful to *inuuttiarniq* (good living). These are needed today because *ihumaksřuqpalaali'mata* (people are now too free-willed, self-indulgent, unrestrained). Angmalluq

The latter part of her comment was typical of other statements made by elders regarding the need for systems of social control and social bonding. Overall, Nirlungařuq's statement demonstrates what many of the elders conveyed, that certain aspects of the old ways will never be replaceable:

> These things will always be useful: *inuuttiarniq, inuuqatigiingniq,* and *angunahuarniq* (principles of good living, living well together, and hunting skills). Nirlungařuq

Areas of knowledge relating to good living, interpersonal harmony and land-based activities are what the elders generally convey as most needing to be transferred to the younger generations. The following comments show other specific references regarding how the old ways are applicable:

> The injunctions are very useful for life today. Aqqaq

> The injunctions we lived by are still able to enrich our lives greatly today. Nuluq

> The games of old are useful today in dealing with conflict. Kunnaaq

> *Ikajurniq* (principle of responsibility for others, helpfulness, interdependence) is very useful today. Quviqtillik

> These are useful, *inuuhittiaringniq, ilagiingniq, inuuttiarniq* (living by good principles, familial harmony, living well). Iliktaaq

> *Ilagiittiarniq* (principle of familial harmony) is very useful. Iminngaaq
>
> The school needs a stronger Inuktitut influence, and over a longer period of time. Arnahaaq
>
> The *uqau'řuiniit* (injunctions) are useful for *ilagiittiarniq* and *inuuttiarniq* (teaching principles of familial harmony and good living). Nuliajuk
>
> We must hold on to *inuuttiarniq* (good living). Qauqřuaq
>
> People get put into the court system before people using the Inuit way have had a chance to correct the problem. Iminngaaq
>
> The words of the elders' *atummariktualuit* (are very much useful, helpful, applicable). Nuluq

There was no negative case evidence from any comments made that would indicate that the old ways were not considered useful by some. However, as previously mentioned some elders cautioned about certain aspects of pre-settlement life as being better left behind. There was a strong consensus that their knowledge and experience of pre-settlement Nunavut was, in the elders' view, practical and urgently needed to address issues relating to conflict and change.

> We can never go back to the past, but that way must be well known. Arnahaaq
>
> We will never go back to the past, but *itqaumannaqtuq* (it is called to memory as a positive time). Qauqřuaq

In the macrotheme of relevancy of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* today women and men contributed equal number of statements. In light of the gender ratio of 2:1 in this study, this would suggest that men are more likely to verbalize the relevancy of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* today. While men similarly outnumbered women in comments regarding "challenges" in the previous section, I thought that perhaps men commented more on the relevancy of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* today because the transference of their knowledge of land and hunting is

an important issue for them. In fact though, the men were just as likely to comment on parenting, schooling, and interpersonal harmony.

V) Conclusions, Limitations and Further Research

This study documents current Nattilingmiut elders' perspectives on conflict and change where there was no documentation. The generation of this knowledge demonstrates the value of working collaboratively within a decolonizing framework, and shows research protocols rooted in East Kitikmeot community culture. In working within a decolonizing framework and within local protocols, a model of a cross-cultural research project is offered to inform other Inuit-related studies. This research was "conceptualized within [Inuit] knowledge traditions,"[161] with "[p]artnership and collaborate research designs"[162] and applies "[Inuit] methodologies, as appropriate to local traditions and the subject matter being discussed."[163] Simply put, if Inuit have primarily indirect ways of dealing with conflict, then an indirect method was needed to understand conflict. Conflict also needed to be conceptualized within Inuit "traditions, beliefs, and values and based on [Inuit] cognitive and spiritual maps."[164]

In terms of the main question, Nattilingmiut elders maintain that certain principles, practices and injunctions helped them to deal with conflict in pre-settlement. The main principle in dealing with conflict was that of prevention. Prevention was accomplished by a reinforcement of the following: fear of the unseen, parent's authority, parent-child mutual responsibilities, the elders' wisdom and injunctions for behavior, sharing with kin in life's necessities, extensive and precise use of kinship terms, a prohibition on gossip, and rituals of various kinds which related to eating, visiting, playing games, and parting. When tensions developed between people, practices of gathering and speaking together were employed. Gathering could be accomplished indirectly, through parties participating in games, drumming or feasts, or more directly through visiting. Speaking about the issues was to be open, but moderate and compassionate. People could speak together to solve misperceptions,

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[161] Lynn Davis, in McNaughton and Rock, "Opportunities...", p.52.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.

grudges, or misdeeds, or parties at fault could be spoken to by parents or elders and told how to correct their behavior or misperceptions.

In relation to the question of how the Nattilingmiut elders relate their experiences from being nomadic as young adults to being settled into communities, the conclusions are as follows. Before settlement, life was highly orderly in terms of material being, social action, and relationships. This order was accomplished by a reinforcement of the authority of parents and elders. By contrast, the elders characterize the present as lacking in the order of the past in all respects. This weakening of social order is expressed in statements that indicate that conflict prevention systems of the past are neither valued nor reinforced in the new context.

In response to the question of what the elders see as the causes or reasons for change, being settled into one community with a lot of different influences was also a turning point for many. The introduction of the colonial school system stands out as a point where parental authority was eroded. The elders' way relied on strong parental authority and therefore the introduction of school and living in a larger community greatly affected parental influence. Many elders also stated that conflict today is due to weakened bonds between relatives and a lack of sharing of food.

In terms of what hardships, challenges or concerns in relation to change the elders face today, they cite the following: the breakdown in relationships, the relative lack of youth's survival skills and the erosion of the elders' authority and role. For some, it is more than a concern: it is a major challenge and a cause of hardship.[165]

The elders clearly expressed their views of the old ways as relevant in today's context. The areas where the old ways were cited as most useful were in preventing and dealing with conflict through games, injunctions, elders' guidance, gathering practices and principles of *Inuuqatigiit*, being people-to-people. The elders' role is considered just as essential as in the past, but many elders experience major difficulties in providing guidance to the younger generations. The main challenge in this regard is to redress the weakened esteem for the elders' role and authority in the local and regional communities.

No strong conclusions are made with regard to age and gender differences. However, it is noted that a sense of urgency due to cultural loss is stronger among the younger elders,

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[165] See Taalliraq's comment in Appendix A, p.106, lines 24-31.

or they are simply more verbal about these losses. In addition, men spoke more with regard to challenges faced because of change and their comments were more varied than women's. Women offered less comments regarding challenges than did men but their comments were more similar to one another, sharing the theme of elders not being listened to.

While change was characterized by the elders in terms of contrasts between past and present, further research could focus on what has continued and survived the forces of change. As intergenerational dialogue develops on issues of conflict and change, the points of continuity of the past may become more evident. Our experience in working with the youth on this project has strongly demonstrated the value of intergenerational dialogue; as changes were explored, relationships were affirmed and transformed to provide a strong basis for language and culture to be further transmitted.

If, in the elders' view, two major causes for negative change are being settled into one community and children attending a foreign school system, then colonial agenda, for the elders, can be understood to be at the heart of culture and language loss. The findings in this study therefore can help to determine how best to address the losses on the elders' terms and create space for them to transmit their knowledge. For example, strategies can be identified to increase whole community activities and improve elders' input in the school program. In parallel to increasing IQ in the school system, as Taalliraq calls for, a separate IQ space is needed in the community where skills can be taught exclusively by elders and on their terms.[166] In terms of improving inter-group relations within communities, Hamlet days or fishing derbies can be strategically seen as mechanisms to develop community wellness and not just viewed as entertainment or recreation (and thus a low budget priority).

To increase community awareness about the elders' teachings about food, relationships, family bonds and land skills, local radio call in shows can be developed on those themes.[167] In all three communities people had informally reported that special elders' call in shows were popular, but not regularly organized. Through a program that is supported with regular infrastructure, the role of elders could be reaffirmed in the community. Radio shows can be organized in conjunction with cultural demonstrations. For example, if one month the theme is family ties, each week a community demonstration could be made, *qariariik-* (joined tents or iglus) to show the physical spaces of families in pre-settlement, or *amiqqaaqtut* (meat sharing ritual). These demonstrations could be combined, for example,

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[166] See Appendix A, p.108.

[167] All three communities have lively local radio programs and open phone-ins a least twice per day.

qariariik- could be the venue, and inside people could experience the meat sharing rituals and hear the elders elaborate on the importance of kinship terms, etc. Other activities for language revitalization could be developed, but these ones could come as a direct result of this study, and preferably all of this would evolve though elder-centered consultation that includes all generations.

As mentioned earlier, this research does not constitute a theory of Nattilingmiut elders' approaches to conflict. The relative strength of each theme needs to be weighted to develop such a theory or model and further research is required. There is strong evidence that the Inuit prevention approach to conflict relied on a system of providing for each other's needs. This system was reinforced through language, ritual and symbolism. Therefore further work can be done to analyze the data collected in interaction with theories of human identity needs in conflict.[168]

What this thesis does offer is an in-depth analysis of conversations with over 20% of the current Nattilingmiut elders on their own experiences with conflict in pre-settlement and issues they face today. This is meant to be the basis for engaging these and other elders to further impart their knowledge and wisdom to inform *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* systems in Nunavut to help deal with current challenges. The results present the Nattilingmiut elders' approaches to conflict, but the results also show the elders' own conflict (tension) within post-colonial Nunavut through an examination of change, which from their perspective has not been positive. These results could be further researched by comparing related statements in the *Interviewing Elders* series, *Uqalurait*, and *Inuuqatigiit*. However, I would stress the importance of speaking to elders personally in conjunction with literary research. These books are valuable, but while the elders are alive, their presence and ongoing participation is irreplaceable.

The results of this thesis, as a priority, need to be verified in a community-led process. Further research should be based on needs that are determined in the process of verification. This thesis, or summaries of sections thereof, needs to be translated into Inuktitut and plain English for community consultation. In terms of making results of this research more widely available, the videos of the conversations could be edited for presentation in a one hour format. Ideally, this would be done with the participation and input of the youth who worked on the project. It is also necessary to transcribe and translate the rest of the interviews to make them available in published form.

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[168] John Burton and Vern Neufeld Redekop's works are a strong basis for human needs theory analysis in conflict and peace studies.

Nilaulaaq has asked me to type up the themes of "before settlement" and "today" from the Inuktitut video survey notes and create a community display. She would like to engage the communities further in dialogue about the changes they went through by using this aspect of the analysis as a starting point. This kind of exercise would be the starting place to communicate the results of this research. It would also follow up on the intergenerational dialogue that had begun in the community as a result of the field work. Through this first step, other youth can become engaged by participating with the youth from this project. Through continued intergenerational dialogue, awareness can be increased of the issues young and old face, and what resources they both bring to the challenges.

In terms of working with youth, we learned through experience that middle generations are very important in the process; they can help bridge some of the wide gaps between younger youth and older elders. Sometimes the language loss or change is too great or younger youth are completely over-awed by elders for lack of experience in interacting with them. Middle generations, by their greater awareness of the richness of the elders' ways, also carry the burden of knowing what is lost with the elders' passing on. Intergenerational dialogue must therefore be understood to include the spectrum of ages.

Time is not on the elders' side when it comes to restoring their role and informing systems in government programs and services that reflect *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*. This study builds on ongoing collaboration with Nilaulaaq and other elders in the East Kitikmeot. Based on some of the reflection questions in the analysis section, Nilaulaaq and I plan to work together to design processes that strengthen, at the grassroots level, what the elders value as a way of being *Inuuqatigiit*. There is still much more to be done in learning to listen (*naalattiarahuanginnariaqaraptaguuq*).

A broader understanding of both the elders' role and the role of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* in the present context in Nunavut can be achieved through replication studies or studies that work to verify and build on the themes of this study; this must be driven and controlled by Nunavummiut.[169] It is hoped that this thesis will lead to further studies, and that a comprehensive model of dealing with conflict using *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* principles and mechanisms will be developed for government, schools and agencies to apply.

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[169] Nunavummiut means "people of Nunavut" and is a term commonly used in Nunavut media and Nunavut Government communications.

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APPENDICES

A) Conversation with Taalliraq

B) Sample of Inuktitut syllabics transcription

C) Abstract in plain English and Inuktitut syllabics Nunavut Research Institute application

D) Names of research participants

E) Overview of Grouped Themes, Macrothemes and Subthemes

Conversation with Taalliraq, Annie Aqviq, June 2005

The following is a transcript of a conversation with a wise and well respected Nattilingmiut elder from Gjoa Haven named Taalliraq. The audio file is in the attached CD sleeve. CD audio file is in wav. which can be played on any computer with Windows Media Player (standard with most PCs). On the right of the translation is commentary and analysis regarding the contents of the interview. All page references to Jean Briggs work are in *Never in Anger* (see bibliography). Otherwise, page numbers in margin notes refer to this thesis. This conversation with Taalliraq in June 2004 took place in her living room. The day was chilly, with winds off the bay where sea ice was still thick enough to drive a skidoo over. Present were Nilaulaaq, myself, Donna Pauloosie and Akiqtilik Konana.

Line #	**Translated from Inuktitut transription of sound track (wav. file attached)**	**Notes**
1	**Taaliraq:** *Tařvaa?* (All ready?)	
2	**Tamalik:** *Ii, tařva.* (Yes, all ready.)	
3	**Taalliraq:** I am Annie Aqviq...in Inuktut I am Taalliraq. My birth	Notice the introduction of names, one baptisimal name, her husband's Inuktitut name, and her own Inuktitut name. I have discussed the naming issues we faced on page 62.
4	parents are ....Iřittuaq and Ilatquaq. Those are my real parents	
5	Ilatquaq and Iřittuaq. I was adopted to my aunt. I was adopted to my	
6	father Ilatquaq's sister...umm...Qarlikittuq....is my adoptive mother	
7	my *attak* (paternal aunt), my father's sister, both sharing the same	
8	mother and the same father... I was adopted to my aunt whose name is	
9	Qarlikittuq....And my adoptive father's name is Inuuttuk. My	
10	adoptive father's name is Inuuttuk. I never called him *tiguaqhi*	
11	(adoptive parent) when I was a child, as I never thought of myself as a	
12	*tiguaq* (an adoptee) as children are often like so. I remember coming	The narrative begins on one level as a personal history, but on another level it is about the foundation of relational
13	into my awareness and my mother and father, I would call them	
14	mother and father in the Nattilingmiut way of calling kinships, I	
15	would say *anaana* and *ataata* whenever I addressed my adoptive	
16	parents. When I first became aware I didn't even think of my birth	

parents as my real parents, and I was terrified to ever address them as *anaana* or *ataata*....ummm...As my life went on, it became apparent to me that, like in other things, one begins to see people differently and I began to love them as people who gave me life – though I wasn't raised with them. When people grow old there is a feeling of *nalingnaq* (love/compassion/empathy/sympathy/pity/deep bond) that they engender in you. So like in other things in life I was not expecting, I found them to be *nalingnaq* in spite of an early lack of feelings for them as my parents. The fact that they were my birth parents was told to me by my aunt whenever they were coming to our camp; she would announce the imminent arrive of my *angajutqaak* (two parents). Back then we were contantly moving - we would be going from place to place to see our relatives in other camps. There was no fast way to get anywhere like a plane or a skidoo. We only travelled by *qimukhiq* (dogteam). Dogteams were the only way we travelled and we never stayed on one place as we went to where there would be animals to hunt, or to go see relatives or to go and visit an elder. When someone was younger they would be the ones to travel to see the older relatives....They didn't want to be without seeing their relatives for too long and wanted to care for them well. And in the summer when they used to put food in storage for the winter time they would consider the special parts of the food for their relatives. Food was always brought from other lands, brought to the camps they travelled to. We didn't live in communities like this and we never lived near the trading post area. With my adoptive mother Qarlikittuq, there in Quukiřruq[1] where we often camped, where people camped because of good hunting. And so there we were near Quukiřruq, and far off from Kuugaarřuk (Pelly Bay) people came. My adoptive mother Qarlikittuq had relatives from there who would always bring her something. They would come slowly by dogteam from a very far

systems in Inuit culture. Many other elders presented their narratives with this kind of foundation.

Respect for parents is part of that foundation, as she shares stories of learning to appreciate her birth parents.

Jean Briggs refers to *naglingnaq* (verb *naglik-*) as *naklik* on p.314.

Food here is related to bonding between people, something that other elders presented strongly (see p.83) Food and kinship are overlapping themes for Taalliraq as well as other elders.

[1] Pronounced: Quukizruq

place they would carry food. They would bring things from a long way, seemingly they would come close, drift back, come into view again and finally arrive to the place where they were trying to get to. In this way she was brought things from her relatives; I eventually found out it was from her *nurraq*.[2] Her *nurraq* was her cousin's child, for instance when two people are cousins, say if they have parents that are siblings, so their parents are siblings and that makes all of their respective children to be *illuriit* (cousins). As such they could *tuq&uq-* (use kinship terms) each other in this way, calling each other *illuq*, as anyone who is related in that way would *tuq&uq-* each other. **[At 5 minutes]** And if the cousins were male, a girl would call her *illuq* then *ani* (brother)...and a boy would call his female cousin *najak* (sister), all due to the *illuq* relationship which stems from have parents that are *nukariik*.[3] They help each other with food, the younger ones not just thinking of their own needs, they are *ikajuqtigiit* (interdependent/symbiotic/synergistic). But the older people, the old men, women, a mother or a father would tell their *ukuaq* (daughter-in-law) or *ningauk* (son-in-law), or their *nutaraq* (son), or their *panik* (daugter) or their *inngutaq* grandchild, they would *uqau'ři-* (counsel/teach/advise/exhort), the older people would *uqau'ři-* thus: If you do such-and-such you will live well. Your unborn children will also live well, and you will all have sufficient food, if you conduct yourself according to this." They would be told verbally in this way as back then there were no papers, and the *qitunngait* (people in kinships, extended family) would remember the words well. Those that are *qitungait* are: a *ukuaq* (daughter-in-law) or *ningauk* (son-in-law), *panik* (a daughter) or *nutaraq* (a son), *inngutaq* (a grandchild) or *amauq* (a great-grandchild). If I have any of those, say for example a

We are drawn into a scene from her childhood, the anticipation of others arriving. Others described the custom of *parřiaq-* (going out to greet a traveller). Others are referred to on p.79.

Taalliraq introduces kinships here. Later when asked what was the most important for right/good living she returned to this theme. Many other elders were elaborate in their explanations of the kinship systems used and reinforced. See Appendix F.

The theme of injunctions for living is introduced.

[2] A woman's sister's or female cousin's child. The word *nurraq* also means caribou calf.
[3] note: *nukariik* refers to siblings of the same sex.

son and a daughter-in-law, and a daughter and a son-in-law, and a grandchild and a great-grandchild, all of those in general I would refer to as my *qitunngait*, I would *tuq&uq-* them in this way collectively: my *qitunngait*. And the eldest ones, say I am the eldest and you happened to be all my grandchildren, and my daughters and my sons and my sons-in-law I would say this to you: So that you will live well in your *hivuniksaq* (what is to come before you), so you will live well, and grow into adulthood far over there, and bear children perhaps, so you will live well, you must *ikajuq-* (help/support/serve/be useful to) your fellow people. If they are hungry, if you come across someone who is hungry, even if the food portion is small, give them food if you have any food to give. It is such that the one that was impoverished, whether a child or a long-time adult, or a tiny child, if they were caused to be hungry: feed them! We are told to give food to others, this is how we are *uqa'řauřuq* (exhorted/taught/etc) by our parents. If we indeed feed that small child, perhaps it was neglected or had some hardship, or starvation, when they grow to adulthood it is said, s/he will never ever forget what you did and remember it into adulthood. You will have this person as *ikajuqti* (helper), this was what we were told. If you were my children, and I was your oldest relative, I would say those words like that to you in times before, so that you would live well and far into your future, and live a good life. And I was also told thus by my mother and my grandmother and my other relatives, my paternal aunt for instance, I was told: If my fellow humans, my fellow humans, have reason for being *uruluk-* (frustrated/hold grudges/hateful) with me, and this is called to my attention, I must not reciprocate the feeling so they will *haimmaq-* (become at peace). It is told that *uruluk-* (frustration/grudges/hate) has an end, they will come to peace, they will find peace towards me. I was told to *haimmaksřaq-* (inspire peace/bring peacefullness) by not chastizing them verbally and try to *ikajuq-* (help/collaborate/befriend), and not to

This is after the order of a foundation for respect for parents, the sharing of food and the necessities of life with kin, and the use of kinship terms.

It may follow that wisdom and guidance for living is founded on strong familial and kin relationships.

Many of the injunctions the other elders share related to helping each other in need, and helping the disadvantaged. As Qablunaat living in the north, our cultural disadvantage was mediated by great care and compassion shown by Inuit elders and their kin.

Jean Briggs calls *uruluk* "annoyance" and said it is the "hardest to define of all

do things like try and avoid their gaze or avoid speaking with them. If I treat the one that has a conflict with me like the way I was told, they will become helpful to me and become aware of their negative behavior. They will realize the way that they should have been in the first place. Whether it was a young person or an adult we were all enjoined to act this way. When we are hated by our others, we must not use scolding, we must not scold them, or if we are scolded we must not retaliate with answers, we were never allowed to talk back when scolded by our parents or other adults when we were young like you are. We were never allowed to mouth back or say bad things in retaliation. Make them welcome and comfortable, don't avoid looking at them, endeavour to help them, and eat with them, have fun together with them and even play games together with them. **[At 10 minutes]** Inuit have games to this end, and you must use them to *haimmaksřaq-* (inspire peace/bring peacefullness) our fellow people. It is said that we will have that person as a helper if we are in need sometime in the future, as life is not predictable. We never know how we will be in the future, it is said to be unpredictable. To this day it is unknown and from times long ago it was unknown. Like so, we were expected to treat our fellow people well. We were supposed to do right and to that end we were exhorted with words. And so we were told things so that we would live a good life. To live well for instance we were told not to linger around our seniors without seeking to help in some way. And even though we feel *huaktauřuq* (scolded/ reprimanded/corrected) by those that are older, we were to persist in being helpful. Myself when I was younger and I was *huaktauřuq* and this feeling of discomfort came upon me and my mind was unsettled as it was, my aunt, my adoptive mother would say this to me: "That uncomfortable feeling has an end, it has a place of being made right, so don't let it unsettle you." She told me to *hammagiaq-* (find solace/peace), so I will be at peace towards that person that is angry

terms"(p.334). Injunctions also helped in specific terms in dealing with emotions in conflict and interpersonal tension.

In Inuit culture when someone avoids your gaze, doesn't speak to you or doesn't smile it is often a sign of "conflict".

Here Taalliraq shows how tensions were eased to prevent conflict. The role of games in dealing with conflict is affirmed by other elders in the project.

She is referring to *uqauřři*, injunctions for living.

The issue of younger people talking back when corrected was strong for a number of elders. Taalliraq may be showing the youth present a

with me so that they will find peacefulness towards me. I used to think that those elders were backwards in their logic, because we as youth were restless in how we approached things. And even though we felt uneasy towards the advice we got, we were not allowed to talk back about it. We would never answer back and only say yes in agreement. We could only answer in agreement when we were told how to be to live rightly, we could only agree. And this is something that I think is a *pirřuti* (reason/cause) perhaps it is not really so, but our children and our youth cannot be *uqau'řauřuq* (orally corrected) now, this I have heard from people older than us. I hear this these days and I suspect that I am not the only one hearing it.

This I feel deeply about, that the youth do not want to listen any more to their parents, to their mother and their grandmother. When people say that, I feel deeply about this and I recall the words I lived by, the words told to me, and though I try to hear what people are saying, I feel disturbed. And so it used to be for me, and then I realize that I was told how to be for right living, and yet I thought I was told in a scolding tone as one being reprimanded. And though I was so discomforted by this, I held back from responding, I refrained from any negative reply to my elders. Then to my children, as I was to eventually have children I was bestowed with guidelines to pass on to them to give them a good way. Now when I think of our ancestors' words I understand how an elders words have a role, I ponder this well whenever it comes to my mind. It is said that the youth today are impossible to be told things. I feel this deeply, I feel so hurt by this thought, it affects me so. I used to be told some things to do and I refused to comply sometimes or sometimes I would in my mind rebel to their request and not refuse with my words. Then it would become apparent to me that I was the one who was wrong all along. I think that the youth and children who are said to be rebelious and not listening – and I am not the only one with this understanding – that it

strategy for coping with being corrected by others.

Elders are often careful not to speak for everyone, and "perhaps it is not really so" also softens the potential impact of her judgement that youth cannot be orally corrected or verbally guided, as in the past.

This was a strong moment in the interview, her sharing how much this problem affects her.

Like other

is so indeed because us oldest people do not speak up nowadays. We have no voice today, only when we are given money, when money is presented to us we describe the Inuit culture, this is what we oldest people do. The ancestors were not told what topics they had to talk about, they would give their teachings without directions. These are the ones we were nurtured by, we grew aware through, and we learned from. I ask myself, 'Why is it that those good ways we are not trying to use now?', when I think of this situation. If we were to *uqau'ři-* (exhort/teach, etc) more, if we had more voice like our ancestors of old and were not affected by whether the young person will answer back, and when they answer back do not let this be a motivation to stop, not to let it stop us, and guide them well and try and help them understand. If we were to take that approach then Inuit culture would be better understood by all. **[At 15 minutes]** This is what I think about these things, this is my thought on these things, if we were to have more voice, us oldest ones, then the younger ones will realize how the ancestors were, they would gradually understand better how it was. I think of that in that way.... And this also is a reason for the youth not listening: the children are not with their parents during the day. They are only with their parents when it is time to go to sleep, and all day long they are adopted by the teachers. They are like fully adopted by the teachers. This one who has a child can not have that child at all during the day, and cannot even see them. Only when it is time to eat or when they finish classes they finally get to see them. Often they only see them for a very short time and then it is time to go to sleep. In the morning when the child wakes up they will see them for a very short time , this their child that they bring up, the one they must instruct on how to live – they cannot see them all day long! In my mind, this is the cause for their hardships, although perhaps it is not exactly so. And also as these children that have to go to school, have to attend regularly, and I myself believe firmly in both Inuktitut

elders, it is almost impossible for them to give guidance in the new context. See Iminnaqq's comments on p.87.

Rather than do it on their own terms, Taalliraq feels they offer their guidance only when asked.

The issue of elder participation is a barrier to Inuit culture being understood properly.

Taalliraq describes here why, in her experience, the youth do not listen to the elders. Other elders gave similar accounts on the issues of the schooling system being foreign to IQ. (See p.86 par.2)

and English languages. When we created Nunavut, now that we have Nunavut, I want the youth and children all to understand well in both English and Inuktitut. I very much want them to have both. But some students, although they should still be in school, they quit, and I have thought about this, about having an Inuktitut program for them to go to, thinking about their needs. I thought 'what if those who have quit school, those who are even having babies as very young youth who should still be in school, what if they had Inuktitut school?'. If there was a building, for instance, some sort of place for a person who has no schooling in English to be their instructor. I think about this, wondering how Inuit culture could be better known, considering this problem, this place would be a place to teach how to make Inuit clothing, the real clothing, for people to try on there. In our current school there are people who do sewing, but one never gets to see any clothing made, of real Inuk clothing. It could be for hunting tools, things used for hunting, and the things women can make. There is virtually nothing like this in the school here. I have thought about this concept of having a building that is not a school for English and is only a place for Inuit education. If there was a place then I figure children and youth would have an opportunity to really understand Inuit culture for what it is. I have been invited to teach at times at the school here, for many years now, from the times we lived in Taloyoak until today I have been brought in to instruct in Inuit culture – I have never heard once someone say that they have learned something from Taalliraq, this I have never heard from anyone. Because of this, I think about the possibility of having a school for children and youth to see things about clothing and other things Inuit used, have a place to go see those things.[4] Even the parts of all the clothing items and others have so many names and words associated with them that they should know and learn. Even the clothing pieces, they have parts that match up together and each part has a name to know, and now these

When I spoke to Taalliraq about this manuscript, after she saw it in Inuktitut, and her daugther had the English translation, Taalliraq cautioned me that of all the words spoken, this idea of having a space for IQ education in the community was the most important to her. She said to me "even if it takes a long time". We spoke about her ideas in a subsequent phone call as well. Apparently there needs to be a space that is run entirely on the elders' terms.

For Taalliraq implementing IQ in school has not worked, so for her, a separate system is urgently needed so that the elders can demonstrate what they know.

words are not even known. As a way of keeping the memory I have thought of this kind of place for clothing. These could be taught to the students that should be in school but have given up. **[At 20 minutes]** I have even heard of people who have children themselves asking around for warm clothing to wear! 'Does anyone have any *kamiik* (skin boots) that can be worn?', 'Does anyone have a *quliktaq* (caribou skin coat) that can be worn?' This is a woman, saying this... she may ask for *kamiik* or mitts or caribou skin pants to use. As women, though, we were raised this way in the times of snowhouses, when we were snowhouse dwellers. I didn't see anyone with a building for a house, or anything made out of wood. My adoptive parents raised me at a time when these things were very scarce. I came into awareness at the time when there was already a trading post somewhere, but we never lived in the trading post place, rather, we struggled to survive on the land. We would only travel by dog team. That is how we were, this was the way it was for us, and as little children we were *uqau'řauřuq* (told/instructed/corrected/exhorted) as we grew older and developed competence, we would take hold of things for our mother or our grandmother, in order to help out. We were expected by our mothers and our relatives to know some things, no doubt, as our mother had work to do, when she was alone and had chores to do – the houses were not buildings and had lots of chores associated with them. The doorway had to be adusted just right, not *paaqtuqtuq* and not *uqumiktuq*...umm... and so the doorway needed adjusting according to the changing wind, depending on the direction it came from, it was constantly needing adjustment. A woman or a man would fix it so there were not any gaps, so the children would be in a warm place. This was one of the constant chores among others. We would be packed in the *amauti* (packing parka) by our grandmother. If we were of the age of awareness then we were packed by our grandmothers and brought to her place so that our

For older Inuit women, a woman's pride in sewing was synonomous with being virtuous, capable, and intelligent.

She shows the contrast between her pre-settlement life and her view of today to give context to her judgement of the younger women.

Life was very precise, and children and adults had obligations and purpose.

This kind of precision and order is echoed by other elders in regard to the past. (See Table 5, p.81, Material Being) Families were interdependent. Older people had specific roles. (See Table 5, p.81, Relationships).

mother could work. We would abide with our grandmother until the time our mother is finished her work. Our grandmother would feed us, and get us to urinate and have a bowel movement. It was their way of really contributing greatly to their daughter or their daugther-in-law. Even though they may be an old woman, they are not lacking initiative when the child is brought to them. The child will grow to know that their grandmother welcomed them. Whenever our mother would sew we were introduced to some techniques. There would be caribou skin and seal skin that were the only materials used for pants and tops and overcoats. Outside there would be many caribou skins for using in the winter months. When they would soften and work the skins, they would soften the skins first with a *hakuut* (scraper). Sometimes things being scraped with a *hakuut* were made to tear, and some would only have a very small tear. When the skins were softened already and there was one with a small tear, if we had the ability to thread a needle and poke the needle through we would sew it. Our mother would make clothing for her daugther or her son or her husband or herself, she would make *kamiik* (boots), or *piniik* (boot slippers) or *aliqtiik* (liners), or *qarliik* (pants), or *atigiit* (tops) or *quliktait* (overcoats), or the overmittens we used to use. She would be the only one sewing all of these things, this woman. Us as girls, if there is a skin to be used for making clothing and it has a tear, if the tear is small, if it is small, if we are able to sew it closed, we would sew it, to help out, to try and help out by doing our little part. We would sew it like such, as we were instructed to sew when we were just learning "Sew it precisely, make the seam perfect, like this, make the seam just so, make the seam so that it would never come apart." We were told like that, so we would learn it. As it became apparent to me those instructions were there though we were not conscious of them as we sewed the little tears in the skins that got tears from being softened. We who started to sew would sew the tiny tears at first, and

Taalliraq now instructs us about how a child was educated, using her own story as an example. Her pedagogy is encoded in her personal narrative.

The very foundation of character was laid in this education. A person's character was understood to shape the group's future.

Training was gradual, and according to the child's capacity.

Precision and perfection in craft was highly valued. Craft was a metaphor for leadership, and children were groomed early. To be self sufficient one would need

then as we grew bigger we were made to sew things, to help in any way so that we could become self reliant and do things for ourselves eventually. And when we were able to sew things that were a little bigger, as we ourselves grew bigger, before we finished growing, we were made to sew mittens that were cut out for us. Mittens are not like undercoats or pants, and so we were made to sew them by our mother. When we were able to finish a pair of mittens, and we were expected not to just do them carelessly, we had to sew them precisely and make the seam so it didn't come apart, and make the seams tight by not too tight. **[At 25 minutes]** Inuit culture has many many areas where presicion and perfection is expected because things were not there to just buy. We had to make everything we needed, like clothing, and what we made were things we had to use. We were told to use everything well, not wasting, and so we were made to sew clothing pieces like that first. [answering the phone] As I was just saying...we were never allowed to sew *kamiik* (boots) as those were supposed to be especially well done. People were meant to have very fine *kamiik* that were well made, and not buckled in the seams, the sewing had to be without any buckling whatsoever. And the *kamiik* being made, whether caribou or seal skin are gathered in the vamp, and those gatherings were supposed to be very uniform. It was forbidden to be unevenly gathered. It had to be well-made and well-sewn, with perfect seams, this was all very strictly insisted upon as we were being taught to make clothes, as well helped our mother. This all evolved as we became able to grab and hold things. And sometimes our mother would have to go outside to do chores, or perhaps she went to help her mother or mother-in-law in their *iglu*, if indeed they didn't share one *iglu* together. When she had to go and help out elsewhere, and we we old enough to be able to light the *qulliq* (stone lamp), we were required to create pots of water by tending the flame so it is strong and even and not overly wild. And so we tended

to know how to lead themselves and support others.

This training for life's functions required a lot of contact with the educator. This is missing with the introduction of foreign school systems. Accuracy, observance and prudence were values of self reliance. She, like other elders, was prepared for one kind of life and lived in an very different world.
(We kept a very informal tone, and encouraged interaction between family members, phone calls, etc.)
So, starting with mittens, girl graduated to boot making. The pinacle of acheivement for a young girl was to master sewing boots. Cold feet were far too dangerous.

the flame to keep burning strongly, keep it burning strongly. The pot would be above the flame hanging over the flame, and we were expected to *immiuq-* (melt the snow for water) with an *uuvihuiti* which was made of bone and was used for poking, made of polar bear bone with a fine tip on the end. Perhaps with that the water kept clean, as it was used to poke the boiling meat. It was always expected that the snow would be melted efficiently by use of the *qulliq*, both in cooking or making water. In order to cook, so that meat could boil, a child was expected to melt the snow for there to be broth so the woman could go and work at her mother's place or her mother-in-law's place. When we were old enough for this chore of putting *aniu* (eating type snow) into the pot for making drinking water, when we could reach to the pot above the qulliq and put the aniu, we had this job to *najuq&liq-* (to keep/watch over/tend/hang around) and make water. **[At 30 minutes]** And if a child is all alone in the *iglu* this was called *najuq&liq-* when their mother is visiting or out working. To make the snow melt faster so that it turned to water faster we would stir it around. We were told to stir the snow in the pot above the *qulliq* so that the water would be made faster. We would use the *uuvihiuti*, stirring it vigourously, stirring it, stirring the *aniu*, moving it, seemingly helping it to turn to water more easily. This is the way that water was made, watching over it, tending it, all alone, and sometimes we would tip the whole thing over, even tipping over the whole *qulliq*, how that happened was a mystery, tipping over the entire *qulliq*....

Tending the flame of the qulliq was spoken about by Nilaulaaq at a gathering at Saint Paul University where she demonstrated it. She said that women, like her mother, would tend the flame in contemplation when others were agitated or in conflict, so they would calm down.

She brings us into this scene vividly, showing the meticulous everyday proceedures of making drinking water from snow. Children were given chores according to their capacity, but it didn't always work out.

Nilaulaaq: When it tipped over, what an unhappy experience, how very intimidating...

Nilaulaaq concurs, children in training learned early to respect their parent's standards for precision. This notion of

Taaliraq: It was extremely intimidating, but all because we were not quite adequate to the task yet. Not quite skilled, not able yet, though

we were assessed to be capable we were left on our own to care for it, just being told we have to do such-and-such, but we were not watched over in our doings, and when we were scolded it was very intimidating, because these are our parents. They forgot about it quickly enough too though and I'd try [to melt the snow again] while they were gone out to the bathroom.

strong emotions arroused and quicky dealt with was echoed by other elders. Children were raised to deal with those emotions. (See p.76, 4th par.)

Tamalik: What were the things you thought were most important back then for *inuuttiarniq* (right/good living)?

Taaliraq: Those things from the past that were for *inuuqatigiittiarniq* (being people-to-people well/right), what I think was the most instrumental to *inuuqatigiit* (people-to-people) was *ilagiit* (being relatives). Today use that are *ilagiit* do not even see each other even though we are in one community. We go and pay for food or some small item, everything needs money to pay for it and money is always needed. Back then there was no money and *ilagiit* like siblings or in-laws or mother and daughter or daughter-in-law or cousins, those that have parents that are same-sex siblings would go to one place to their parents or their oldest members and ask 'what should I get? what should I get?' And when they were told and went out to get it they would bring the food back to that one place, to oldest member to work with the meat. The meat would always go to the parents or oldest members, the whole amount. Then in the winter or in the summer they will have meat because the meats were dried and perhaps cached away for the *ilagiit*, the in-laws, the parents, the cousins on both sides. As long as there is some the food will be divided amidst them. And because they are like that they are *ilagiit* well together, because they know each other well and they see each other often. Us today do not see each other often enough, though we are relatives living in the same town. When we have something to celebrate we have gatherings

The issue of being settled into one community was cited as a cause/reason for conflict by other elders. (See p.86, 2nd par.)

Food sharing and conflict prevention are associated here, as food sharing made stronger *ilagiit*. (See p.79 Table 3b, "Sharing in Life's Necessities")

People are closer geographically today, and yet farther apart in

here but even then, our real relatives cannot be seen not even a little bit, we never see them. If they came once in a while to see us or if we went on occasion to see them if we were to try and help them by telling them the right way to be, and show them a better way to live, these things could be better known, what is right to do, what is not good to do, what leads to *inuuqatigiit* well, injunctions like helping elders, helping relatives, helping parents. These things could be better known to the younger people, if they came to see us and if we too went to see them and we spoke with them like 'if you did such-and-such you will do better' or 'if you did such-and-such you would have more harmony'. If we had a voice with them it would be better. Back then we had a voice with our relatives and we knew each other well and we used *tuq&urauhiit* (kinship namings) well. That's what I think of this. **[At 35 minutes]**

other ways. (See Table 5 p.81 Relationships/ Today for other summaries)

The notions of gathering and speaking to prevent or deal with conflict were echoed in the other interviews. (p.75-76)

Familiarity and regular contact is important to having a voice, or influence.

Tamalik: Were *tuq&urauhiit* (kinship namings) used to make better *inuuqatigiit*?

Taaliraq: Yes they were used...

Tamalik: How so?

Taaliraq: There were used...these *tuq&urauhiit*...among the Nattilingmiut I have heard, and I was raised among the Nattilingmiut and my birth parents and adoptive parents are all Nattilingmiut when I *tuq&uraq-* (use kinship terms), we were made to use the *tuq&urauhiit* by our parents and we *tuq&uraq-* virtually every one of our relatives. Only if there was no kinship relationship would you use a person's name at all. We could in fact refer to people by their names if they were our relatives, but when our parents instructed us about how to

This interview was one of the first ones we did in Gjoa Haven. In a previous interview someone suggested that kinship terms helped to prevent conflict so I was interested in hearing Taalliraq's understanding.

tuq&uq- them then that was what we had to use. And when I *tuq&uq-* them I would refrain from using their name, only the kinship term. And when we spoke of them for instance, to our parents, when *nukaq* (younger sibling of the same sex), or *angaju* (older sibling of the same sex), or *ani* (brother to a female), we had all different terms for them. Our *nukaq* or *angaju* or *ani* the younger members of the group would be addressed to others in their absense, addressed to our parents or relatives, to those that are older than us, and they know exactly who we are referring to even without any visual context. In fact they instantly visualize who we were talking about, and in this way kinships *tuq&urauhiit* work to identify people. For example, if Nilualaaq and yourself and Donna were all my *nukaq* and this one was my *angaju* and you were all my *nukaq*, and this one was my *ani* and you were all siblings together, all junior to me in my family, or say you were my children, I'll start with how it would be if you were my children. If you are my children and this one is my son, I would *tuq&uq-* you in the Nattilingmiut like this: my *paninajuk*, my *paninnuaq*, my *pani&&uk*, this is how the different distinctions [of *panik* daughter] are made. And if I spoke to a relative in conversation and referred to my *paninajuk*, the person would be well-known, without being there to see. And if I said to my fellow person something about my *paninnuaq* then this person will also be clearly distinguished. A person doesn't need to be seen, they can be elsewhere, and all I say is my *pani&&uk* and that person is preceisely known. And this one, my son, I would call my *nutaraq*, as he is a male, and you are my daugthers, I would say my *nutaraq* or perhaps my *nutarannuaq* or my *nutaranajuk*, any one of these, because he is a male, and my relatives will know exactly who I speak of.

Tamalik: What if this one has a younger sister, if you had four [girls]?

According to other Nattilingmiut elders, the Nattilingmiut were more strict than other groups with regard to the use of kinship terms. They were also more intensely indirect and implicit in their communication and use of language.

Her practical demonstration of kinships here engendered a warm feeling of belonging in the room. We were all related!

There was such loyalty placed on relatives' relationships that if people were related, then implicitly conflict could be more easily dealt with or prevented.

I have heard people in potential conflict address each other with kinship terms to

Taalliraq: Yes, if I had four I could make yet another distinguishing *tuq&urahiq* by saying my *panikhiaq*...

Nilaulaaq: or my *paniktaahaaq*...

Taalliraq: My *paniktaahaaq*, these are the many *tuq&urauhiit* [for daughter/ *panik*]. When children are siblings there are different terms for them.

Nilaulaaq: Yes, however if they have been named after one of our parents we can also use the *tuq&urauhiq* that was for that parent. I heard you call your son *ataata* (father) and all those in proximity knew instantly whom you speak of.

Taalliraq: It is so...

Nilaulaaq: If you say my *ataata* (father) all those around know exactly who you mean. When you say *nutarannuaq* when referring to [your son] Qajalik people know exactly who you mean. This *tuq&urauhiq* is to strengthen relatives bonds.

Taalliraq: It very much strengthens bonds between relatives, this does.

Nilaulaaq: We do not use the *tuq&urauhit* much at all today....

Taalliraq: Oh so very true...we do not *tuq&uraq* each other, the *tuq&urauhiit* are not used today, we only say people's names.

Nilaulaaq: Even when we had not seen a person before but our

prevent conflicts arising from suspicion or unfamiliarity or misperception.

There were multiple variences on all kinship terms.

Nilaulaaq drew out information based on her knowledge and familiarity of people's ways.

Nilaulaaq is confirming an observation. She makes the statement to be confirmed.....

...and Taalliraq strongly agrees.

Nilaulaaq introduces an issue of change...

If *ilagiit* was key to harmony and it depended on being reinforced by, among other

parents know them and we were told they were our such-and-such, and I would for instance use that kinship term to refer to them even though I didn't even know them at first. If I was told what term to use I would use it with them, and from then on I would only use that term and not ever their name.

things, using kinship terms then the lack of use would implictly mean a lack of means to reinforce *ilagiit*.

[At 40 minutes]

Taalliraq: Not ever their name, we were discouraged from using their name. Even if we knew their name we would use the *tuq&urauhiit* instead and we were discouraged from using names too much. This is the practice in Nattilik. Even if I did not ever see or I hardly heard of this person, using their name to refer to them, it was called *hunnaqtuu'mat*, I don't understand this fully, but it was their way of using proper addresses with *tuq&urauhiit*.

In pre-settlement there seemed to be a taboo among the Nattilingmiut on using people's names. They were used only when absolutely necessary. Even people not related by blood, marriage or adoption could *tuq&uq-* someone in a devised kinship term (meat sharing partner, etc).

Nilaulaaq: It was a way of binding the relatives relationships more closely, would you say....?

Taalliraq: Oh very much so...

Nilaulaaq: I remember my mother describing back then how she had *illuq* (cousins) of all of your mother's siblings and spoke of them with that term, and as your mother was also her *illuq*, you and I are made to be *illuriik* (cousins to one another), as the children inherit the term.

Nilaulaaq is affirming her own kinship term with Taalliraq.

Taalliraq: They acquired the term, it is so.

Nilaulaaq: They would have different terms for the same relationship...

Taalliraq: But today it is such that when they even use the terms they

Distinctions in kinship terms

use one term for every one [in that catagory].

Nilaulaaq: And they use the kinship term and also their name together, so the use has become unrecognizable.

Taalliraq: It is so...they say the kinship term and the name as well....

Nilaulaaq: It is not recognizable in this usage....

Taalliraq: It was not supposed to be like that, back then it was only the kinship term used. If we were to do it [like its done today], the response by our parents would have been 'This person doesn't know how to have relatives!'. They would say that because this was an important part of strengthening relations between relatives, it bonded people. If Nilaulaaq is my *illuq* (cousin) by way of our mothers and I said 'My *illuq* Nilaulaaq,' my mother would probably say something like: 'This one has an *illuq* and yet she doesn't know how to have a relative.' This she may very well say to me.

Nilaulaaq: She was supposed to only use the kinship term and not say her name...

Taalliraq: Like so...we were expected to use it in this way....

Nilaulaaq: And the *illuq* relationship had different terms: my *illunnuaq*, my *illuksřannuaq*, my *illuqqumařaq*, my *illuqqumařannuaq*, all very close together, these terms are used if there are many siblings.

Taalliraq: Yes, if they are many it was like that...

are important.

Nilaulaaq is testing the problem of kinships not properly used.

This idea of not knowing "how to have relatives" was a real insult in Nattilingmiut traditional culture. Children were taught to respect and be close to their relatives through this use of language.

Nilaulaaq turned to us to make sure we got the point.

The word *illuq* becomes the root, and the suffixes are all descriptive. See how Nilaulaaq elaborates on the next page...

Nilaulaaq: And so to be accurate about whom you were talking about you may add more variations like my *illu&&uk* (my bad cousin) and my *illuqqumanngitaq* (the one I didn't want for a cousin) all sorts of variations were available. My brother could be my *anikkumanngitaq* (the one I didn't want for a brother), my *aniksřannuaq* (my little step brother), my *anilluaq* (my very much brother), these variations were available. Those kinship terms were used to make it clear, and even new variations were invented to add to the possibilities.

Nilaulaaq demonstrates the variations further, both to educate us and to confirm her observations by engaging Taalliraq to comment....

Taalliraq: It was like that...

Nilaulaaq: It is still a clear way to address and can still be used.

Nilaulaaq makes a statement of her own opinion on the relevancy of IQ in today's context...

Taalliraq: It can very much be used...even us who know about these things we have begun to refer to people using the names of the people that we should be addressing in kinship terms. We were supposed to use them for people to be relatives in a good way, this was how kinship terms functioned. If someone was young and they used kinship terms and then also said the person's name they would be spoken of like 'this person doesn't know how to have relatives.'

Taalliraq concurs...

...kinship terms are useful to being closely bonded as people...

Nilaulaaq: If a person did not know how they were related to the other person they would use a different version of the person's name to create a kinship term...

...anything to avoid using the person's given name...this was a kind of taboo...

Taalliraq: This was so....

Nilaulaaq: From our mothers, as our mothers were *illuriik* and thus you and I are *illuriik* our children and our adopted ones...I should in the proper way call them *nurraq*.

Nilaulaaq demonstrates kinship terminology by

Taalliraq: Yes, it could be like that...

Nilaulaaq: For instance if our *tuq&uraruhiq* (kinship terminology) is used, I would call Lena my *nurarřuaq*, this is how I would address her....and also Celina's and Lena's children would address each other by their *tuq&urauhiit.*

Taalliraq: Yes, indeed they would...

Nilaulaaq: And when they have another generation they would be *nurrariik* all the way down the line....those that are *illuriik* (cousins), Flora and Donna's children would be cousins as well, all down through the generations.

Taalliraq: Because Nilaulaaq is my *illuq*...her adopted ones, the children she raised up, I would call them *nurraq*...and because they are my *nurraq* then their children are my grandchildren, Donna is my *inngutaq*...like so...

Nilaulaaq: As Celina is your *nurraq*, your *nurraq*'s child is your granchild...

Taalliraq: Indeed...and Akiqtilik's mother is my grandchild and so he is my *amauq* (great-grandchild).

Nilaulaaq: ...it is so in that case...

Taalliraq: This is my *amauq*...

Nilaulaaq: This is following the original kinship system of naming.

using an example the youth can relate to.

Lena is Taalliraq's only daugther and Celina is Nilaulaaq's oldest daughter. Celina's daughter Donna is one of the youth research assistants in the room filming.

They are showing Donna how their relations will carry on...

Donna is affirmed as a relative.

Because Nilaulaaq is speaking to Taalliraq, it may seem like she is stating the obvious, but in fact Nilaulaaq is a masterful language instructor. She is restating words for the youth to hear. I remember as a child Nilaulaaq using a word

Taalliraq: This is it...

Nilaulaaq: This kinship system of *tuq&rarniq* (addressing) and *ilagiingniq* (being relatives together) make people very close indeed...

Taalliraq: ...makes people very close indeed...[emphasis]

Nilaulaaq: And it is also the reason for things breaking down now....it would seem that this is something to bring back to what we have today. It may need to be used today...

Taalliraq: Well it is used today in a way, but it has been pulled in another direction...

Nilaulaaq: It's being misused...it is being misused...

Taalliraq: Like this...for instance these...you know Quggialuk, her children, they call me *attak*, the oldest one for instance calls me *attak* and his younger brothers follow suit. They say *attaa, attaa* but they should all have some variance...it is like here the *tuq&urauhiit* become something else entirely...this is what I think of it...

Nilaulaaq: The *tuq&urauhiq* (kinship web) is broken because they *tuq&uq-* (use kinship terms) backwards instead. Also some use their names when they should be using kinship terms. Some older siblings call people by names and then the younger ones just follow suit.

Taalliraq: Yes it is the younger ones that follow....like so...the oldest one says *attaga* (my paternal aunt) and the younger siblings say *attak* too...because of the oldest one's term used, they use the same one. Now if they were to *tuq&uq-* (call by kinship term) me when I wasn't

over and over patiently until she knew I could understand it.

The youth have been instructed on a mechanism for conflict prevention....

Nilaulaaq probes for whether Taalliraq sees this as a cause for change and whether it is useful today.

...probing...

...answering with an example of misuse she has personally experienced....

...seeking confirmation...

Taalliraq confirms the misuse again....

there, it would be impossible to tell whom they are speaking of because the term is all the same...the term has been blended so that all those siblings say one term of address. This is so very far removed from the real original kinship naming function...this is how it has become.

Tamalik: Why would you say this is changed...?

I wondered why something in their opinion that was valued was allowed to change so....

Taalliraq: From where it happened, we are people from many different areas, and now we are together gathered in one place. Us people, the Nattilingmiut do not say anything out loud about it. Even when people came here to make work, we never said 'us too' we need some too. This is probably what caused such drastic changes. From where, which region, this change...some Inuit groups do not use *tuq&urauhiit*. The people that we call *Ki'linirmiut*, the people from over near *Iqaluktuuttiaq* (Cambridge Bay)...those ones over that way, they barely use the kinship forms, this I personally know...whether it came from that area or which other region, I can't say for sure I know why it happened. But we with our traditional kinship term system have just followed along by using peoples' names instead...or whether it came from following the white peoples that we are like this now, or whether it came from other Inuit...I try to understand by thinking about this...and these people who give people jobs, when they came, we never said we too need to be included...so we have now changed drastically as a result. Whether it came from influence from another region because some regions do not place emphasis on *tuq&urauhiit*, the ones we refer to as Ki'linirmiut from Iqaluktuuttiaq, they do not use kinship terms that much, this I know from my own experience...from over there or from where else, it happened in a way I cannot say I know. Those of use with the strong custom of *tuq&urautiniq* (using kinship terms), we just followed along with

The issue of being settled into one place was echoed by many other elders. (See p.86, 2nd par.)

Part of the issue of being settled relates to having so many sub-cultures blended, causing confusion...This is a strong issue for the elders: they did not have any clear means to integrate with other groups that were being settled into one place, whether Inuit or Qablunaat.

those using names of people instead. People would call their fellow community members by their given names...or maybe we have followed the white peoples, or other Inuit, I try to understand which was the influence. When I used to teach some young children and youth...it would have been better when I had the opportunity through teaching Inuit culture, trying to make them to learn, you try hard to *pittiaq-* (do well) and not *tammaq* (make mistakes, misrepresent), and so from where this came I cannot say I know...this I cannot answer well...from which place it happened I do not know...but it was not from the Nattilingmiut, as the Nattilingmiut we very strict about the use of *tuq&urauhiit*....

Tamalik: There is still 10 minutes [on the film]...

...an awkward interjection about the realities of technology and time..... we had a digital audio recorder going that would last the duration of this conversation.

Taalliraq: Ii...[laughing...]...Well, these ones here perhaps they have nothing to ask me....do you have any questions you would like to ask? [long pause] About words or language or about *tuq&urauhiit* you can ask something....or about how Inuit used to have great harmony together and used to be closely bonded, something about that...[long pause]...Long ago someone would also say something like this, those people among us that were our elders: *niqiguuq ilagiigutau'mat* (food makes people to be relatives). Back then they only had food of meat that they got from animals they caught. And because *niqiguuq ilagiigutau'mat* (food makes people to be relatives) the meat has to be apportioned to your fellow community members. The one who caught the food, if he had not finished what he received, because *niqiguuq ilagiigutau'mat* (food makes people to be relatives), the injunction was that one was to feed the people, because this will make the people *inuuqatigiittiaq* (live well together in harmony), food will, and we were also told thus...like...a fish or caribou or polarbear or seal, these things like caribou and such, these meats that make up

Taalliraq skillfully draws the youth in, giving them suggestions for topics....

Giving them as chance to collect their thoughts, she simulates an answer to one of those possible questions....

our diet...we were told that if we were not short of something **[at 50:00 minutes]** then we were to feed our community members, so that we can be better at *inuuqatigiittiaq* (living well together in harmony)...and we were to eat together in the process.

Akiqtilik: Did they catch lots?

Taalliraq: Very much so, they would catch lots. With all their ability, like this, like this, they would keep going and keep trying...to catch animals because they had dogs, they had many dogs. So they tried to catch everything that they saw because they had dogs and people to feed...all through the winter year after year...and as soon as the sea ice froze thick enough, they would wait at the breathing holes, wait at the breathing holes, never stop waiting at the breathing holes ever...they worked to catch seals all through the winter. And if they saw caribou they would pursue caribou to the end...it was out of the thought of the people you shared an *iglu* with. And thinking of those that are living in other areas...you may have a younger sibling or an older sibling or an *illuq*, and so when you are pursuing animals for food...when you are looking for food to catch, when you see it you would try and kill it. If you were inclined to, you would dry the meat, and when it was dry you may be inclined to cache it under rock piles, whether it is seal meat or fish...and the relative that you have afar, the ones in a different place, or the ones in your own camp, if there is someone without enough food, you would give them of the meat you collected, you can give them some...because then you will be more strongly related to them that way...because you yourself have helped them...and in return this one will help you well too. This is how they will be.

Akiqtilik: Did they go away a lot of times?

Food sharing as a conflict prevention strategy was very clear in the other interviews too. (See p.83)

Drawn into the scenes of pre-settlement, Akiqtilik (a young man) imagines the world of the hunter...

(Akiqtilik was raised by his grandparents and thus his ability to interact in this conversation is not typical of most other youth. Without the ability to interact in the first language much of these first person narratives are not passed from elders to youth.)

...to hunt that much one would have to travel...

Taalliraq: Indeed...they went away a lot...to the place where there would be food, to where there were animals, they looked for places that had animals...they were always looking. With all their capacities they were always looking...they wanted to have enough stores of food, for themselves and their children and their wives, they wanted them to have enough food and clothes to wear, and if their relative did not have enough then they would give them some also. Even if they were not related, it was said that the poorest ones must be given something...[long pause]...you know those people back then were not all happy together all the time, we were not all happy together all the time. Even to today though we are related we are not always happy together, because this *quviahunnginniq* (not being happy between people) has always been there from a very long time ago it is *atu'mat* (operative) in our lives it has been like that....and it will continue to be used into our *hivuniksřaq* (what comes in front) far into that it will be the case, and we today have it too...and because it is so that Inuit have been this way since a very long time ago...even though it is like this, us older ones have the role to say, as young people **[55:00 minutes]** watch on, they would *say ima'naitkuvit pittauniaqqutit, ima'naitkuvit pittauniaqqutit* (if you did such and such you would *pittiaq-* do well, be good, if you did such and such you would *pittiaq-* do well, be good). And if the young person is apparently in an unhappy state, then they must *tunnganaqhautiřuq* them (make to feel welcome) and *huakturluguunngittuq* (not chastise/scold them harshly). It was usually two older people or four that would gather together with the person and they would talk to them and say *ima'naitkuvit pittaujungnaqtutit* (if you did such and such you could do/be good). They'd say 'if you did such and such to your fellow Inuk you will have more harmony.' They would *uqauřuqtau-* (be told, corrected) very firmly and clearly, and this is how the problem would be cleared up...they used to do that to the ones younger than them, those ones

...Taalliraq was very pleased with these questions....

Taalliraq cautions about being too romantic about the past...there was "conflict"...(see also quotes of others on bottom of p.75).

...however the role of the elder was central in dealing with the conflict...this has changed....

(see Briggs, p.357 for her observations on *pittiaq-* and *huak-* on p.330, she spells it *huaq,* and translates it as "verbal abuse")

did. Like for instance, they used to gather, they would gather when there was *quvianannginniq* (unhappiness), say they were going to have festivities and games...like this...say they were not in times of hunger and they have not a lot of chores, when times were like that, and even adults would play games, when it was that time, then the oldest ones of the people would gather. They would say 'if they did such and such I believe that they will *i&uaq-*' (comfort/smooth/restore balance/heal/make better), and the elders would come to a consensus on the matter, and they were stronger in number so the advice would be *atuqtaugiaq&uni* (used/applied). This would take place when they were having games and festivities, when they had festivities those ones that were adults as well...this *ulapqiniq* (playing games) really applies to *inuuttiarniq* (living well/right living).

"Conflict" is expressed here as a state of unhappiness, again an indirect term.

Other elders described the functions of gathering too in dealing with conflict.

(See Briggs p.357 *ilhuaq/ilhuit* for *i&uaq/i&uit*)

I&uit is the opposite of *i&uaq* (comfort, smooth, balance), and it was the best word to use to inquire about conflict.

Nilaulaaq: And when the people were playing the two that are *quviagiinngiliqtuuk* (two that are not happy between), they would be gathered together with four or two others and then it would be *i&uaqhaqtau-* (comforted/smoothed/restoreed balance/healed/made better). That was the precise way of doing it, that was....one of them could have *i&uilliqtiri-* (made uncomfortable, distressed, unbalanced) with their words, say if they had done that, then when others were listening that person would be made to cry by the words spoken to them in fairness, not in scolding tones.

I&uilliqtiri (to cause discomfort) is used for "causing conflict".

Taalliraq: Not in scolding tones certainly...

Nilaulaaq: It was forbidden to *huaktuq* (correct harshly).

Taalliraq: They *haimmaqatigiik-* (come to peace, solace) in this way, they come to peace...when they were in one place together and they talked it through.

Haimmaq- (to bring solace) is the verb used here for resolving

Nilaulaaq: It was their parents that gathered and it was not heard by others around.

Taalliraq: They were not to be heard by others.

Nilaulaaq: They [the mediators] were usually four people and they could also be two as well.

Taalliraq: And this you know...well...the radio from afar, there can be things heard on it, things about *pittiannginniq* (bad behaviour) and *pittiannginarniq* (bad habits) and it can be heard now by all the people in all the communities. This is not our culture, not the Nattilingmiut way at all, this practice.

Nilaulaaq: Because it can *pittiannginrrutau-* (be a cause for bad behaviour).

Taalliraq: The person thinks 'I am thought by many to be a bad person', this is what goes on in the person's mind in a way that builds.

Nilaulaaq: It causes hurt....

conflict. Gathering and talking were the two components of dealing with conflict. Other elders reflected this.

There had to be an even number...

Dignity was afforded to the aggressor through confidentiality. Radio technology has been said by other elders to be a challenge. (See Table 5, p.81, Social Action/Today)

How people perceive themselves through other peoples' eyes is important to the elders. Compass-ion and concern were afforded wrongdoers.

Final Notes: The recording on the audio file continued to one hour and 22 minutes. The transcription and translation here ends at about one hour. They went on to discuss the differences between the healing (therapeutic) methods used today and the old way of dealing with hurt and conflict. It is clear that the elders have thought of ideas about how the systems of the past are relevant and useful today. More research to develop this dialogue between elders and youth can help document what for the elders was a way of life rich in methods and practices that prevented most kinds of conflict from becoming unhealthy or destructive.

Appendix B
Sample of Inuktitut verbatim transcription

ᑖᓪᓕᕋᖅ: ᑕᔾᕚ?

ᑕᒪᓕᒃ: ᐄ ᑕᔾᕙ.

ᑖᓪᓕᕋᖅ: ᐅᕙᖓ ᐋᓂ ᐊᕐᕕᐅᔪᖓ, ᑖᓪᓕᕋᕐᒥᒃ ᐃᓄᒃᑐᑦ ᐊᑎᕐᒃᑲᖅᑐᖓ. ᑕᐃᒪ ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᕐᑲᖅᑯᖓ ᐊᖓᔪᖅᑳᒻᒪᓇᓐᓂᒃ ᐃᔨᑦᑐᐊᕐᒥᒡᓗ ᐃᓚᑦᕐᑯᐊᕐᒥᒡᓗ. ᑕᐃᑉᑯᐊᒃ ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᒻᒪᓈᑦᑲ ᐃᓚᑦᕐᑯᐊᕐᓗ ᐃᔨᑦᑐᐊᕐᓗ. ᑎᒍᐊᖑᔨᒪᒐᒪ ᐊᑦᑕᒻᓂᑦ ᐊᑖᑕ ᐃᓚᑦᕐᑯᐊᑉ ᓇᔫ’ᓂᑦ ᑎᒍᐊᖑᔨᒪᒐᒪ...ᐄ....ᕐᑲᕐᓕᑭᑦᑐᒥᒃ ᑎᒍᐊᖅᓯᕐᑲᖅᑯᖓ ᐊᕐᓇᒥᒃ ᐊᑦᑕᒻᓂᒃ ᑎᒍᐊᖑᔪᖓ ᐊᑖᑕ ᓇᔫ’ᓂᑦ ᐊᓈᓇᕐᑲᕐᑲᑖ’ᓂᑦ ᐊᑖᑕᕐᑲᕐᑲᑖ’ᓂᑦ ᐊᑦᑕᒻᓂᑦ ᑎᒍᐊᖑᔨᒪᒐᒪ ᕐᑲᕐᓕᒃᑭᑦᑐᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᕐᒃᑲᖅᑐᓂ. ᑕᐃᒪᓗ ᑎᒍᐊᖅᓯᒐ ᐊᖑᑕᐅᑦᕐᑭᔭᖅ ᐃᓅᑦᑐᖕᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᕐᒃᑲᖅᑐᓂ. ᐃᓅᑦᑐᖕᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᕐᒃᑲᖅᑐᖅ ᑎᒍᐊᖅᓯᒐ ᐊᖑᑕᐅᑦᕐᑭᔭᖅ. ᑎᒍᐊᖅᓯᒎᖅᐸᓐᖏᑕᕋ ᓄᑕᕋᐅ’ᑐᓂ ᑎᒍᐊᖑ’ᑐᓂ ᑎᒍᐊᖑᒋᐊᖅ ᐃᓯᒪ’ᓇᓐᖏᓂ’ᒪᑦ, ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓕᖅᐸᓪᓕᐊᓕᓵᖅᑐᖓ ᐊᓈᓇᒐᓗ ᐊᑖᑕᒐᓗ ᑐᖅᓱᕋᖅᑖᑦᑲᒃ ᑕᐃᒪ’ᓇ ᓇᖁᓯᓕᖕᒥᐅᑦ ᑐᖅᓱᕋᐅᓯᓇ’ᒪᔮᒃ ᑕᐃᒪ’ᓇ ᑐᖅᓱᕋᕋᑉᑭᒃ ᑖᑉᑯᐊᒃ. ᑎᒍᐊᖅᓯᒐᓗ ᑎᒍᐊᖅᓲᑦᑲᒃ ᑖᑉᑯᐊᒃ ᐊᓈᓇᒐᓗ ᐊᑖᑕᒐᓗ. ᑖᑉᑯᐊᒃ ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᒻᒪᓈᑦᑲᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓕᖅᐸᓪᓕᐊᓕᓵᖅᑐᖓ ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᒻᒪᓇᖏᓐᖏᓐᓇᓯᖏᑦᕐᑲᑦᑕᕋᑉᑭᒃ ᐊᓈᓇᒫᕐᓂᕐᔫᓐᓃᑦ ᐊᑖᑕᒫᕐᓂᕐᔫᓐᓃᑦ ᑲᑉᐱᐊᓯᒻᒪᓇᒃᓯᒪᓕᖅᑐᒍ ᑕᐃᒪ’ᓇ. ᐃᓅ’ᑐᖓ ᓇᒡᓕᖕᓇᖅᓯᔪᒫᖅᔫᓐᓃ’ᒥᔪᑦ ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᓇ’ᑐᒋᑦ ᐃᓅᕕᒋ’ᑐᒋᑦ ᐱᒥᕐᕕᒋᓐᖏᑦᑲᓗᐊᖅᑐᒋᑦ ᓇᒡᓕᖕᓇᖅᓯᕐᑲᑦᑕᕐᓂ’ᒥ’ᒪᑕ, ᐃᓄᑐᕐᑲᐅᓕᖖᖓᒥᒃ. ᓇᒡᓕᖕᓇᖅᓯᔪᖕᓇᖅᔫᓐᓂ’ᒥᑎ’ᑐᒋᑦ ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᓇᓇᓯᖏᓐᖏᒻᒪᓇᑦᕐᑲᑦᑕᖅᓯᒪᒐᑉᑭᒃ. ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᓇᒐᑉᑭᒃ ᕐᑲᐅᔨᒪᑉᑲᒐᐅᑦᑎᐊᕋᓯᐊᖅᑐᖓ ᐊᑦᑕᒻᓂᑦ ᐊᖓᔪᑦᕐᑳᑦᑲᔫᖅ ᐅᑯᐊ ᑎᑭᓂᐊᓕ’ᒪᑕ ᑎᑭᓐᓂᐊᓕᕋᔨ ᓯᓕ ᐃᒪ’ᓇ ᓄᑦᕐᑲᖓᓯᒪᕚᖕᖏ’ᓇᑉᑕ ᑕᐃᑉᓯᒪᓂ ᐃᓚᑉᑎ’ᓂᓪᓘᓐᓃᑦ ᐃᓚᒥ’ᓂᓪᓘᓐᓃᑦ ᑕᑯᔭᖅᑐᖅᑐᑎᒃ ᓄᓇᐅᑉ ᐊᓯᐊᓃᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᓯᑲᔪᒥᒃ ᑎᖕᒥᔪᒥᒃ ᓯᑭᔫᒥᒃ ᐊᑐᓐᖏᑦᑲᓗᐊᕋᒥᒃ ᕿ’ᒥᓄᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᕿ’ᒦᓐᓇᐃᑦ ᑖᑉᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᐅᓪᓛᕈᑎᒋᒐᓗᐊᖅᑐᔾᔪᒃ ᑕᐃᒪ’ᓇ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᓄᓇᕐᑲᖅᐸᓐᖏ’ᓇᒥᒃ ᐆᒪᔪᓕᖕᓃᓇᓯᐊᖅᑐᑎᒃ.

Appendix C
Abstract submitted to the
Nunavut Research Institute (NRI)

300-word summary in plain English and Inuktitut syllabics submitted to the Nunavut Research Institute November 15, 2003. This gives NRI the basis to do an initial assessment with community feedback within a 45 day period. After that, because this study involves traditional knowledge, a full proposal is due for scrutiny before a research licence is issued.

Title: Inuuqatigiittiarahuarniq/Peacebuilding Perspectives of the Nattilingmiut Elderly Inuit of East Kitikmeot

Together with Nilaulaaq Aglukkaq, I will be working with Nattilingmiut elders in Taloyoak, Gjoa Haven and Kugaaruk, to learn about their thoughts on Inuuqatigiittiarahuarniq (the skilful art of being people-to-people together). We will be interviewing the elders using video to record. We want to involve younger people in the project so they can learn from the elders and learn about the research process. I speak Nattilingmiutut fluently and would like to help the community document the valuable teachings of the elders on this subject. The elders we will interview are the last of the generation of Inuit to have lived on the land nomadically. There is a lot of evidence from elders, explorers and anthropologists describing that time as being very peaceful and harmonious. We want to capture the thoughts and experiences of the elders who lived in the pre-contact time so that future generations can have a record of it from the elders' perspectives. A lot of academic work has focused on other perspectives, and this one seeks to document the elders' understanding. We propose to put copies of the videos in the local schools and libraries, and the Department of Education would like to use it to develop conflict resolution curriculum from Inuit traditional perspectives. Very little work to preserve Nattilingmiut dialect has been done and even the Inuit Cultural Institute's writing system is problematic for use in writing the sounds. Inuktitut is also becoming weaker among the younger generations, and this project seeks to strengthen the language by giving particular emphasis on youth involvement with the elders.

ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᓇᑦᑎᓕᖕᒥᐅᑕᐃᑦ ᐃᓱᒪᒋᔭᖕᒋᑦ ᐃᓅᖃᑎᒌᑦᑎᐊᕋᓱᐊᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᒪᓕᒐᐅᔪᓂᒃ ᓂᓚᐅᓛᖅ ᐃᖃᑎᒋᓗᒍ ᓇᑦᑎᓕᖕᒥᐅᓂᒃ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᕐᓂᒃ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᕈᒪᔪᒃ ᑕᓗᕐᔪᐊᓂ, ᐅᖅᓱᖅᑑᕐᒥ ᑰᒑᕐᔪᖕᒥᓗ, ᐃᓅᖃᑎᒌᑦᑎᐊᕈᓯᕆᕙᓚᐅᖅᑕᐃ'ᓂᒃ ᐃᓕᑉᐱᕆᓇᓱᐊᕐᓗᑎᒍᑦ. ᐅᖃᖅᓴᒃᑎ'ᓗᒋᑦ ᑕᕐᓇᔭᐅᑎᓄᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᖅᐸᖕᓂᐊᖅᑕᕗᑦ. ᐃᖅᑲᑎᖅᑲᑦᑕᕈᒪᔪᒍᑦ ᐃᓅᓯᒃᑐᓂᒃ ᐃᓕᑦᑎᕚᓪᓕᖅᑯ'ᓗᒋᑦ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᕐᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓚᐅᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᑐᓕᕆᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑯ'ᓗᒋᑦ. ᓇᑦᑎᓕᖕᒥᐅᑐᑦ ᑐᑭᓯᑦᑎᐊᖅᑐᖓ ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᖅᓱᖓᓗ, ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏ ᐊᑐᕈᒪ'ᓗᒍ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᕐᓂᒃ ᓇᑦᑎᓕᖕᒥᐅᑕᕐᓂᒃ. ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᐸᓗᒥ ᑭᖑᓪᓖᖅᑐᖅᑎᐅ'ᒪᑕ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓂᖅᓴᐃᑑᔪᓂᒃ ᓄᓇᒥ ᐊᓐᓇᐅᒪᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓂᖅᓴᐃᑦᑑ'ᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᖑᑎᖅᓗᑎᓪᓗ. ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᖅᑲᖅᐸ'ᒪᑕ ᑕᐃᑉᓱᒪᓂᑰᖅ ᐃᓅᖃᑎᒌᑦᑎᐊᕋᓱᐊᖅᓗᑎᒃ ᐃᓅᑦᑎᐊᖅᓯᒪ'ᒪᑕ, ᖃᑉᓗᓈᓪᓗ ᑎᑭᓕᖅᑎ'ᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᓂᑳᖅᓯᒪ'ᒪᑕ ᑎᑎᖅᓗᑎᒃ ᑕᐃᒪ'ᓇᑉᑕᐅᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐊᑭᕋᖅᑐᖅᓂᖅᑦᑎᐊᖕᒋᓪᒪᕆᒃᓗᑎᒃ ᑕᑯᓯᒪ'ᒪᕆᑦ. ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐃᓱᒪᒋᔭᐃ'ᓂᒃ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕈᒪᔪᒃ ᑭᖑᕚᕆᒃᓴᐃᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᑦᑎᐊᕐᑯ'ᓗᒋᑦ ᐃᓅᖃᑎᒌᑦᑎᐊᕋᓱᐊᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᕐᓂ. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᑏᑦ ᐊᒥᓱᑦ ᑐᑭᓯᓇᓱᐊᖃᑦᑕ'ᒪᑕ, ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐃᓱᒪᒋᔭᐃ'ᓂᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓇᓱᐊᕐᒥᖕᒋᓗᑎᒃ. ᑕᕐᓇᔭᐅᑎᓕᐊᕗᑦ ᐃᓕᔪᒪᔭᕗᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᕕᖕᓄᑦ ᐅᖃᓖᒫᖅᕕᖕᓄᓪᓗ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓕᓭᖅᑐᓕᕆᔩᑦ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥ ᐊᑐᕈᒪᔭᐃᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᑎᓕᐅᕈᒪᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᑕᖅᑲᓄᑦ. ᓇᑦᑎᓕᖕᒥᐅᑕᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓰᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᑦᑎᐊᕋᓱᐊᖅᑯᒥᑦ ᐊᔪᖅᓇᖅᐱᐊᒃᑐᑦ ᖃᓂᐅᔮᖅᐸᐃᑦ ᒪᓕᒃᓗᒋᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓰᑦ ᓴᖏᓕᓯ'ᓕᑕ ᓄᓇᖅᑲᓂ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᑦᑎᐊᕈᐃᓕ'ᒪᑕ, ᓴᓇᓇᓱᐊᕈᒪᔪᑦ ᐃᓅᓯᒃᑐᓂᒃ ᐃᖅᑭᖅᑲᓗᑕ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᓴᓇᖅᑭᓕᓗᒋᑦ.

Appendix D
Names of research participants

Only the names of the Nattilingmiut elders are listed, although we did interview other elders in Gjoa Haven and Taloyoak. In Taloyoak Arnanguřaq (Mary Ittunga), who is a Nattilingmiut elder, was also interviewed by the youth who are her grandchildren. This tape is included in the overall collection created for the community, but that particular interview was not analyzed in detail for this thesis as we did not have consent forms signed. She requested verbally that her recording, which included her husband Ittunga (Tony) in conversation, be included. Her words confirmed much of what was said by the other elders, and her participation and wisdom is respectfully and gratefully acknowledged.

Where the spelling in Roman English was given or confirmed, that spelling is used. In some cases the spelling found in the phone book was used, although because they might not be accurate, the ICI phonetic spelling appears in brackets next to the person's name, so that identification is easier for the community.

Gjoa Haven:
Hakiqtaaq, Mary Takiruq (Takiřuq)
Naalungiaq Pihuk (late husband's name is Ikuuti&uk)
Quviqtilik, Alicia Kameemalik (Kamingmaalik)
Taalliraq, Annie Arqviq (Arviq)
Nujaqqiq, Susie Konana (Kunnaaq)
Konana (Kunnaaq), Bob
Kamookak (Qamukkaaq)
Qiluniq, Mary Kamookak (Qamukkaaq)

Taloyoak:
Niviuvak, Bibianne Marniq
Arnahaaq, Philemena Totalik (Tuutalik)
Nuliajuk, Lena Kingmiaqtuq
Angmalluq, Bernadette Uttaq
Uttaq, Mathew
Arnaluaq, Molly Totalik (Tuutalik)
Qauqřuaq, Gideon
Iqalliřuq (no other names known to us, husband to Iliktaaq)
Iliktaaq (no other names known to us, wife of Iqalliřuq)

Kugaaruk:
Immingark (Iminngaaq), Lucy Kayaksak (Kajakhaaq)
Nirlungayuk (Nirlungařuq), Bartholomew
Nuluq, Agnes Iqqugaqtuq (Iquugaqtuq)
Akkak (Aqqaq), Gino

Grouped Themes	SOCIAL ORDER	CHANGE		ISSUES	
Macro Theme	***Uqau'ři-* injunctions**	***Taiphumani* before**	***Ublumi* today**	***Aksřuruutaułut* hardships**	***Piřřutiit* reasons/causes**
Sub themes	*Niqiit* (food related) *Hi'tigi* (needless defense of others) *Nutaqqiurutiit* and *Pamiqharutiit* (relating to child bearing and child raising) *Iliarřuit* (orphans) *Uumařut* (living things) *Tuq&urauhiit* (kinship terms) *Uqauhiq kiřguinirlu pi'lugu* (relating to the use of words and gossip) *Piqutiit pi'lugit* (relating to belongings) *Urulu-* (relating to interpersonal tensions) *Pittiaq-* (relating to interpersonal tensions and respectful action towards others) *Naalak- and Kiuma-* (listening respectfully to advice elders and not answering back)	*Piqutiit* (material goods) *Niqiit* (food) *Hi'nigi-* (defending other needlessly) *Inuuttiarniq* and *Pittiarniq* (right living, doing right) *Tuq&urauhiit* (kinship terms) *Ilagiingniq* and *ikajuqtigiingniq* (extended kin and interdependence) *Angajuqqaanik naalangniq* (parental authority)	*Piqutiit* (material goods) *Niqiit* (food) *Hi'nigi-* (defending other needlessly) *Inuuttiarniq* and *Pittiarniq* (right living, doing right) *Tuq&urauhiit* (kinship terms) *Ilagiingniq* and *ikajuqtigiingniq* (extended kin and interdependence) *Nutaqqanik kamattiarniq* (parenting) *Angajuqqaat* (parents)	*Angajuk&iit pi'lugit* (relating to elders' role) *Nukaq&iuřut pi'lugit* (relating to younger generations) *Ilagiittiarniq* (strong family relations)	*Iliharniq* (school) *Niqiit* (food) *Katimngaliqtut* (being in one place) *Piřakhat* (influences) *Ilagiit* (family ties) *Naalannginniq* (parental and elder authority)

Appendix E: Overview of Grouped Themes, Macrothemes and Subthemes