

**The Cultural Ecological Perspectives
of Canadian Inuit:
Implications for Child-Rearing and Education**

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by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to obtain and analyze Inuit perceptions of physical and human environments, and the implications of these for child-rearing and education.

The fieldwork for the study took place during the summer of 1989 at Pangnirtung, Baffin Island, Northwest Territories. Thirty-six Inuit were interviewed out of which 29 were used for analysis, since 7 interviews were incoherent.

The analytical framework for the research was provided by the researcher's development of cultural ecology theory with special awareness of modern Inuit life. A model; Dynamic Model Relating Cultural Ecology and Child-Rearing, was developed and utilized for obtaining, organizing and analyzing the data.

A review of related literature was provided and discussed further in the findings of the study. A body of data was presented, building up an edifice of perceptions concerning habitat and contemporary child-rearing, followed by a re-examination of the responses, to identify subtle variations of perspectives. This was obtained partly by the aid of a computer program called Ethnograph, which enabled the researcher to code and categorize all of the data.

Some of the major findings of this study included the strong feeling of the Inuit about their relationship to their habitat, nuna, which not only

encompass the past and the present, but strongly suggested the future as playing a role in Inuit relationship with the land. The notion of futurity was expressed in terms of having to preserve the habitat for future generations, and also in the form of statements about uncertainty as to what the future had to offer a significant proportion of young Inuit. The young Inuit cannot expect full wage employment in the industrial, administrative and service sectors, and this has major implications for curriculum planning in the future of the Arctic educational system. Another significant finding of this study was Inuit spirituality playing a definite role in linking their relationship with their habitat. It seemed that the original Inuit beliefs were to some extent incorporated by the Christian missionaries and inculcated in present Inuit Christian belief.

The findings were followed by a set of research and policy recommendations. These included the needs perceived and expressed in this study, maximizing Inuit participation in both the planning and delivering of education. Whereas this study concentrated on understanding the cultural ecological perspectives of Inuit, it recommended research be undertaken with Inuit child-rearing practices as its main focus.

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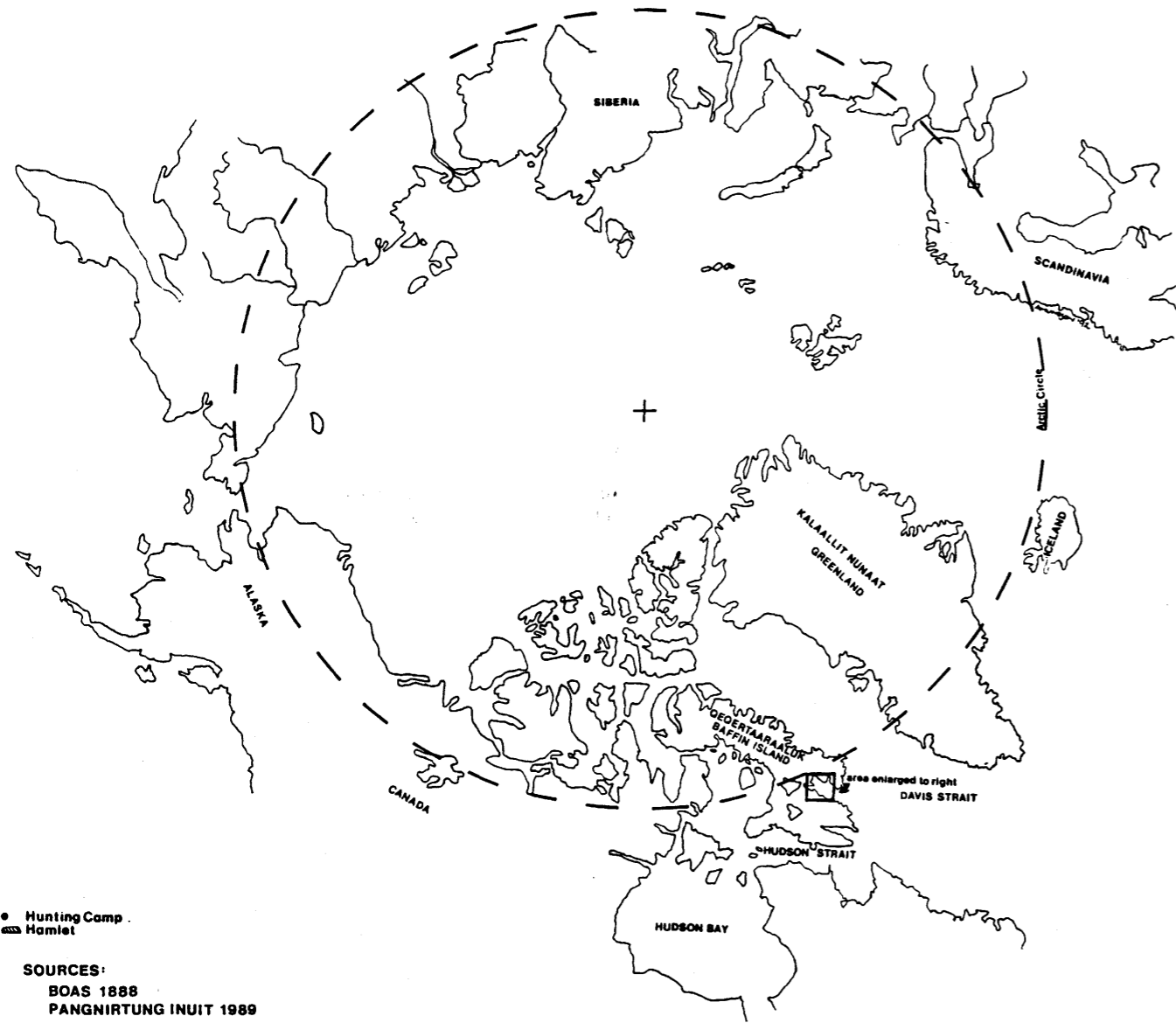
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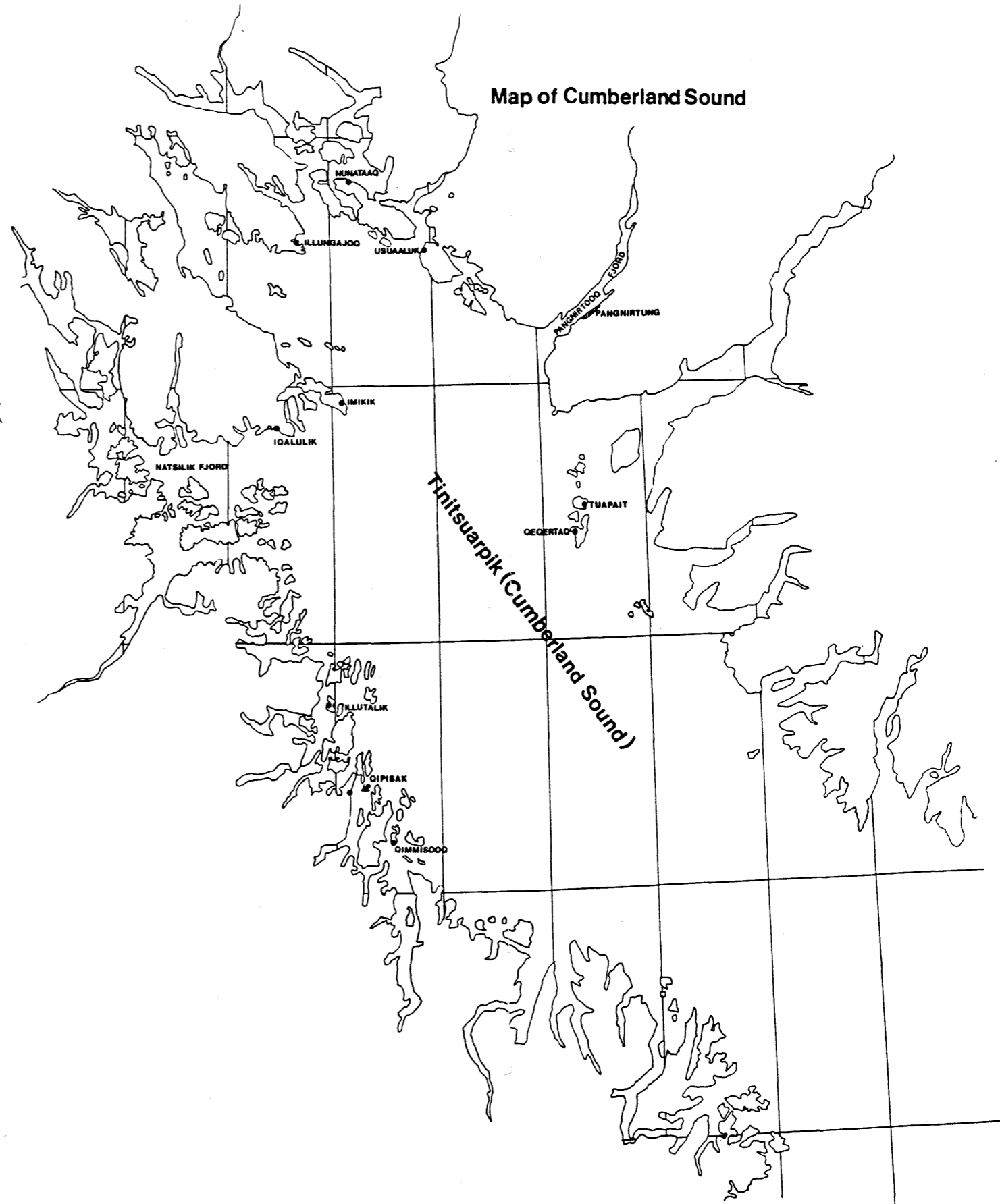
about my culture has been a great stimulus and help. I hope that together we can go on working for the improvement of Native circumstances everywhere.

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Circumpolar Region: Ukiortartoq



Map of Cumberland Sound



● Hunting Camp
 ■ Hamlet

SOURCES:
 BOAS 1888
 PANGNIRTUNG INUIT 1989

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This chapter provides an introductory background to the physical and cultural setting of the study, and immediately addresses the combinations of meaning of the Inuktitut word nuna--which means habitat, land-and-sea-and-ice, locality of group history and memory, spiritual anchor, and source of identity. Also set forth are outlines of the essential study problem and the sub-problems, and a short glossary of terms.

Delimitations and limitations are offered, as well as the assumptions of the study. More extended treatment is given to the statement of the importance of the study, indicating the significance of the findings in the development of future curricula and child-learning approaches which will reinforce identity and provide the individual Inuk with a sense of direction.

Although the relationship between human beings and the environment has been discussed over a long period, it was not until the late nineteenth century that German biologist Ernst Haeckel proposed the term 'ecology' to describe the relationship between organisms living within a defined space and their patterns of adaptation to that specific environment (English et al, 1972). This explanation referred to biological studies. At a later time in anthropology, ecological studies came to refer to culturally-conditioned behaviour, emphasizing the interplay between the

biological and superorganic matters influencing human behaviour (Rossi et al, 1977). As an adaptation of ecological studies, 'cultural ecological studies' are now concerned with human behaviour and the way in which people respond to their physical environment (Rossi et al., 1977).

Over the last 5000 years, Eskimoic people in Canada have lived and survived in the Arctic environment with very little contact with different cultures, other than neighbouring Indian tribes in some areas. The traditional way of life had been a full adaptation to the surrounding physical environment. In less than 400 years of European intrusion in Canada, Euro-Canadian cultural influence has disrupted the Eskimoic way of life.

One of the introduced aspects from Western culture has been the system of schooling. The curriculum philosophy used as a base for Inuit (the term used for modern-day people of Eskimoic origin) schooling reflects Western industrialization, not the Inuit subsistence economy. A Euro-Canadian philosophy of the purpose and meaning of life has been introduced into the learning of Inuit children (Baffin Island Divisional Board of Education, 1989). Although this has for some adaptive purposes been useful, it has had discernable negative consequences for Inuit school children, as a majority of them become the victims of emotionally-loaded perceptual clashes between the Inuit and Western cultures. Often young adults are left unable to fully adjust, either to Inuit culture or to Western

culture. Stereotypic statements made about the Inuit often create a false dichotomy, emphasizing the extreme differences of earlier contact time, rather than recognizing the melded reality of the present. Thus, children are impelled in school to devalue the culture of which their parents are the bearers and, in the process, distance themselves from the older kinsfolk upon whom they, in traditional times, depended materially and emotionally.

Recently there have been a number of statements made by the Inuit peoples of North America, saying how much 'land' means to their peoples' culture and identity (Inuit Circumpolar Conferences 1980, 1983, 1986). Although numerous descriptive studies of the Arctic have been conducted, an emic understanding of how Inuit perceive their own physical environment has yet to be derived from this (Freeman, 1976).

In reference to Inuit land-relationship with nature, the English speakers use the word 'land'. Conceptually different from its use in the English language, 'land' in the Inuit language (Inuktitut) can be translated into nuna. In this native Inuk researcher's view, nuna is much more encompassing in content and context. Nuna includes, for example, the whole notion of being out on the 'land', even when in fact it most often means being on some body of water. Prehistorically, historically, as well as at the present, Inuit society is principally a maritime culture; thus the term nuna implies the water-born resources at least as significantly as those of the land. Nuna also includes climate, tides and celestial influences on the

environment. In the Inuit way of thinking, one may speculate that nuna is also very much part of a metaphysical environment.

The theory of cultural ecology includes both the physical and social environment in its definition of culture, and the latest approach of this theory encourages understanding culture from the insider's point of view. It seems reasonable, therefore, to develop an ecological framework for Inuit perceptions of physical and human environments, and to investigate how these perceptions are linked to the Inuit cultural ways of rearing children. Data analysis should be congruent with reality, including reality as it is perceived in terms of the environment by the cultures under examination. The Inuit see the physical and social environments as inextricably interwoven, and given this it seems to be the most appropriate approach to be used in this endeavour. In this study, using a cultural ecological model, the present researcher studied the perceptions of the Inuit concerning their physical environment, their human environment and the reflection of these in the perceptions of the Inuit modes of child socialization and up-bringing.

The Problem and Its Setting

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to record the Inuit perceptions of the physical and human environments and to determine how these perceptions are related to Inuit ways of child-rearing.

Statement of the Problem

In the context of present Inuit child-rearing practices, it is necessary to explore the way in which Inuit perceive and integrate their relationship to nuna, and to understand their perspectives of the human context.

Therefore, the major question of this study became: What are Inuit perceptions of the physical and human environments, and how do these perceptions affect their child-rearing practices?

The Sub-problems

The following sub-problems were investigated:

1. How do the Inuit express their perception of the physical environment in which they live?
2. How do the Inuit express their perceptions of human environments in which they live?
3. How do the Inuit link their perception of physical and human environments to the culturally accepted practices of child-rearing?

4. To what extent do the Inuit feel that the kind of perception they have concerning their physical and human environments is reflected in the school curriculum which is taught to their children?

5. How do the Inuit see their perception of physical and human environments becoming adequately included in the school curriculum?

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following terms are used:

Bilingual: the use of two languages--in this study both Inuktitut and English.

Cultural ecology: "the study of institutionalized and socially transmitted patterns of behaviour interdependent with features of the environment" (Ogbu, 1981, p. 421).

Emic: from the insider's point of view.

Etic: from the outsider's point of view.

Eskimoic: traditional Inuit way of life; prehistoric in the sense of being a period prior to the contact with Western culture. The word 'Eskimo' was used by Cree about people who 'eat raw meat', derogatively.

Ethnoscience: an approach to cultural ecological studies where cultures are studied by attempting to understand the problem under study from the indigenous participant's point of view.

Garbage: tin cans, plastic bags, disposable diapers (small scale refuse as opposed to large scale industrial refuse).

Human environment: human behaviour as opposed to physical, immediate and extended family, the structure, values and behavioural requirements of the kinship system, the community organization, the dialectal group, the Inuit society as an integrated pattern, the incursive cultures seen historically and contemporarily; the international economy, the government and the Euro-Canadian concept of Law.

Inuk: a (singular) person of Eskimoic origin.

Inuit: the people (plural) of Eskimoic origin, depending on geographic region this term will vary. In northern Alaska people call themselves Inupiat, Inuvialuit--Mackenzie Delta, N.W.T., Inuinnait--Coppermine area, N.W.T., Inughuit--northwest Greenland.

Inuktitut: language spoken by the Inuit; the life-way of the Inuit.

Inuktitummarik: truly Inuit way, referring to cultural behavioural heritage.

Monolingual: the use of only one language--in this study either Inuktitut or English.

Native: a person whose ancestors were the first inhabitants of a country (Webster's Dictionary, 1979). In Inuktitut the word used is:

nunaqqaartuminiit.

Nuna: Inuktitut word for 'land', inferring the totality of the habitat.

Oqqormiut: a broader appellation applying to people traditionally living and hunting around the Cumberland Sound region (now largely settled in Pangnirtung).

Pangnirtungmiuq/-miut: a person/persons of Inuit ancestry residing at Pangnirtung.

Perception: an intuition of concepts arrived at on the basis of personal and cultural experience and understanding.

Physical environment: the land, sea, lakes, rivers and all geographical features; the ice, the snow, the tides, the winds, seasons and climate; the fauna, flora and their habitats and ecology; the metaphysical forces that are believed to affect all these aspects.

Qallunaaq/Qallunait: white man/white people. This may also refer to any person of background other than Inuit and Indian (Indians in Inuktitut are called Eqqiliit, people with lice eggs, derogatively or simply Allait, the strangers). A black person might very well be defined as a Qallunaaq.

Qallunaatitut: language spoken by the Qallunait, in this study English; the life-way of the Qallunait.

Traditionalistic: as distinct from 'traditional'. Infers life-way containing many persistences of traditional culture through post-contact time.

Delimitations

In the study the following delimitations were made:

1. The study was confined to the geographical boundaries of Pangnirtung--a largely Inuit-populated community of 1014 people located in Cumberland Sound on the southeastern coast of Baffin Island, Northwest Territories, Canada.
2. Data were collected throughout July 1989, over a period of just one whole month.
3. Interviews were conducted with 36 Inuit, ranging in age from 15 to 74. All were residing at Pangnirtung during the period of the interviews.
4. Interviews focused only on questions pertinent to the study. This study used forms of investigation of culture through interviewing respondents, learning in conversations, observing, participating and analyzing previously recorded textual material.

Limitations

In this study the following limitations applied:

1. The amount of time available for field work limited the amount of data collected.
2. The subjects may in some cases have occasionally responded as they thought the present researcher would like them to.

3. Due to sampling problems (e.g. selection of respondents, some random, but mainly on local advice), the sample may not have been truly representative of the Inuit population of Pagnirtung.
4. Due to the small sample size, generalization to the whole Inuit population was limited.
5. Some of the questions used for this research may not have been the most appropriate for this study, despite pre-testing, revisal and innovation while the interviewing took place.
6. The collection of data, the interviewing and the analysis of data are only as accurate as the present researcher's skills allowed.

Importance of the Study

In cultures around the world there are underlying philosophies of life. These philosophies become the basis for acceptable behaviour among the members of a culture, as human beings need guidance for social control. Such social control manifests itself in any form of expression, be it behaviour, art, religion or child-rearing. The behaviour and the guidelines reflecting the cultural norms make each cultural group unique. In reference to child-rearing, children acquire behavioural patterns through parents, other members of the family, and ultimately through any bearers of the culture through observation, instruction and adaptation.

In his discussion of child-rearing practices, John Ogbu (1981) developed a cultural ecological model which he named Native Theory of Child-Rearing. When schooling was first introduced in Western cultures, it had as a purpose to further the culture of the society. The foundations for the curriculum reflected the philosophy of the culture. Although this is true for most educational programs in Western cultures, this does not necessarily apply to the school system set up by non-Inuit people for the Inuit. In the case of the Inuit, the curriculum used for schooling their children is divided according to four geo-political divisions: Greenland was a colony of Denmark, and therefore the curriculum is basically Danish. The Inuit children of northern Canada go to schools where the program is based on southern-Canadian school curriculum. The Alaskan Inupiat's school offerings are based on American goals and purposes. The Siberian Inuit schooling is based on the Russian culture. None of these nations have really looked at the philosophical foundation of Inuit child-rearing practices. Although Inuit have been one of the most studied cultural groups, Freeman (1976) claims: "there is little understanding apparent concerning how the world looked from the Inuit perspective" (p. 29).

As Berger (1977) explained, the destiny of the North in southern perspective is to further the interests of large-scale industries; and thus the curriculum in the North has been geared toward an anticipated industrial way of life (Valentine & Vallee, 1968). So far, this has not been achieved

(Williamson, 1987) in the eastern part of the Canadian Arctic, and it is not likely to be so for a long time. This imposed school system "has left many graduates of the schooling system in limbo and this has caused conflict of values and understandings between generations" (Williamson, 1987, p. 61). The present research explores an understanding of Inuit perceptions of physical and human environments, and how these perceptions affect the present child-rearing practices. An emic perspective was sought and the school content discussed to see if it seemed relevant to the Inuit perceptions of their physical and human environments.

The findings of the research may provide useful information to school curriculum developers as they plan more valid and meaningful curricula, and to teacher training institutions as they strive to improve the quality of teaching for Inuit children. The study may also provide the Inuit with specific tools to examine the future goals of schooling of Inuit youngsters, particularly now that the creation of Nunavut (the part of the Northwest Territories in the process of becoming a separate, largely self-governing territory where Inuit will be the majority of voters) is becoming more of a reality and implies control of education.

A contemporary factor of increasing significance and of growing concern is the global environmental crisis. The present research could contribute to changing the majority culture towards 'nature'. Humankind would gain a lot by caring for a forever-giving and all-embracing nuna.

For those in the North who are confused about their identity, this study may help them to sort out their cultural selves, evaluate their personal histories, validate their present identity and give some sense of direction as to their future.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter is a treatment of the theoretical framework of the study, moving from the early statements of Julian Steward (1968), who initiated cultural ecological theory-building, to the models of contemporary writers such as Berry (1980) and Ogbu (1981). The present researcher developed her own conceptual approach, providing analytical instrumentation which also embraced the essential cosmological and metaphysical factors and took the enquiry further, by way of analysis, to present emic perspectives. At the same time, this chapter relates habitat relationship to child-socialization processes, which were a focus of this study.

Julian Steward introduced cultural ecological theory in the 1930s, and for him the term implied: "The interaction between culture and environment was an incremental process" (Ellen, 1982, p. 54). The fact that Steward found such an interaction to be an incremental process is indeed interesting, as the previous theories of culture had dealt with the physical environment as having no positive influence on culture (Steward, 1968). Steward further emphasized this interplay when he stated that: "Environment and culture are not separate spheres but are involved in

'dialectic interplay' . . . or what is called feedback or reciprocal causality' (Hardesty, 1977, p. 8).

For the analysis of culture Steward developed a new framework. The criterion of analytical validity was centered upon what he called 'culture core'. It consisted of: "The economic sector of society, those features that are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements" (Hardesty, 1977, p. 9). The framework called for analysis of:

1. The interrelationship between environment and exploitative or productive technology.
2. The interrelationship between 'behaviour' patterns and exploitative technology.
3. The extent to which those 'behaviour' patterns affect other sectors of culture. (Hardesty, 1977, p. 9)

The first area was concerned with the material culture. Steward's analysis assumed that "the simpler cultures are more directly conditioned by the environment than advanced ones" (Steward, 1968, p. 168). In the second point, Steward was referring to the way in which people organize themselves for subsistence activities (English & Mayfield, 1972).

In relation to behaviour, an holistic approach of cultural ecology emerges clearly in Steward's third criterion, which called for an understanding of interrelationships of "such factors as demography, settlement pattern, kinship structures, land tenure, land use and other key cultural features are considered separately" (Steward, 1968, p. 170).

The above statements suggest that in the cultural ecological approach, culture and environment are definable in terms of each other.

The role that environment plays in human behaviour is emphasized, and as Rossi et al. (1977) wrote:

The main relevance of ecological studies to cultural anthropology derives from the fact that the behavioural as well as the physical traits of organisms are important in their relations with their environments and that, in the case of man, much behaviour involved in such relations is learned behaviour that has become part of the repertoire of responses of particular human groups. (p. 252)

One of the interesting aspects of the cultural ecological framework is the recognition of the significance of the dynamics of culture, making this particular framework applicable to study of societies from the most simple to the most complex, including those in the process of profound cultural change. According to Plog and Bates (1980), this approach "would focus on the development of individual cultures or populations without insisting that they follow the same evolutionary pattern" (p. 29).

Steward recognized that cultural change takes place in order to facilitate adaptation to environmental change. Although Steward never was in the Arctic, he inspired enough social scientists to the extent that his approach became a prominent theory among Arctic social scientists (Smith, 1984). Already back in the late nineteenth century Franz Boas' (1888) study on Baffin Island dealt with Inuit land relatedness. Criticized as being deterministic in approach by Smith (1984), studies such as Boas' were

replaced by research dealing with: "Inuit kinship, social relations, demography, technology, economic interactions and even ritual, as modes of ecological adaptation" (Smith, 1984, p. 69).

In reference to adaptation--one of the key concepts of ecology--

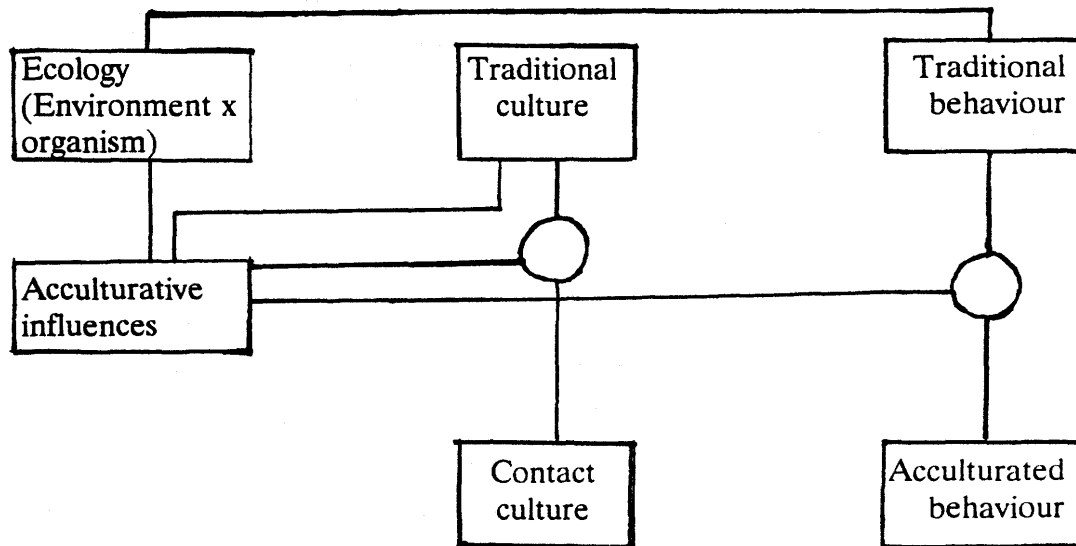
Robert LeVine (1977) wrote:

(1) culture, no less than biology, contributes to the presumptive basis of parenthood, i.e. to the ways in which parents perceive the task of rearing children; (2) that these ways are 'rational' in that they contain information about environment contingencies previously experienced by the population and assimilated into its cultural tradition. (p. 17)

The present researcher thinks that not only are the Inuit adapting to the physical environment, but at the same time they have to adapt to a changing human environment. The schooling system, it is believed, is seen as a pathway to adapting to the new human environment among the Inuit. This might best be illustrated by discussing various research models.

Berry's (1980) ecological model analyzed such cultural change among Native people as being caused by acculturative influences different from traditional behaviour. Explaining cross-cultural psychology as an, "attempt to comprehend systematic relationships between cultural-level variables and the behaviour of individuals" (Berry, 1980, p. 157), Berry applied an ecological approach to cross-cultural work in psychology. He claimed that an ecological approach, "requires a naturalistic framework, in which a phenomenon is considered in relation to its total environmental context" (p. 158), and arrived at an:

Ecological-Cultural-Behavioural Model (Berry, 1980, p. 178)



Berry (1980) explained that,

Essentially the environment constitutes a context for an organism and its behaviour while ecology refers to relationships between the organism (and its behaviours) and environmental contexts in which it operates. Thus any ecological analysis must contain three categories: environments, organisms (and their behaviour) and relationships. (p. 160)

In terms of cultural change among the Aboriginal people's culture,

Berry (1980) stated:

The basic elements of the model are ecological (interactions between human organisms and their habitat), cultural (group shared patterns of behaviour which are adapted to the group's habitat) and behavioural. A parallel set of elements, which is introduced through major contact with technologically-dominant societies, includes the acculturative influences themselves (operating mainly through urbanization and education), the contact culture (a culture no longer simply in adaptation to its habitat, but now also under these acculturative influences), and acculturated behaviour (consisting of 'shifts' in behaviour from previous levels, and

'acculturative stress' behaviours which are novel and mildly pathological). (p. 177)

It seems that Berry has taken the cultural dynamics into consideration while at the same time recognizing the complexities of interrelationships of the elements. The interrelationships of these are illustrated with lines and nodes. The present researcher assumes that they represent a mutually interactive relationship, as opposed to causative or sequential relationships.

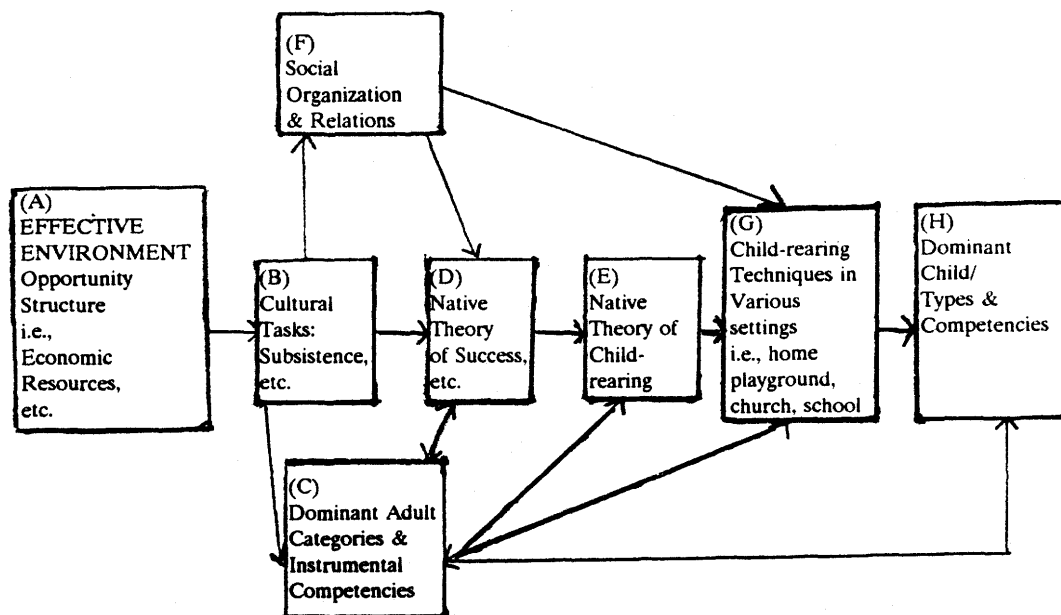
John Ogbu (1981) was one of the pioneers in attempts to find a framework that will not imply that the minority groups are 'disadvantaged' or have some forms of 'deficits' in comparison with what he calls 'white middle-class populations'. He rejected, "the absurdity of searching for a pattern of child-rearing and development derived from studying one group (e.g. white middle-class children) in another group (e.g. urban ghetto black children)" (p. 413). Instead, his recommendation was to study child development on the basis of some particular cultural group, since he believed that each cultural group has an emic perception of how to raise children. As Koenig (1980) in her Ph.D. dissertation wrote:

The adult generations, in their roles as educators, are expected to shape the minds, emotions and bodies of the young so that they assume adult roles so that they in turn can transmit the values, beliefs, technologies and philosophies required to ensure the viable continuation of the cultural group. (p. 1)

Here, while Ogbu points out a direction, Koenig clearly defines what is to be looked at to delineate a uniquely cultural way of upbringing children.

Based on Steward's work, Ogbu (1981) further defines cultural ecology to be, "the study of institutionalized and socially transmitted patterns of behaviour interdependent with features of environment" (p. 421). He then developed his own:

Cultural-Ecological Model (Ogbu, 1981, p. 422)



The factors (A-H) are to be considered, "in order to obtain a more complete and accurate view of the instrumental competencies prevalent in a given population, of their origins, and of their relationship to child-rearing" (p. 422). The overall contribution of Ogbu's model was his great understanding of interconnectedness or interdependency of elements which

he claimed have influence on child-rearing. One element the present researcher finds missing in this model is the spiritual aspects of the group. In discussing the human environment, this element has to be taken into consideration (Hardesty, 1977). Ogbu's approach was very much in accordance with the latest approach in cultural ecology, namely to study a culture from an emic point of view.

This latest approach to cultural ecology is called ethnoscience or ethnoecology. So far, the approach to studying cultures has been objective or etic, e.g. seen from the observer's point of view. Lately, the attempt is to understand culture from the emic or indigenous participant's point of view.

The techniques and concepts of this latest approach of cultural ecology are influenced by descriptive linguistics, systematic biology and psychology (Hardesty, 1977). Language in general is seen as the vehicle of a culture; it is a means to express one's culture. Perhaps because of this fact, ethnoscience's conceptual framework is largely based on cultural linguistics, studying culture etically first and secondly analyzing it emically from its own perspective (Hardesty, 1977).

Combining the etics and emics with that of taxonomics (Hardesty, 1977), a group's conception of most aspects of its relationships with its environment can be studied. From this standpoint arise such studies as ethnoscience, ethnohistory, ethnobotany, ethnography, ethnogeography--all

emphasizing the way in which Native people perceive these aspects (Hardesty, 1977). Along with such a new approach, it might be possible to explore an area of 'ethnopedagogy', based on an understanding of emic perception of adaptation to the physical and human environments through child-raising.

Ecological Studies of Inuit

Having reviewed some of the more insightful items of literature in assembling a conceptual framework, the following will deal with a review of literature based on studies carried out among the Inuit, covering their relationship with the physical environment, their philosophy of life, and individual interconnectedness with cosmology and physical environment. The latter part will address Inuit child-rearing practices based on their life philosophy. Here, it is appropriate to acknowledge omission of mention of earlier studies of Inuit, as this present researcher attempted to confine references to those aspects of the literature pertinent to this present researcher's specific theoretical framework.

Explaining cultural ecology to be, "the study of the complex web that connects living organisms, communities, and populations to all the other living and non-living features in an ecosystem" (Wenzel, 1991, p. 24), Wenzel (1991) analyzed and discussed Inuit hunting practices and their philosophy of life. Making it clear that not only are the Inuit adapting "to

the exigencies of the natural environment" (p. 25) but also to "new technologies and social features" (p. 27). The latter adaptation, he pointed out, has been taking place for at least a thousand years. As to how Inuit relate to the physical environment, Wenzel (1991) noted that the harvesting of the animals sharing the same ecosystem, "involves the relating of the society to the environment" (p. 61). This, he believed, is developed through a long-lasting kinship system which implies a practice of, "culturally established responsibilities, rights and obligations that affect every man, woman and child every day" (p. 60).

These rights and obligations do not only apply to the human beings but also encompass other members of the natural world: "People, seals, polar bears, birds, and caribou are joined in a single community in which animals give men food and receive acknowledgement and revival" (p. 61). From his point of view, it seems that Inuit have a great sense of equality and equanimity in relationship with the animals they hunt: "Inuit relate to animals not as dominators, managers, or even stewards of wildlife . . . but as co-residents who share the same conceptual ideology" (p. 62).

The ideology which Wenzel referred to is the Inuit conceptualization of how all living things share a creative force, without which there is no life. Burch and Foreman (1989) claimed this force has no end and represents a fundamental unity. Furthermore, these authors claimed that such a concept seemed to be basic across the Arctic coast. Williamson described

this force as a, "power which controlled all life. The Eskimo believed that sila is the life-giving element, which enfolds all the world and invests all living organisms" (Williamson, 1974, p. 22).

So pervasive, encompassing and equalizing is this force that it gives all the living beings air to breathe, and intelligence. With every breath people and animals take, air becomes transformed into energy to be used for intelligence, because as much as there is no life without air, without it there is no intelligence, either. Furthermore, the word sila is used for weather (Williamson, 1974). Such a combination of spirituality and a common element of life as weather, in one word illustrates the notion that Inuit do not secularize cosmological factors nor separate spirituality from their daily activity (Wenzel, 1991).

On a more individual basis, Williamson (1974) went on describing sila thusly: "Every individual is said to have as part of his soul the life force, the life-giving spirit. . . . This is of course something which never dies, air and life-giving force go on indefinitely, and so does the soul of men" (p. 23). Nutall (1992) discussed the notion of Inuit conceptualization of souls being the reason for becoming a person. Claiming that the name, "carries certain images that are necessary for social, psychological and cosmological renewal and integration" (p. 87), he discusses how Inuit perceive a person to be composed of various souls. He claims these are:

- tarneq: the personal soul
- anersaaq: the breath soul
- ateq: the name soul. (Nutall, 1991, p. 87)

Describing these components as being as similar as they are different, he explains tarneq, "to be present in latent form in the body at birth. It is something that will be nurtured as the child grows, with emphasis on a religious development" (p. 88). While the first component is an incremental one referring to the religious belief, the second one is thought to be connected with the life giving force sila. The word in Inuktitut for breathing is anersaartoq and this is closely related to anersaaq as one breathes air. Nutall (1991) discussed the first two components:

tarneq and anersaaq are at once the same, but separate. Tarneq is passive and its exact location unknown, while anersaaq contains aspects of mind . . . and is slightly more autonomous during a person's life. While it is acknowledged that tarneq leaves the body on death, anersaaq is shadowy and independent, able to leave a person's body during life. Like tarneq, it is autonomous and personal, but upon death it remains in the land of the living as a spirit or ghost, as a reflection or memory of the dead. (p. 90)

In terms of differences, Nutall remarked that tarneq is believed to be the component that leaves the earth, while anersaaq and the soul name remain on earth. As for the latter, Nutall wrote: "The name is independent and idiosyncratic, a person's life streams, through which flows strength and character" (p. 90), while Burch and Foreman (1989) describe 'name' as possessing its own power.

Williamson (personal communication, 1992), impressed with Nutall's expression of these factors, confirmed their conceptual validity as recorded by him in earlier research on Baffin Island, Ungava and Keewatin, 1953-1979.

Inuit use a widespread practice of giving infants names of deceased family members, believing that the mental and physical qualities, even skills and moral traits are inherited through naming (Briggs, 1971). Such a process shows how the name soul represents an ongoing cosmological life, representing ongoing entities beyond life on earth. The name is indeed seen as a temporary embodiment of soul (Williamson, 1988), being temporarily housed in a mortal, material part of the person (Nutall, 1992). Both Williamson (1974, 1988) and Nutall (1991, 1992) agree on the effect that the Inuit naming system has on their child-rearing practices, insofar as the inculcating of the social network not only takes place within the family and community context, but also within the cosmological context. In this regard, Williamson (1988) put this succinctly:

Inuk finds his place not only in his local physical society, but cosmologically, and is linked with the soul of those individuals in the group complex who are in a metaphysical rather than a physical social realm at any given time. (p. 246)

This idea was emphasized by Wenzel (1991) who showed that it is indeed through the extended kinship system that Inuit relate their physical presence to their surrounding environment.

The processes by which such philosophical aspects are translated into a cultural behaviour is seen, then, as something that social scientists have been confirming substantively and analytically over the years. One such anthropologist particularly focused on Inuit social structure and value expression by analysis of Inuit child-rearing practices. Tying up the notion of sila, Briggs (1971) noted that Inuit believed that children's developmental growth is intimately related to the intellect, isuma (or ihuma as her host group, the Utkuhikhalimmiut say it): "Growing up is very largely a process of acquiring ihuma since it is primarily the use of ihuma that distinguishes mature, adult behaviour from that of a child, an idiot, a very sick or insane person" (p. 112). Briggs went on explaining:

the growth of ihuma is internal and autonomous to a degree. They believe that ihuma needs to be informed, instructed, in order to develop along proper lines, but there is no point in trying to teach a child before he shows sign of possessing it. So in many respects the child is permitted to time his own social growth. The belief is that the more ihuma the child acquires, the more he will want to use it. (p. 112)

The beginnings of such growth are seen with infants starting to recognize people around them, starting to understand, respond and later on talk. Briggs (1971) claimed that growth of isuma later on manifests itself in children starting to become shy and self-conscious. According to Briggs (1971), Inuit perceive the children to be, "unreasoning beings, unable to understand" (p. 111) at the early stages of their lives, but would learn to use, "restraint in self-expression, and to want to participate in socially useful

activities" (p. 112) as they are growing up. The notion of isuma is very closely related to what Nutall calls anersaaq. The difference is that Nutall relates anersaaq to religious development, while Briggs' term ihuma refers to reasoning. But the emphasis of these two notions is the over-arching spiritual power of sila, which as said earlier is pervasive and all-embracing for everything alive, even to include the working of the intellect and processes of child development.

Condon (1988) is another anthropologist who studied child-rearing practices in the Canadian Arctic. Like Briggs, Condon was impressed by the Inuit's great appreciation of individual autonomous integrity. In reference to the teenagers Condon studied, he wrote: "Autonomy is the order of the day for most Holman teenagers and one of the most pervading 'themes' of parent-child relations" (p. 99). Here, the practice and belief of the naming which Nutall (1991, 1992), Briggs (1971) and Williamson (1974, 1988) discussed, is related to the way in which Inuit parents perceive and interact with children. Due to respect for the previous bearers of the name, parents are restrained from imposing any direct penalty for misbehaviour among the children. The end result of this is what Briggs (1971) described as a permissive and indulgent practice of rearing children. Such a practice does not come without cost, however, as Condon (1988) analyzed: "Undoubtedly the average Inuit adult tolerates a great deal more

misbehaviour and abuse from children than most Eurocanadian parents" (p. 60).

So unique and meaningful to its own practitioners is Inuit rearing of their children, that according to Condon (1988) this is done, "to instill culturally valued behaviours . . . [which] include emotional inhibition, self-restraint, nonaggressiveness, and responsibility" (p. 60), while Briggs (1971) concluded that the result is the achievement of highly valued self-sufficiency, and not being, "a cause of concern or an object of pity to others" (p. 71) at adulthood.

Concerning such philosophical foundations of the Inuit relationship with the surrounding environment, and the way it has been influenced by the Eurocanadian lifestyle, Condon claimed that the practice of Inuit child-rearing does not seem to have changed much since early anthropological studies dating back to the 1920s. This is also indirectly if not directly confirmed by Nutall's study, carried out during the late 1980s.

This chapter has attempted to develop, from earlier cultural ecological theory, an approach which recognizes the on-going functionality of cosmological and metaphysical perspectives in more effectively relating the society with its traditional habitat. This involves the use of ethnoscience techniques, which have been utilized by most recent research on Inuit relationship with the physical environment and their child-rearing practices.

CHAPTER THREE

Procedures of the Study

This chapter describes the research methodology, the data collection instrument designed for this study, the sample, sampling procedures, and the fieldwork, as well as the procedures followed in analyzing and interpreting the data.

The Research Methodology

The present researcher developed a cultural ecological theory model as the conceptual framework for this study. The qualitative approach to research was chosen to put emphasis on the notions used by the interviewees in expressing their perceptions of the physical and human environments, and the reflections of these in child-rearing practices.

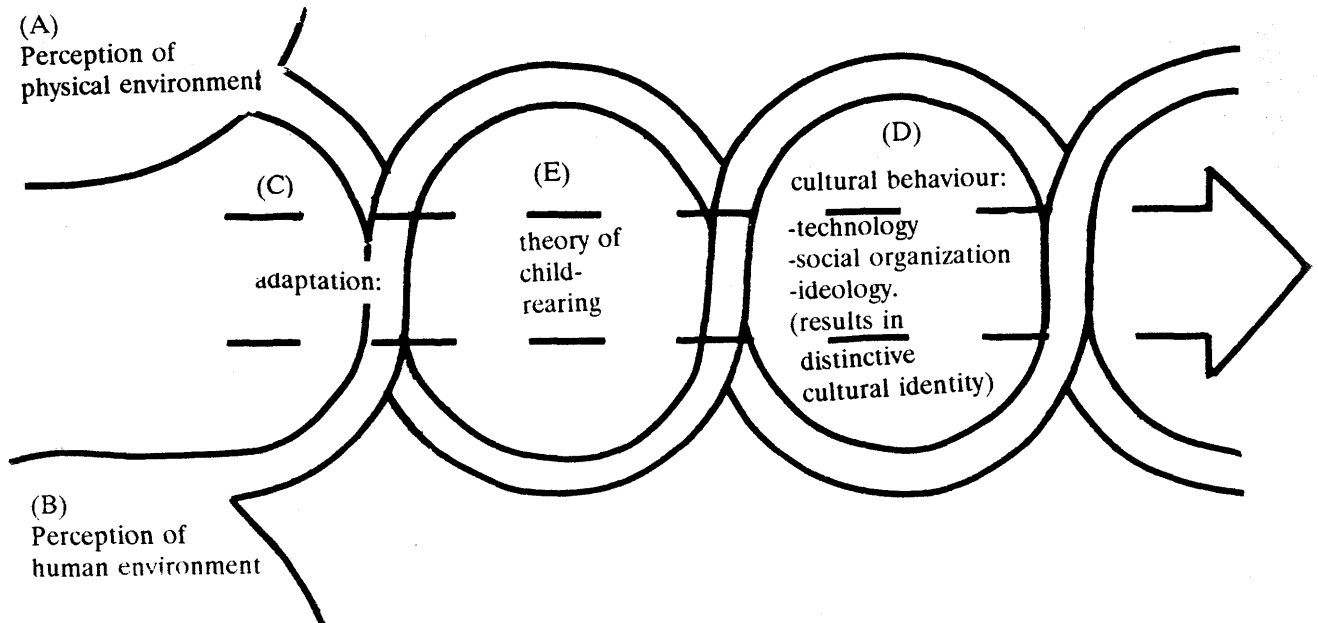
As the present researcher is of Inuit background, born and brought up in Greenland, this enquiry is to a large extent an emic study. This will further contribute to the accumulation of material using the ethnoscientific approach. The present researcher speaks kalaallisut, an Eskimoic language dialectally different from the Oqqormiutitut, an Eskimoic dialect spoken by the Pagnirtung Inuit. Conversation from one to another dialect can be accomplished. As modern Greenlandic orthography using the Roman alphabet has been developed, the Inuktitut words in this study have been

written in Greenlandic orthography. The study is partially etic since it is planned through a rigorous theoretical approach.

Insofar as the framework of this study is based on cultural ecological theory, it is, together with the sets of questions and the tools for analysis of the study--largely an etic endeavour (e.g., an outsider's point of view).

However, there is a strong emic dimension to this study, that is to say--it uses perspectives of the culture as seen from the inside. This is due to the fact that though admittedly using etic instruments of analysis--the present researcher is herself of Inuit ancestry, bringing her own Inuktitut up-bringing and experience to bear on data largely consisting of Pangnirtung Inuit own perspectives concerning themselves. Thus, though drawing heavily on the emic approach, the study can be said to be a healthy mixture of the internal (emic) and objective (etic) perspectives. Using Berry's (1980) and Ogbu's (1981) models for studying child-rearing practices, with their key components of cultural ecological theory, such as (C) adaptation, a simple model was developed by the present researcher for investigating (A) Inuit perceptions of their physical environment; (B) Inuit perceptions of the human environment; (E) how these perceptions are transmitted to new generations through practices of child-rearing; to (D) develop a cultural behaviour:

Dynamic Model Relating Cultural Ecology and Child-Rearing



Model developed for this study; re: Pagnirtung, 1989.

This model contains elements of both Berry's and Ogbu's work.

Berry (1980) recognized the actual dynamics of culture change, while Ogbu's (1981) model showed a great understanding of interconnectedness or interdependency of elements which, he claimed, have influence on child-rearing.

According to Ogbu's definition of cultural ecology, one of the key components of cultural ecological theory is adaptation, which could be the interacting element between the physical environment and the human being. Adaptation then becomes the determining factor for the way in which people behave. The end result becomes a very distinct way of life which, in turn, results in distinctive cultural identity.

In terms of adaptation, the present researcher speculates that the Inuit are not only required to adapt to the physical environment, but at the same time they are impelled to adapt to an externally-influenced human environment. This environment Berry (1980) calls 'acculturative influences'. As an example, concerning the school programs in the North, the present researcher feels that despite the school's sociocultural inappropriateness, it is seen as an adaptation mode, paving the way for people to learn to cope with the modern world.

The present researcher's model recognizes an ongoing process, flowing out of the distant past, through the present, and into the future, where adaptation is a prevailing factor which influences each area of the model. There is no linear cause-and-effect relationship, as all the elements are interdependent and interrelated. Change can occur in any of the elements, and this may influence all or none of the other elements. In fact, the interdependency and interrelatedness of the elements, "ultimately end[s] with a problem similar to that of the priority of the chicken or the egg" (Whiting, 1963, p. 5). Thus, a visual representation of this model could be seen as something similar to that of the double helix, showing the dynamic interaction and interdependency of all elements of the model.

Each component of the model needs to be studied, analyzed and integrated with other components, showing how each of the areas of social life is connected and interdependent with one another. For the purposes

of this research, only some aspects of this model were studied. Whereas components (A), (B), (C) and (E) in the model were studied, only some certain aspects of component (D) were included in this study.

In any culture, even though undergoing change rapidly, the way of life nevertheless seems to be an integrated one. On this basis, it is the present researcher's view that there exists a native theory of child-rearing upon which the parents, the community and ultimately the culture will draw. There is no doubt that the theory of child-rearing is influenced by the cultural behaviour (D), but the opposite is also equally applicable.

The Data Collection Instrument

The interviews were conducted in semi-structured format (Borg & Gall, 1989; Spradley, 1979) containing a set of 25 standard questions seeking answers concerning perceptions of the physical and human environments. The interviews also sought responses about child-rearing practices and perceptions concerning the suitability of the school curriculum. The format of the questions was constructed following Spradley's (1979) ethnographic interview framework, while being specifically tuned to the cultures and situations of the study.

The Data Collection

Location (see map)

Pangnirtung is a settlement on the east coast of Baffin Island (Inuktitut: Qeqertaaraaluk), in the Canadian Northwest Territories. The settlement is located on the north side of Cumberland Sound, Tiniktuaapik. Translation of the name into English is, "the place of many male caribou." As one of the informants told this researcher, "This name was given by our ancestors who used the area for hunting. Maybe some day the male caribou will return here."

As of July, 1989, the population of Pangnirtung was 1014. Most of the population consisted of people of Eskimoic origin, while a very small percentage was of other background (Qallunait).

Like in most of the Inuit communities scattered across the Arctic, the Pangnirtung economy is a mixed one. Some people have regular, wage-earning jobs, or casual labour, either supplemented by or dependent on local hunting (Condon, 1988; Wenzel, 1991). Others are full-time artists and craftspeople who make their living by supplementing their income by hunting for staple food.

The settlement as such was begun by the location of a Hudson's Bay Company trading post on a tongue of land below steep hills in the fjord of Pangnirtung in the middle 1920s, soon to be joined by an Anglican mission, a 24-bed mission hospital, a government doctor, and an RCMP detachment.

The small collection of buildings housing these facilities and their Qallunait and indigenous staff comprised the totality of the settlement until the disastrous dog-disease epidemic in Cumberland Sound in 1966, which caused a large influx of people leaving the hunting camps to move into the Pangnirtung settlement (Williamson, personal communication, 1992).

Now the settlement has two schools, recreation buildings, a combined museum and elders' meeting-place, a large reservoir, Ayuittuq National Park administrative buildings, a hotel, two other stores (one a co-operative, one private), an arts and crafts centre, a power house and standby unit, and an airstrip passing right through the middle of all of this. There is a 28 foot tide, revealing at the ebb a rocky and gravelled reef dropping to deep-sea vessel depth three hundred and fifty metres offshore. There is little actual beach, but such as there is, it is much utilized by the large number of small boats and modified, decked-in 22 foot freighter canoes used by the people. A few small coves indent the settlement's shoreline. Rising to very visible height at the west end of the settlement is a large satellite receiving dish for telephone and television transmissions.

At the time of the research period, the ice in the fjord was just breaking. A lot of people enjoyed being able to fish arctic char right in front of the settlement site, while others went out into the Sound, camping. During most weekends, working people got away, joining those who already were camping on the land.

Although most of the interviews were conducted one to one according to the procedure of Bogdan and Biklen (1982), some of them were conducted with a third person who was fluent in the language and familiar with the local population. There was the added factor of his being the interviewer's husband. This is in fact a serious point, insofar as it has been noted in many writings on field work that the researcher who comes into the community and works from a family foundation is more readily accepted (Borre, 1990). In addition, my husband has had a long relationship with Pangnirtung people, extending over thirty-six years, thus shortening the time people would have needed to get acquainted with the researcher. Another added element, which must be mentioned, is the children of the researcher. Many researchers in the Arctic will undoubtedly agree that conducting even semi-formal interviews becomes virtually impossible with children, grandchildren and neighbours' children running in and out of the dwellings distractingly where interviewing takes place. My children became instant playmates and looked after the other children while the interviews were carried out.

Sample

The initial sample consisted of 36 people, out of which 29 respondents were used for data analysis. After the transcription of the interview tapes the researcher decided to eliminate seven interviews due to

poor recording or incoherent responses. The sample was then divided into three age groups: 9 interviewees were aged between 15 and 20; 10 between 20 and 40 years of age, and 10 from 40 years of age and up. In each age group, there were equal numbers of males and females--except for the youngsters (see Data Collection Procedures concerning youth).

Data Collection Procedure

Having obtained permission to do research from Pangnirtung Hamlet Council and a Research License (#9088) from the Arctic Science Institute of the Government of the Northwest Territories, the researcher travelled to Pangnirtung at the beginning of July 1989.

The researcher and family were fortunate in having made arrangements for accommodation in a teacher's house. Finding a place to stay is indeed one of the greatest obstacles in doing research in the far North.

The researcher met with the Mayor of Pangnirtung and his Assistant, explaining the study. The questionnaire was translated into Oqqormiutitut dialect, written in syllabics and photocopied for distribution.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, the local F.M. radio of Pangnirtung was in operation. The researcher and her husband were advised to announce on the radio the purpose of their stay so as to attract volunteers. In talking to the local people the researcher was able to get

some information about who might be approachable for the interview, in terms of time, knowledge and willingness.

For each person who was approached or volunteered for the interview, the study and questions were explained to ascertain any uncertainty. Several days were allowed before the interviews to give the respondents time to think about the subject being studied (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Spradley, 1979). The greatest difficulty the researcher had was to reach the younger people. Learning that there was a youth organization in the community, the researcher addressed the problem with the president of the organization. A meeting was arranged where a number of the young people attending were told about the study. The youth seemed much more willing and less shy about being interviewed after this introduction.

The interviews were conducted at time periods convenient to the interviewees and the present researcher. Virtually none of the interviews were conducted early in the morning. Most of them took place either in the afternoon or in the evenings, and for some it went on until late at 'night'. (At the time, there was no darkness, and more young people were active between 10 p.m. and 3 a.m. than between 10 a.m. and noon.) Locations convenient to the researcher and the individual interviewees were used. This could be the house where the researcher was residing, a tent on the beach where people were camping, an office, coffee room, or the home

of the interviewee. The interviewees were allowed to choose the language of their preference (English or Inuktitut) in order, "to gather descriptive data in the subject's own words so that the present researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 135). The amount of time taken with the interviews varied anywhere from three-quarters of an hour to three hours.

It was the researcher's view that the Pangnirtung people be allowed to choose whomever they saw as being community members of Inuit ancestry, who best represented the people within each age group. The researcher believed that leaving the decision to the Pangnirtungmiut allowed a more valid representation of knowledgeable people than if the decision had been made by the researcher alone.

The Department of Culture and Communications of the Government of the Northwest Territories provided funding for the informant fees. As this money was not available at the time of the interviewing, it was sent to each individual interviewee later in the fall.

Analysis of Data

This research undertaking included reading and analyzing material on cultural ecological theory and models comparable or applicable to the study of Inuit perception of physical and human environments, and the interconnection of these to child-rearing practices. The literature on Inuit

land use, Inuit land-relatedness and child-rearing practices were read and evaluated to identify what other researchers have written about these subjects.

The interviews conducted during July 1989 were recorded, and transcribed during the academic year of 1989/90. The interviews conducted in Inuktitut were then translated into English. As the transcripts were typed into a computer diskette, it was possible to transfer all the data into a computer program called Ethnograph: A Program for the Computer Assisted Analysis of Text Data (Version 3.0, 1988). With this program any text data could be worked on without having to manually cut and paste paper. With the help of the program, this researcher was able to organize all of the responses in sequence which became the basis for the Data Development--Chapter Four.

Once the transcripts were transferred into the Ethnograph all of the data were printed with numbered lines. With these lines, it became possible to code and categorize discernable patterns in the responses. The categories came about by reading the responses through and identifying re-occurrent statements. Such categories as ancestors, claiming of the land, individuated feelings, modern life and statements about hunting quotas are examples of such categorization. And it is possible to print such segments of data, separating them from the rest and analyze them separately.

These categories, derived from the total body of data, were used as additional information in finding answers to the sub-problems. (This and much more is available to anyone wishing to read the published manual.) These and the responses to questions from one to twenty-five represent the accumulation of data to investigate, accordingly: sub-problem #1, investigation of the perception of the Inuit of the physical environment; sub-problem #2, the human environment as perceived by the Inuit; sub-problem #3, how these perceptions are reflected in the Inuit cultural ways of rearing children; sub-problem #4, how these perceptions are reflected in school curriculum; and sub-problem #5, how do the Inuit see their perception of physical and human environments becoming adequately included in the school curriculum?

After each of the sub-problems were identified, summarization and integration of these was achieved to find the answer for the main problem. Rather than imposing concepts derived from the literature, the emphasis was on the concepts emerging from the interviews, thereby underlining the emic rather than the etic approach (Werner Stephan, personal communication, 1991; Crago, 1988).

This approach is open-ended and evocative of unmanipulated responses. It is the present researcher's conviction that it would be methodologically improper and scientifically unsound in terms of the

acquisition of genuine (unpredetermined) data, to unduly pre-structure the categories or predicate the details of the responses.

The concept here is that the deeply-felt and frequently-articulated close relationship of people with the environment significantly influences the content of child socialization practices. Therefore, the data were analyzed for evidence of articulation of land-relatedness principles in the statements of the informants, concerning their own upbringing, how they perceived their own present child-raising, and what they saw was to be the result for future generations.

One category of analysis was the belief system and the way in which it relates the physical environment to the metaphysical forces which are thought to be pervasive. These metaphysical beliefs were examined in terms of their influence on values, and these in turn related to questions of the factor of identity.

Implicit and explicit indication of categories of the physical and social environment were sought and analyzed separately and integratedly. Clearly the analysis depended upon the quality of the statements elicited, but an overall picture of the local population's sense of ecological relationship was established by the frequency and replication of the key statements.

As has been stated under the heading of methodology, it is recognized that this study was dealing with a population in a state of

dynamic culture change. In any culture, although rapidly changing, the way of life nevertheless seems to be an integrated one.

It cannot be emphasized enough that the present researcher is not seeking to single out traditionalistic lifestyles and activities as the only indicators of land-relatedness. Indeed, many wage employed younger and modern-minded Inuit turn to 'nuna' for renewal (a term more appropriate than recreation), and a significant number of other actively employed, in e.g., modern industrialized renewable and non-renewable resource exploitation related work, weaving and other handicrafts and artistic cultural expressiveness--all are dependent to a significant degree on their relative sense of land-relatedness.

This chapter described the research methodology, data collection instrument, the sample, the sampling procedures and the fieldwork. The analysis and interpretation of data were also discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Development

What follows is a straight-forward presentation of responses to the questions developed for this study. It should be noted that the questions developed for this enquiry had been worded so as to give the respondents the broadest opportunities for unique and honest self-expression. In this form of research it is important to release the potential of the speaker, particularly where cultural perspectives are sought. This becomes possible by avoiding predication of the answers by over-specification in the questions. It should be noted that responses to different questions often evoked somewhat similar responses, but this was done as a double cross-checking technique, with the variations in approach to the central theme designed to bring out the subtle differentiations in respondent sensibilities to land and land-relatedness.

QUESTION NUMBER ONE: As an Inuk, when you say 'nuna', what does that mean to you?

One of the themes in the responses to the first question dealt with ancestors. Indicating admiration, one of the younger interviewees stated: "Our ancestors must have gone through a lot. We have shelters, their shelters were 'igloos'. They learned how to adapt, how to make it, with

only having just a little bit--it meant a lot to them." Another respondent referred to ancestors claiming that: "We have the knowledge from way back. Because of this they (Inuit) realize 'nuna' belongs to them." An elder explained the meaning of the name of Pangnirtung, "means a place with many male caribou. People remembered this and tended to live around here. This we have inherited from our ancestors." These responses clearly indicated the sense of ancestral inheritance of land.

One theme that came through strongly was the sense of the ownership of land. One young woman said:

In my opinion 'nuna' totally belongs to the Inuit. It is the foundation of the people, the same for anything that is alive: anything that lives, the sea and the water, any living organism which includes the total existence of any growth on the land and the living. All these belong to the Inuit.

Another person who was experienced in politics said: "No one should commit the act of taking our 'nuna' from us. We are the first people to live on this 'nuna'. It belongs to us." An elder claimed:

Inuit have previously made plans about it (land), but now apparently it is owned by the government even though Inuit have more intimate knowledge since they (Inuit) have always been around and have expertise about the animals. Even though Inuit live on 'nuna' they don't have any ownership of it, they start using it wrong. It really would be better if they (Inuit) pick undivided ownership and never relinquish that.

While these statements are strong assertions and possible reactions to contemporary feelings of having to defend Inuit collective ownership of 'nuna', one young man referred to the absurdity of people wanting to claim

land. Speaking of people in parts of the world being in wars defending their ownership of the land, he concluded: "It's different land, but still the same one world and everybody has to share it." The notion of collective or individual ownership of land was dealt with in another question, and one of the interviewees made it clear that, "'nuna' is for everybody, they don't have to buy it. It was made for people living in the community."

Seeing land as a foundation of a people was a recurrent theme.

One young woman claimed:

Inuit thinking is readily apparent, and that is actively sought as 'nuna' is a foundation for the Inuit. They (Inuit) are very attached to the land, and I guess that makes them really strong . . . because they are so attached to the land. And they (Inuit) use a lot of resources, natural resources that southern people would never really use. And I think that makes a really strong person of an Inuit.

Another person also referred to 'nuna' being a foundation for Inuit and added, "'nuna' also has foundation on us."

The predominant theme was that 'nuna' was seen as a home for the people. Referring to 'nuna' being a place where people were born, respondents equated their home area as being a community. One responded: "'nuna' is a home, there are animals to be found, as this is the place for them to rest, as it is their home. That is 'nuna' is our home."

Another became very philosophical and concluded that 'nuna' "is for all of us of the universe, those of us who have breath of life. This includes Inuit,

even animals." One elder simply concluded after having explained how greatly consuming bodies are of 'nuna': "Our land - our body".

The second main theme for this first question dealt with how people live off the animals living on the land. One youngster said: "It (nuna) means my life. I wouldn't be here without it. I get my food from it." One elder explained: "This (nuna) is so endearing to me because it gives food, pure water with substance to it." Another elder felt: "This good land, from the time immemorial, we have lived off it, through the animals in it."

Some people expressed their feelings of being part of 'nuna' saying: "I am part of it" or "nuna is part of us." One person made it very clear: "Land does not belong to me, I belong to the land."

From the young to the elders, interviewees expressed how they found 'nuna' beautiful. Such personal feelings expressed not only their appreciation of the physical beauty, but extended to 'love' and 'nurturing' playing roles in their relationship to 'nuna'. Said one male interviewee: "Nuna is lovingly nurturing to me if I am loving to it. If I look after it well, I will inevitably become a loving person." This interviewee switched to speaking Inuktitut when he expressed these feelings, and the word in Inuktitut he used for his feelings was nagligusuttoq: "Nuna uvanni nagligusuttoq aamma nagligigukku nagligusunniarmiunga kamagitsiarukku."

An elder expressed his feelings: "It (nuna) has an intimate significance to me, I have an animating affection for 'nuna'. . . . In the

ultimate sense it (nuna) has become so dear to me. I grew up on the animals on it."

A number of the people referred to the future in their responses. This was mostly done in reference to pollution: "I don't want it (nuna) polluted in future. It is our future," said a youngster. A middle life adult said: "I also have to respect it, because I have to preserve it for others in the next generation, in the future." Some young adults and elders had strong personal feelings about pollution and went so far to say that they themselves felt personally hurt as they felt 'nuna' becoming polluted.

Respect is another theme which emerged in the interviews: "We have a great respect for it. More like a big boss--like angajoqqaaqriartuuvoq."

The communal aspects of living became clear in some of the responses. This was usually expressed with the word 'sharing'; and this did not only apply to people living in the community, but also to animals living the area. Others referred to being able to travel freely, either for hunting purposes or when they needed a break from community life.

QUESTION NUMBER TWO: What types of things would you include as part of 'nuna'?

Confronted with the second question, again the responses were varied. A predominant answer to the question was 'everything'; as a

youngster expressed it: "Everything, water, the sand, under the water, the animals, everything on the land, the life on the land. The sea is as much part of 'nuna'."

A number of interviewees felt strongly that people were to be included as being part of 'nuna': "Part of 'nuna' would include Inuit, people, animals and all the things that come with people." One respondent wanted the future to be included, "our children and our future generations."

Concerning the inclusion of the animals, some of the respondents more or less equated these with food: "The flowers, berries, our food and people--all of them, seals, fish, our food. Whatever is on our land--everything." A woman elder expressed the thought:

You know I would include the animals. It looks as if the government they say 'How many animals do you want?' Because they want to be the owners. The government people are organizing, but in my mind, Inuit should really be the organizers of what we need.

Some respondents were again including pollution to be an item which needed to be taken into consideration: "I don't want our land to be polluted. A beautiful land," said a youngster. Another person included garbage in his answer: "But there are certain things that would not be part of 'nuna', like garbage that they (people from the community) throw around. It's taking away what the land gives to us."

One interviewee after a discussion about what needed to be included in explaining 'nuna' said: "In Inuit ways, the sea certainly is part of Inuit

place as they are hunter of animals." Indeed, most of the animals hunted by the Inuit are sea-mammals. One well-travelled person did not really want to include mountains to be part of 'nuna', as he felt that they were no good to travel on, while another said: "Here at Pagnirtung all the area and mountains, I find beautiful. But the mountains are high and have strong winds."

One elder made reference to the changes of the times: "I really like it (nuna) as I know it. It's not like it used to be; there was so much wildlife. Even though there were not any of Qallunaaq material, it was still so great then."

QUESTION NUMBER THREE: In your mind, what powers (spiritual) are part of 'nuna', which have some effect on 'nuna'?

Some of the interviewees encountered difficulty in answering this question. Where this was the case, the question was discussed in talking about legends and pre-Christian beliefs in animals having souls. The responses were intriguing.

When youngsters were asked about any 'powers' influencing 'nuna', a significant number of them did not know how to express themselves. One youth knew that there has always been something, but what it was she did not know. One adolescent believed very strongly in evil spirits, but did not offer any further explanation. An adult interviewee believed that,

"certain parts of 'nuna', there's, I think, spirits living there. Where they have a whole group of people that we cannot see, but they exist like we do." One young respondent preferred not to talk about things like that: "Our parents tell us the way they used to live back then, but I don't want to believe in them anymore." In fact, during the whole interview this respondent was consistent in renouncing her parent's past, but wanted to concentrate on her hopes for the future.

A number of the adults expressed the thought that 'nuna' was aware of how people treated it. Said one adult:

I still believe that 'nuna' knows how people treat it. For example, for one year if the caribou are misused one year, next year they might not come back to the same land, suggesting that they have one control, one spirit and the same thing in the seal category.

The same opinion was expressed differently by another man: "What the land has, you do not destroy. . . . Otherwise, the environment will act upon you by any means of force, which will be a form of punishment for not respecting the land and its spirit, with your own spirit." This same person talked freely and directly about what he thought about animals having souls as human beings, and how these relate. In his view:

A seal gives himself to you, and you give it something back. And it's very important to give them a drink, so their soul can go back to the sea, and tell another seal that when they are thirsty to go to this hunter, they'll give you a drink. So they give up their body to enrich their souls, and what you do is, you are exchanging things amongst yourselves; and it's the souls that got working together.

He went on, explaining that the balancing of the relationship of souls also could be kept by kindness to other people: "You have to be kind all the time, otherwise there will be messages lost here and there, especially from generation to generation, which we see very much today." Another interesting aspect this man brought up in connection with souls, was the naming practices of the Inuit. Explaining that one of his nieces was named after an uncle, he was simply awed by the uncanny personality likeness of this niece to his past uncle. "I really believe that's all the same souls just being passed on. Except using different bodies," he concluded.

However, the predominant response to the idea of souls being possessed by human beings and animals was mixed, most of the respondents renouncing the notion of animals having souls. Those that acknowledged any soul being possessed by anyone, claimed it to be by human beings. This attitude may have been influenced by the Christian teachings, as one respondent said:

If they (animals) have tarneq (soul), they would have to be treated like human beings. I know they have power. . . . I believe that only human beings have souls, and animals they don't have souls because . . . of the teachings that we get from the church. So that's just maybe a big problem.

In connection with the question of different kinds of power people might identify, one man explained:

When you are out there where there's no other people, just you and nature, you are with the land, the river, the sky, sand and animals around you, you can sense, you have the feeling that there is something out there. I had that feeling on many

occasions. Because it seems that the nature is talking to you, trying to tell you something.

Another one explained a feeling of renewed energy after having been out on the land.

Most of the respondents talked about respect for the land and about people having to exercise great respect for the animals living on it. As one expressed it: "Between you and the animals, you have to have a respect." One related having been told by her grandfather, "to respect the land because I will go back to it at the end of my life." Only one person claimed that "part of the land is sacred."

Among the elders one person was adamant about some animals having souls. This person described in detail how he himself had seen the return of birds' souls in the morning. Another elder also confirmed the notion of the return of the animal soul, but this was specifically about seals. One elder said: "Inuit believe in their 'nuna' having a soul and we, the human beings, are part of that soul."

The majority of the other elders interviewed did not believe that the animals had any souls. Again, here the animals were described as being food for people, although some mentioned animals having their own power. As one elder expressed it: "They have for long time had their own ways."

During the interview period the family of the present researcher spent some time fishing arctic char. On one occasion the family providentially lifted their net on a Sunday morning and, they noticed, did

not encounter any other people tending their fish nets that day. There were only three children who kept their distance, while the family cleaned the fish. Later during the week, a reason was given by a disappointed interviewee:

Fish do not have to be fished on a Sunday, as they have no breath. They are from the sea. . . . As to whether the animals have any souls I haven't heard nor grown up to believe. But when people get lost I have to tell them!

QUESTION NUMBER FOUR: Can people own 'nuna'? If yes, why? If no, why not?

The majority of the answers from the youth referred to the possibility of individual ownership. The youngsters seemed quite aware of the form of land ownership practiced in southern Canada, but seemed ambivalent about such practice being transferred to their Arctic understanding of how land can be owned. After having explained that "this earth is made for everybody and we all have to share the land," an adolescent girl expressed her disapproval: "I don't like someone saying 'you are on my property, that's my land, that's my 'nuna'." Another youth asserted: "'nuna' is itself, we don't have to own it." Such thought was reiterated by a number of elders. Two youngsters legitimized claiming of land ownership by saying that the land was needed for the future: "We need it for the future." Another youth bluntly asserted: "This land is not for sale!"

When adults were asked the same question, answers given referred to ownership of land on the basis of ancestral inheritance. One respondent speculated: "I gathered in my mind, from way before, 'nuna' is a hunting place, and 'nuna' is a place for a man to survive on. And, traditionally, I don't think 'nuna' can be owned." Another female interviewee expressed her thoughts thusly:

In some ways we follow ways of Qallunait. But Qallunait want to buy 'nuna'. Inuit are not like that, some of the Inuit don't want to be like that. They (Inuit) have always gone anywhere they want to go out on the land. If they want to put up tent, they do it, without paying, since it is their land, their own. Because it is their own, Inuit don't even think who to pay for tenting. They (Inuit) can travel anywhere and say to themselves: 'all around me, far beyond is my land'. 'Nuna' as such is owned by all in the universe. The human beings occupy the surface. So who owns the globe?"

Such attitudes of finding ownership of land being absurd was also expressed by an elder: "I have not seen any human being make any 'nuna', and since I have not seen one materializing 'nuna', I cannot answer the question as to who has the ownership." Another adult respondent said that ownership of land was totally irrelevant to Inuit lifestyle, and as far as she was concerned: "It's pointless to me!"

There were a number of newer houses at Pangnirtung which were owned by the individual Inuit. From the interviews, it seemed that the owners of such houses have some ownership of the lot upon which the houses were built. Adults seemed somewhat ambivalent about this new

development, and others felt somewhat defensive about being asked such a question. As one man said:

Individually, I think it has already started, because of homeowners. There's more homeowners starting to build their houses and you get the feeling that you have a certain land. I think that you can own the land . . . but you would have to change and explain a lot of things to older people, to make them understand why they have to do it that way.

One of the themes which emerged frequently during interviews and discussions was the notion of collective ownership. From the discussions about this question, most adults conveyed their belief in owning the 'nuna' collectively. One such thought was expressed by an aging hunter:

The previous generations are no longer living. They were the first ones to own this 'nuna'. We follow their way of life. They used to make clothing out of the animals; they had no tea; they did not have much, no guns, but bow and arrow. That was how they hunted; also with qajaq. If these were named nunaqqaartumineq--the first occupants--in that case, Inuit are the true owners. If an individual claims to have ownership on his/her own, then there is no ownership. But if they claim it as collective people, then they are surely the owners.

One elder wanted to define how he conceived Inuit 'nuna': "I think that we, the Inuit, have been put there. We have to get really along well, without any disagreement. That's how I think about the Inuit 'nuna'. It is our 'nuna' where happiness truly can exist." He wanted such a harmonious way of life to exist among the Inuit and Qallunait: "Qallunait and Inuit should not offend one another. They have to get along with each other and do things together while negotiating."

In reference to animals on the land, a female elder claimed these to be as much owned by the Inuit as they are the owners of the land. Here again, this was based on the fact that these animals were the sustenance of people.

QUESTION NUMBER FIVE: Can you make comparisons between your perception of 'nuna' and any other perceptions that you are aware of? The Qallunait perception of 'nuna' might be different from yours. What do you think?

The predominant theme in the answers to this question was concerned with the Qallunait pollution of their own land. One youngster, having been down south before, concluded:

One thing is pollution. Back down south, the air is really polluted and the garbage is thrown on the land everywhere. And up in the North, there are not as many factories as there are down south, so that's not as much polluted and the land is not all dirty, we don't throw garbage everywhere.

Another youngster compared the two perceptions as Qallunait wanting to own land, but the Inuit wanting to share land with friends and not keep it to themselves. Another young woman wanted to share her opinion about the Qallunaaq way: "When Qallunait find something interesting, they get carried away. They go on searching and searching for it, until they get it. But I haven't seen an Inuk do that. . . . When Qallunait want it, they always get it." Another youth wanted the Qallunait not to have control and

thought that it would be better if the Inuit work together to fight for their land.

Among the adults there was some agreement about the Qallunait polluting the land and the Qallunait having disrespect for any other living creatures. The same adults emphasized the fact that the Inuit wanted to own 'nuna' on the basis of collective ownership. One woman plainly stated: "Qallunaaq land I understand is not modelled for an Inuk."

Among the elders, one compared the approaches for establishing dwelling places; Qallunaaq not considering the area of camping, on the other hand, the Inuk taking careful consideration for location of a camp. One respondent did not want to even make a comparison, saying: "I do not live nor speak any Qallunaatitut, and therefore only know Inuktitut." The majority of the elder responses was about the sense of collective land ownership, and they strongly defended this.

QUESTION NUMBER SIX: You have probably heard about Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and other organizations that work politically to get 'nuna' to be for the Inuit. What do you think of that?

Quite a number of the youngsters did not have any answer to this question, most likely due to their inexperience in political life. Those that did answer thought that the negotiations should go on, because "Inuit have lived here for such a long time that they deserve to have their own land.

People up here seem to be ignored down south in the government." One youth wanted very much to become involved in the Tapirisat activities.

Among the adult interviewees the answers to this question were sympathetic towards the Inuit Tapirisat organization and its goals. Here again, a significant number of the respondents referred to pollution and preservation of land. One such answer was: "If they (Tapirisat) went ahead, they would preserve the land for a lot longer than what would happen if the Qallunait have control and use of the land."

One adult interviewee said that he supported what the Inuit Tapirisat stood for, but had some questions about governmental organization which, according to him, people did not know much about. Two respondents were apprehensive about taking control of the political structure. These two felt that it was too early, and there were not enough 'educated' people to run an Inuit style of government.

There were also some accusations of the Inuit Tapirisat being out of touch with the local population. One said that the pamphlets Inuit Tapirisat publish for people to read were not appropriate for keeping contact with the elders, as communication was not really effective that way.

Another respondent felt that the process of the Nunavut negotiation has been a long one, and she felt sorry for the people working toward this. Furthermore, she felt that non-Inuit who claim ownership of 'nuna' should

be allowed to come up North and talk directly to Inuit, circumventing the formal organizational negotiations.

For those elders who answered this question, there seemed to be consent about the hard work the Inuit Tapirisat were doing to attain Inuit rights to land ownership. One such elder explained in Inuktitut:

As the old style of living no longer is to be used, one should start getting ready for a new way of life for the future. They (Inuit Tapirisat) do want to get ready, but today everything depends on money. Money is really a limiting factor (tying down). It is for us the stumbling block which affects anything we do today.

The same person explained the differences in mind and aspirations between what he called the 'partners' (Qallunait people in the south and the Arctic-dwelling Inuit). There has been little space or time for development of bridging understanding:

Dogs fight one another, all animals are like that, as they don't acknowledge one another in their mind. . . . They (Inuit Tapirisat) work really hard to bring some happiness to make lighter the burden of our often-not-so-easy life today.

But having explained all this, this same interviewee, a very well-respected land-dwelling hunter, thinker and artist, despairingly concluded that: "A lot of us have been lost." This last statement is a saying in Inuktitut which denounces the contemporary change of way of life from what is seen to be the traditionalistic Inuit lifeways. Another elder expressed this change this way:

Our 'nuna' is changing because of people coming from the south. Our way of living is changing toward that of these

people, and toward that of our children. I find Tapirisat people good, and would want them validated anytime, as this work is of great importance.

QUESTION NUMBER SEVEN: Can you think of any other parts of 'nuna' we have not mentioned in this interview?

Although most did not think there was anything left out, there were some adults who wanted to include certain aspects which they felt were not mentioned in the interview. One such person wanted 'nuna' to be preserved as a national park, not wanting the land to be destroyed. An example of land destruction was usage of bulldozers which wreck the area where they are used. The same person also talked about 'kindness', not only from person to person, but also in relation to land, "if you are kind to this area, well, it will be kind to you. But if you curse it, you won't get anything." An example of hunting caribou was made, whereby anyone having hunted over an acceptable amount may cause bad luck the following hunting seasons.

Another interviewee talked about an area of land which was far beyond the settlement. Explaining the reason for not spending time in such an area was due to settlement schooling and wage economy, he showed how few people reached the area. He also talked about how people relate to land differently now that they own skidoos and fast boats, in contrast to the time when people travelled more slowly and had time to appreciate the

land. On the basis of this, the respondent claimed that at present living people lack knowledge about place names.

Relocation from the old widely-scattered hunting camps--nunaleralait--was also mentioned by a number of interviewees. One female interviewee actually claimed that the souls of people were left behind at the camps when people were moved to larger settlements. One elder wanted to convey her thought that the 'nuna' she knew was unpolluted, and that people should live like that.

QUESTION NUMBER EIGHT: How do you relate to 'nuna' as a person?

The present researcher found that this question produced more answers when the question was reworded by prefacing it with the phrases "if people went out on the land".

Virtually all the respondents among the youth, adults and elders felt they relate to 'nuna' individually. All take some time out to either walk on their own beyond the community, or tell that they go out participating in hunting, fishing, berry picking, or go out camping with the family. All expressed the enjoyment of being out on the land. Some also described the depressed feeling they have when they returned back to the community. One female adolescent expressed her wonderment every time she was out, how the 'nuna' was made so perfect. Some felt that the physical beauty of

'nuna' should never be changed. In this regard, again, there was a large proportion of interviewees who spoke of not wanting 'nuna' to be polluted.

Besides wanting to get out on the land whenever there was an opportunity, the adult interviewees seemed more specific about what they get out of being on 'nuna'. One person said:

I use 'nuna' in a sense that I want to enjoy unpolluted 'nuna' that I find delightful to see. I find strength inside. I find it stressful to see any part of 'nuna' polluted, and such bad things really hurt inside and are shameful.

Another female interviewee explained:

Whenever I need some, like, peace within myself, and feel that I'm getting lost somewhere. Going out anywhere on the land, away from everything else, away from all the noise, that's my home. It doesn't have to be there, it's all around me. As long as I am alone with myself and with the land, because my soul and the land get close together. When you are in the community or city all the time, you'll give your soul a chance to go back. You are not functioning right anymore, especially for the mind. That's what I always say, go back to the land, that's where you restore yourself.

A number of the adult interviewees referred to having to exercise respect for the land as well as the animals living in or on it, and related this to not wanting the land to be polluted.

The same feeling was expressed by virtually all elders, each saying how much they were the users of 'nuna' by being out there, the food coming from the land, travelling, camping and finding beauty and happiness on the land. One elder related his thought about his friends who had died, saying that they were now part of the land, whereon they have been buried.

QUESTION NUMBER NINE: How much part of 'nuna' are people? Are they more part of 'nuna' than animals?

The answers from the youth to this question were ambivalent. One youth thought that people are less part of the 'nuna' than animals, since people now live in communities. Another youth thought the same, as animals can live anywhere and 'do perfectly well' whereas people have to live in groups. One concluded his thoughts: "I think we are more part of the animals--it's our food."

One adult simply explained the need for 'nuna' as people "have been placed there and use anything from 'nuna', eating any growth from it . . . 'nuna' has a lot of purposes for the body, for the Inuit." Such an attitude was expressed differently by a number of the adult interviewees, but one wanted to express her own personal understanding of how she was part of 'nuna': "We are an ingredient of land. Land is land, while I am a human being. I am like a cup of sea, a cup of land, a cup of cloud, a cup of sun, a cup of everything, which makes me who I am." Another adult interviewee thought that people were less part of 'nuna', as people have access to faster transportation today, to catch animals faster.

An elder wanted the old practice of just taking enough animals for eating from the land and being considerate to others still to be exercised, even though circumstances had changed. Just as an adult had expressed it, an elder explained the connection of people to 'nuna' through animals:

They (animals) are more part of it and we are merely also part of it. I would not be able to express fully how animals on their own can eat well on 'nuna', as they find good food on this great land. Take caribou . . . there is a huge area of land where caribou eat. And also animals are in essence our food.

The same man attempted to explain the relationship between the animals, people and 'nuna'. He concluded: "I should say that animals and human beings are all good." Another elder explained that eating the animals of 'nuna' gives more strength to the individual; and he talked about the fact that the youngsters today were weakening, because they preferred to eat the Qallunaaq food.

One related this question to the Creator, saying that only one Creator has created the animals and the human beings, all to have the same breath. He also explained that the animals were made to be food for the people. Furthermore, he concluded: "Like the first people on earth, Adam and Eve, they were not satisfied and did not do what they were told. From then we don't have the same mind anymore, Qallunait and Inuit."

Another elder also mentioned that the animals were made to be food for the people. But, differently from anyone else, this hunter's philosophy was that Inuit have a notion of reaching a point of extinction:

Inuit have thought of this, that the universe which was made a very long time ago will never come to an end unless it has reached the satisfaction of achieving its final fate. This, according to the word of God, which they felt they partly go along with in belief. Everything has its end. Animals and human beings have been made simultaneously, they would not become extinct until their purpose of existence has

reached its fulfillment. They will not reach the point of extinction, unless that point has reached itself. That is how they are together; they are made together. That is how Inuit used to think.

Two elders talked about the fact that human beings were part of 'nuna'. One said:

While I was a child I was told that we are part of 'nuna'. . . . I was told by my mother, father, grandfather and grandmother; pieces of arms, the knees, they are part of 'nuna', they become earth since we are all earth. We are earth, that I have not forgotten.

QUESTION NUMBER TEN: What is the relationship between people and other living beings (animals, fish, plants and any other beings that you perceive to be living)?

When confronted with this question the youngsters reaction was that the animals are simply the food of people. In relating the ancestors to this questions, an adolescent said:

Their (the ancestors) only source for food was from the land and the animals. And if land cannot provide food, the animals will die off, and if the animals die off, the Inuit just follow the chain of food. Everything will lead to another thing.

Without expressing any relationship, another youth just compared the pets to the wild animals. One youngster decisively stated: "They have one in common, they are alive. And Inuit are alive because of the animals."

The adult interviewees related their answers to the Inuit relationship with the land through their sense of responsible actions toward animals.

On adult interviewee explained that only the amount of animals needed for food was killed. The rest was left alone, and animals were not to play with.

Another adult interviewee related:

In traditional value, we always share everything we have with everybody less fortunate than us. Even if it was the last strip of meat, these less fortunate, we share with them. Now, it's getting more selfishness where: 'I have got this meat, and this is all mine, you can get your own.' Now, we are seeing a lot of that. And I think it's basically because we are not keeping in touch with the land and animals.

One man philosophized:

To me a man is very related to every breathing person or every living thing in land. Because they all eat the same thing, they all breathe, they have brains. They think the same way, one goal is to survive and they are all the same thing that comes from 'nuna'.

Just like the elders, this man also explained how people become part of 'nuna' (earth) at death, but also added how people survive through eating 'nuna' while alive.

Another man explained the different approach people have now in relating to the land and, therefore, to the animals:

Some people go out on weekends only. A lot of us are very different. There are a lot different groups of people living here. And in their ways they are different and have difficulties in doing things together. And they try to compete with one another, who can do best. When we are dealing with renewable resources out there, you don't do that; we are just gonna wipe out and we'll lose management of our renewable resources because of that.

Most of the adult and elder interviewees related their answers to this question, to the fact that the animals were food to people. In regard

to this, there seemed to be a deep appreciation of the food chain, and they saw the human being as being part of that food chain, insofar as people do become part of the earth and renew the cycle. As an elder concluded: "I have been supported bodily by eating them (animals)." And because the animals were seen to be the subsistence of the people, people felt that they become very precious.

Having explained what he saw as two categories of animals, pets and wild life, an elder defined his understanding of the relationship: "I do know that we co-exist. . . . We own them (animals), these that are on our land. . . . These are our companions, those on my land, as we together have one 'nuna' that we live on at the same time."

One female elder postulated that

Inuit are physically in contact with 'nuna' and find it precious. . . . We are essentially belonging to 'nuna', but our souls do not ever die, because people say that there is space in Heaven. . . . But our body belongs to 'nuna' because it is in physical contact with 'nuna'; it always wants to return. That's the essence of it.

Some elders said the Qallunait Wildlife Management is inappropriate to the Inuit way of concern with the animals. Said an elder: "I wonder why Qallunait are so worried? Qallunait do not eat them (game), Inuit do."

QUESTION NUMBER ELEVEN: Can people change 'nuna'? If yes, why?**If no, why not?**

Among the youth, there seemed to be an agreement between the ones that responded positively to this question, that change can only happen through engineering construction, building of houses or through pollution. Those who responded negatively meant that 'nuna' could not be changed, since it was organized the way it was, unless, as one said, there was a war.

Quite a number of the adult respondents referred to their feeling that the development of Pangnirtung settlement had caused a change in 'nuna'. They felt before people were moved from outpost camps into Pangnirtung settlement, the area of the town was untouched and unchanged. But during construction of the town, large areas of land surface were bulldozed away, resulting in the taking away of what people felt was a previous growth. A number of them complained about this and felt that the builders at least could have saved the surface and put it back where it could be rescued, so that during high winds there would be less dust in the air. It was in reference to this that a number of the adult informants meant that 'nuna' could indeed be changed. But as one interviewee suggested, "You better make sure to make good use of it" - were 'nuna' to be changed, while another person meant that change only was to occur by 'outsiders' coming in to exploit gas and oil.

Some other adult interviewees referred to the move from outpost camps into Pangnirtung settlement having caused change in 'nuna'. Said one adult female: "It is gone to the extent that different people have been integrated. It has changed even to the extent that it changed the society." Another adult respondent felt that people's attitude toward animals was the cause for the change of 'nuna': "We are destroying our land, and we even get the animals even though we don't need them, even hunt them out." This man explained in detail how various animals were changing in physical size, shape or in number. He related this story to government-related enterprises and showed how these were resolved in local Hunter and Trappers Association involvement.

Among the elders, one talked about the world situation, how a great part of the world was changing due to pollution in various forms. Another elder related the environmental change to Qallunait coming to the area, and explained that they had been the cause for Inuit becoming disunited in various aspects of their lives. Correlating the change with the construction of houses at the settlement, two elders explained that the Inuit essential thought of 'nuna' was not to cause any change in the form of pollution, or doing any harm to the animals. One elder said: "The people themselves don't want to make a mess, as they are emotionally dependent on their 'nuna'. By custom or normal behaviour, they don't want to cause any trouble." Not surprisingly, a number of elders talked about their original

place of birth, as people identified strongly with that when asked about their background. Here again, pollution was a theme mentioned a number of times; one elder, as an example of many, said that "A lot of people are apprehensive about the future. They do not want any pollution, making mess of 'nuna'."

QUESTION NUMBER TWELVE: What did other people say as to how you should relate to 'nuna'?

The overwhelming response to this question among the youth was how individuals had been told not to pollute and not to throw garbage around when travelling on 'nuna'. This was done as a precaution that wild game not be alerted to human presence, if an area was left disturbed or messy. One youth explained being told not to complain about weather, since nobody could do anything about it.

The usual response among the adult interviewees tended to describe how they were told to make use of 'nuna'. This, most said, was done in an indirect way, by their being shown how to do things. Legends and personal stories were often used to illustrate a desirable goal of behaviour. One explained that the elders, parents or any other older person might convey messages without a lot of lecturing.

Some were told to be careful about certain areas that might be more fragile than others. One person remembered being told only to take what

was needed, and to leave some part of the hunted animal to show thanks and respect for other living creatures on the land. The sharing happened not only among the people, but also between people and the co-existing animals.

An adult remembered being told not to make fun of the land, as this would be the same as making fun of the animals. He related being told: "If you make fun of the animals, they won't come to you. Same thing if you make fun of land, they won't let you come to the land. If I made fun of my fellow human beings, they won't be nice," he concluded.

One adult referred to the schooling system that she underwent as the cause of her not being taught land-relatedness, "but that Inuit ways of building or making things" were now partly being taught at school.

One elder was told to handle food right and not to throw any food away, otherwise people might go hungry for a long time. He explained: "Even today, I pass on what has been told me, that one has to strive toward being a good person, to be loving to other human beings, to be helpful to others, and to be helpful in terms of food, help sick people." The same person made some comparison with the youth today: "Our youngsters today have good jobs, and some of them are really bright. But they are not being spoken of by their fathers. These are making fun of the spoken words, and have only thoughts to play." The same respondent saw a way

out "to steer ourselves to something good" by youth and community working together, getting help from the government.

An elderly hunter related all what he was taught by men who were older than himself: "The land which is to become ours, it is demanded that we look after it." This was done by getting to know how aspects of weather were related to other entities, for example how snow reacts to a specific wind, in relation to the closeness of land from where hunters were, on the sea-ice; and such as the shapes of cloud as means of predicting weather. A number of other examples were given, depicting Inuit profound understanding of the surrounding environment and related components, whereby a person comes "to know without hesitation what to do" when out on the land dealing with the elements.

The majority of elders talked about how through one's personal behaviour and way of life people relate to 'nuna', and a number of them again referred to pollution as being undesirable.

QUESTION NUMBER THIRTEEN: What do you know of stories, myths and song that relate to 'nuna'?

It should be noted that the atmosphere, time and context of this study was not of the kind which normally would have created a cozy scene of people relaxing and telling myths and legends in their normal cultural

context. Even so, some interviewees sang, told folktales and gave examples of nursery rhymes.

Two adolescent interviewees told short stories, one telling about Qalupalik, a creature in the sea. She thought that such stories were told to keep the children away from the sea. The other young woman told about the Kaajakjuk story. It was particularly interesting for the present researcher to hear this, as the same story was told in Greenland.

The majority of the adolescents remembered some stories but felt awkward in seeking the right words for re-telling them by themselves. However, they expressed their love of hearing the stories from grandparents or parents. One young male interviewee claimed to only have heard the stories through C.B.C. Northern Service radio.

One adult interviewee analyzed the stories as having derived from people who have been extensively utilizing the land. Therefore, he said, the stories were about learning how to hunt and how to behave. Through such old traditions, people learnt. Another male adult interviewee explained how the stories make people understand how land was alive, how stones and rocks contain life and become alive. Yet another explained by telling a story of how fragile the environment can be, how it could be destroyed by fighting among those living off the habitat. The story started, telling about small animals jealously guarding their territory, and as the story went on, increasingly larger animals were included, until they all

realized that they were about to lose the land and stopped fighting among themselves.

One ended a story this way:

One day when we become the elders we would be looking back, looking back at childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Looking back at the way we were taught, as we always would want to look back. There will be a day, it was always told, when people have to go back. And we will be telling about what we have heard, what we have used, about the happy times, the unhappy times, the hungry times, the unhungry times. Those are the ones that I will be telling when I am looking back.

A female adult interviewee wanted to share a song. It went like this:

Laakkuluuk, laakkuluuk,	Little dear one, little dear one
anguteralaaakkuluk,	Little man so dear,
Taavungarujaaluk qeqertaarngataarluni,	Way over there, really staying up there,
Laakkuluuk, laakkuluuk, laakkuluuk.	Little dear one, little dear one, little dear one.

Another adult female interviewee told a story about the moon, this way:

It has a whip. It has the most awful, hurting whip in the world. You don't just look at it and say all kinds of things in your mind, it perfectly understands you. It will reach down and whip you so hard that nobody in the world ever believe you whatever happened to you. So they say, you cannot disrespect even what you cannot reach. That is one thing that really goes deep, because if I have to respect what is really far out there . . . I have to respect what I can reach.

She went on:

Grandmother told me all the time. Every single day you wake up before you do anything, right after you put your clothes on, go out . . . right away . . . you breathe in the first air that comes . . . [and] this mean a long life and wisdom.

Another related the lack of knowledge of stories to the lack of Inuktitut skills. Such abilities as being able to partake of seals and whales were not carried on by younger people, she said. The last adult female interviewee told a story related to rivers, like this:

There was once a man who fled away from a mass killing. He was across a river, and drinking when one of the enemies came across the river. The enemy asked how he got across the river. He told him that he drank the water to get across. The enemy was said to have split himself drinking.

An elder related folktales and legends he had heard from his mother when he was a child, to be the basis for his art work. The stories become the carvings and drawings, and that is how he presented the stories. He thought that the way he presented them was no less effective than telling the stories. Another elder stated that he did not know the myths and legends, since he was not taught the stories. This may have been so, in these post-conversion times, but also was possibly an evasion by a person who did not want to be thought to be familiar with 'pagan', non-Biblical stories.

A male elder told that his mother made a song to sooth him and his sisters when their father was out hunting too long. The children did not have patience to wait for their father and when they got too restless, their mother sang:

Kannangaa Nunguukkulummiit
Nunguukkumummiit
aanikkerniatuatuut
Kannangaa aajaa-jaa

From beyond Nuukkuluk,
From beyond Nuukkuluk
They will come out
From down there aajaa-jaa

Kanangaa Nuukkulummiit
Qimutsiit aulakkarniannuatut
Kanangaa aajaa-jaa.

From beyond Nuukuluk
The dogsleds will appear
From down there aajaa-jaa.

This, he explained, was her mother's favored song when she was carrying a child in the amautik--women's parka with pouch in the back for carrying babies, rocking the baby to sleep before the arrival of the hunters on their dogsleds.

Another elder explained that a lot of the Inuit have not utilized their traditional songs. A long time ago these used to be heard a lot, he claimed, but the missionaries did not approve of them because of their religion. He had heard that according to the words of God, the usage of these old songs had to be stopped, he explained with great laughter. And he added that he knew a lot of stories which are still being told, but since his own father never made poetry, he himself never learnt that skill.

Two female elders sang some songs. One of them said that she had participated in recording the songs for the use of the school, where she has been teaching younger school children the art of singing the songs.

Another female elder told a story which came with a song: "Once there was a camp group that went out on the land. All of them went except for one who had to be left at the camp. He was very envious of the others that went, so he made up a song concerning this:

Taavunga sivukutitut ajjajjaa,
Unikkaarpalaarpusi -jaa
Inuikkooq, inuittooq
Ilangakku, ii -ilangakku

There you went before us
You are telling stories
This people, that people
I wish to be with them, yes indeed,

ilatummakkuu aquataajaeqannginnakku. I wish to be with them
They are my kinsfolk, but I have no
means of getting to them.

QUESTION NUMBER FOURTEEN: In your view, how is Pagnirtung organized?

This question presented some difficulties for the interviewees and had to be worked around. Preparatory questions were asked, such as if there were any organizations in town, if there were any group differences between people.

A female adolescent knew about the Pagnirtung Hamlet being an institution where people meet to attempt to solve social problems. She also knew about the Youth Council but was not really sure about any other organizations in town. Concerning the questions as to whether there were any differences between people at Pagnirtung, she declined by saying that there probably were some, but she did not elaborate.

Another female adolescent related the question to the way in which people behaved on the land. She thought that some people were really good at ensuring no garbage was left, while others were not. She also thought that the elders were more persistent in keeping the land clean while the younger ones could not care less. She conveyed that young people did not really know what was going on, while elders knew the essence of the life and wanted to get things done.

A third female interviewee felt that people were organized by helping one another and explained the differences as between good, kind people, versus unhelpful, unkind people. The same notion was expressed by the next interviewee, saying that some people used to be really well-organized in the olden days. She compared the present people not sharing the meat of the hunt, to what people used to do. Otherwise, people were very much the same.

After great difficulty in finding any differences between people in Pangnirtung, a young woman concluded that Inuit were poorer than the Qallunait living there. People, she thought, should get their education so they could support themselves.

A young man thought the only differences between people were those who use drugs or alcohol and those who do not. Another young man thought that the youngsters really did not enjoy themselves while staying in town, nor do they push themselves to get out on the land to hunt. A third male interviewee thought that the differences between people were those who want to work, and those who were just plain lazy. The last male adolescent interviewee explained that the town was really well-organized through the Hamlet, which keeps the community going.

Among the adult interviewees, one male stipulated that people organize themselves, utilizing the traditional behaviour, and mixing this with the need to have paid employment. Another male interviewee thought that

considering the relatively small size of the Pagnirtung population, there were too many organizations and committees. This leads to people getting lost by becoming involved in too many of these.

This same interviewee spoke of other ways in which people living at Pagnirtung divided themselves. One was a grouping of people from nunaleralait--those with allegiance to one of the various hunting camps. On the basis of such long-ago-established base camps, people determined their regional identity and group solidarity. This was socially expressed, for example, by people gossiping over-indulgently about people of other camps, pointing unfavourably at sewing skills and the way people handled any other thing. The other way of comparison was through the naming usages. If there were a large family which became prominent, the surname was thought to mean a great deal. Other differentiations the interviewee mentioned were those between Inuit and the Qallunait. This discussion also included speculation as to whether education was going to be a dividing factor among Inuit in the future. This interviewee hoped that divisions would not develop due to varying degrees of training knowledge of some sort. He related his own experience at school, which was to complain that he never was taught one word of Inuktitut. He explained: "We were even made to make drawings dealing with numbers of apples and trees, which we had never seen before. These are really funny for us. I became quite a good artist of the trees that I have never seen."

An adult male interviewee explained that the physical division of the town had caused division of people. (Note: right through the hamlet an airport was built, physically separating the town into sections). In the older section people did not even lock their doors and visited one another a lot, while in the newer section of town people did not interact the same way and even locked their doors when away.

The same interviewee explained that there was a lot of division within the settlement in terms of religion. Some of the elders and middle-aged people, he thought, were really committed to Anglican religion, while the younger generation was not. He himself had avoided becoming a member of one or the other and concentrated on being "more cross-cultural, between English-speaking and traditional, where we can deal with common human decency. Where we help the younger and indeed less fortunate people than us." He thought that moving away from a strictly-controlled religious living has made people more relaxed:

There is lot less family fighting or family separations, where they are getting more closely knit. And the younger generation, they rely more on one another. . . . To my feeling, what happened in the past was from shamanism and from the whaling era, everything was dropping, and the whaling was dying, and the missionaries came in handy, coming with all the answers from God, supporting them very spiritually, but loosing everything else at the end . . . and now where are they at?

Another male interviewee among the adults was quite satisfied with the organizations in town, except for its handling of the garbage. He thought

that the town should not only get a bigger dump, but it should also be animal-proof, as ravens and free-ranging dogs have access to the area. The disposal site was badly chosen, since in winter the garbage blew right back to the town. He also thought that the numbering of the houses at Pangnirtung should be better organized than it is now.

The last adult interviewee did not think that there exist any differences among the elders, but among the younger generation great differentiation existed, and here the criterion was the holding of a job. Even work related to tourism is seen as a far cry from meeting the need for occupations.

A female interviewee felt very strongly about people not sharing meat of the hunted animals any more. With the introduction of freezers, people are able to store their food, not necessarily sharing it, as they used to.

Another one thought that the Hamlet was doing a good job in organizing the town. The way the organization was handled, she thought, was fair because the Hamlet usually asked people's opinion around the settlement before they decided on anything. Examples she gave were the Mental Health Committee and Pauktutit (Women's Organization). She mentioned also her impression that previously people divided themselves into a very strong set of roles, viz. women's responsibilities versus men's.

The question reminded elders of the way of life before people moved to the settlement. The majority of elders actually compared how people used to be living together, to what it is like now, in the urbanized life. The various organizations active in the settlement were mentioned. These were discussed with reference to the people who had been involved in establishing them. Virtually all the elders mentioned the base-camp groupings as having played a role at the beginning of the urbanized-settlement life, but not so much any longer.

A number of the elder interviewees talked about the time when there was no money involved in their life-way. One reminisced about people living harmoniously with one another, but now people become divided because of money. This, in one interviewee's mind, was a very Qallunaatitut way of thinking, and was introduced through the school system. Another elder thought that the way the present people misuse alcohol and drugs was really distressing.

One elder thought that the difference in the people was that, previous to the Qallunait arrival, people could choose where they wanted to live and could support themselves, wherever it might be. The difference now is that people are told by the government to live in settlements.

A male elder stated that the way of life was not the same as in previous decades, as people are not relating so much to one another, nor to the land. Another elder thought that people used to have really strong

feelings about religion. Today the content of the religion was not the same at all, as many variations have been introduced. This interviewee asserted that the way people were organized was to some extent influenced by Christianity.

QUESTION NUMBER FIFTEEN: In your perception, how do Pangnirtungmiutait relate to 'nuna'?

As far as the youth is concerned, they see most people in the community taking time to go out on the land, even though there were some contradictory statements about people keeping the land clean. Some people, they felt, kept the land clean and took care of the land, while others left their garbage on the land. One young woman thought this was because her parents' generation was not 'educated'. Other young people thought that the older generation kept on relating well to 'nuna', because they felt older people had no other choice, due to unemployment. One wanted to say that people go out often on the land because people preferred to eat inussiutit--Inuit food as distinct from Qallunaaq food.

Similar statements were made by the adult interviewees, stating that people go out also, of course, in wintertime. One woman said: "I think, they (Pangnirtungmiutait) relate to it quite well. They are very proud of the land, they are very much part of it." This could be expressed in finding great beauty in the area.

It was apparent that people who have wage employment do get out during the weekends, while the people who have no employment get out as often as possible; and some "even just stay out."

Comparing the present living Inuit to what people used to do, some elders thought that people today related to 'nuna' "only to some extent". One elder found that the transportation people use today was too noisy and expressed his apprehension about the animals becoming offended. Otherwise, this elder interviewee claimed that Pangnirtungmiutait indeed did relate well to 'nuna', as people still hunt for food during winter and summer. Said an elderly lady:

They (Pangnirtungmiutait) get eager about going out . . . the tradition is to get keen about going out. People get together really well, while they are out. They eat together, and are happy together. A lot of youngsters, they want to travel out on the land. Even those that beforehand did not want to go out, they have started to get out. They had gotten used to the Qallunait way of life and did not want to do the Inuit way. But I have the impression that they are aware of these things now and that is the best way. It will sort itself out in the best way.

QUESTION NUMBER SIXTEEN: Have families changed over the years?

All the interviewees among the youth strongly suggested that cultural change in family life had taken place. Every one of them gave somewhat different versions of the reasons why families had changed. One talked about her thoughts that there was better communication among the family members while people lived in hunting camps. Three of the interviewees

referred to school or the education system as being an interloper, coming between either the parents and the children or between the Inuit culture and the new generation. One girl talked in great detail about how her mother did not understand what her generation was about. A teenage male talked about people earlier having to live in households with "no lights"--presumably talking about absence of electricity. Another one talked about the material goods people now have access to. One said that there were now drugs and alcohol, where none used to be.

The reasons given for change in family life were just as varied among the adult interviewees as among the youth. One explained that household units used to be extended families living together. There were a number of old people still living with their offspring. But today, he explained, even really young people could get their own housing.

Another man also talked about family units. Explaining that families used to work together to acquire big items, like boats, he found that among people living now, such co-operation no longer existed. People have become much more individualistic, he said, and saved their own income for their own use. Having looked at statistical information, he concluded that, out of necessity, young people had to work together the same way the old generation did, since there was not going to be enough employment. As it was, he found that half of the population was under 20-25 years of age, but he seemed optimistic, having witnessed a lot of youth working together to

achieve better. An example he gave was the fact that children now were taught Inuktitut values more than his own generation.

One man did not think that he could compare himself to the older generation, as he held a 'town' job and was not really able to relate to 'nuna'.

A female adult thought that families, generations before, exercised more discipline on their offspring, compared to present practices. She went on explaining that the social values today were different, since the schooling system had introduced new values. This, she believed, had caused some identity crisis among the youth, where individuals did not know whether to be an Inuk or Qallunaaq. Such a situation, she felt, has caused much misunderstanding among the family members, and a lot of unhappiness had entered family lives. Depression and suicide among the youngsters had caused anxiety in the community, as people experienced uncertainty in dealing with an overwhelming problem. This interviewee felt that the discipline previous parents inculcated in their children should be reintroduced to produce responsible and strong Inuit.

Another adult interviewee mentioned depression among people in Pangnirtung; but this one thought that such depression entered the lives of people who, she felt, were concentrating too much on having the Qallunaaq lifestyle, while their background was Inuit. Three other female respondents cited the schooling system as being the cause of change in family life. One

referred to the fact that parents grew up in camps, while their children grew up in communities where schooling took place. This, she and another female interviewee felt, was the cause of youngsters now not learning about their kinship relations and the place-names of the area. The disruption of family co-operation and collectivity accomplishments was referred to by an adult female interviewee. She felt that some people did not take care of elders, as previous generations did. Such a practice, she felt, was a direct influence from the Qallunait.

The responses among the elders were unanimous on a number of issues which they felt were the cause of change in the family. One such issue was that of children of today were able to speak English, while the adult population mainly was monolingual, e.g., Inuktitut speaking. The other concern was that the younger generation of Inuit had acquired a taste for non-Inuit food, while their parents' preference strongly continued to lean toward the traditional. Another issue which the elders brought up was their concern about the youngsters having no interest in collectivity among the extended family. One elder said:

Back then there were not so many people. There were not too many people here at Pangnirtung before people were conglomerated. People behaved the real Inuit way, and our parents were well connected in their homes. We used to eat together, travel together. We used to be really companionable back then. We used to go to church together . . . so cramped we touched each other companionably, but now it's too bad that some of this is no longer possible. . . . And now T.V. has made some change.

Another elder explained the role of elders and the change in family life:

They were the core of our families, the ones that tied us together. . . . Parents used to be more determining for their children. Now the youth--some are really difficult to deal with. They have their own mind and want to do what they like.

QUESTION NUMBER SEVENTEEN: How do you and other Inuit link your perception of 'nuna' and the Inuktitut way of life in rearing children?

Since most of the youth interviewed did not have any children at the time of the research period, this question was appropriated to their future, e.g. 'How would you link your perception of 'nuna' and Inuktitut way of life when you have your own children?' The responses from this group contained a strong sense of parent responsibility in having to teach their children about 'nuna'. Three of the youngsters referred to school having no impact, was not teaching about the Inuit concept of 'nuna' in existence, and presumably this was the reason for the youth's strong feeling of parental participation in teaching about 'nuna'. One of these youngsters was adamant about teaching her future children not to pollute the land. However, one female interviewee said she could not care less about having to teach or learn about 'nuna'; she just looked forward to what the future had to offer her, different from her own background. Other idea the youngsters brought up in answering this question were to tell stories, to go

out hunting, actually participating in such hunts, and also to make Inuit artifactual objects in the workshop at school.

While the youth felt strongly about parental responsibility for teaching the children about 'nuna', the adult interviewees agreed very much on tangible experience being a necessary aspect in learning about 'nuna'. Almost all of them referred to travelling and being told what to do while on such travels. This could be enhanced by listening to stories about hunting and the Inuit lifestyle. Even though there seemed to exist a strong sense of tradition in teaching about 'nuna', the majority of the adult respondents experienced some doubt as to the validity of their teaching about 'nuna'. As one adult explained: "Me and people of my age, we were not really taught. Since we were at school, my ancestral lifestyle has been lost. . . . I am not going to be teaching it." Another adult respondent declared:

I am definitely not going to be taken over by this half of life that I learned at school. It did not, it hardly gave me anything. It made me lose a lot of stuff that . . . I would have learned out there. Even at home.

Elders were mentioned by some adult respondent as being reliable people to teach about 'nuna', but there was also some despair about elders not being paid by the authorities when they were teaching about 'nuna' at school, as elders usually were actively supporting families.

Although the majority of adult respondents doubted their own ability to teach about 'nuna', there were references to the improved schooling

system which now offered more Inuktitut-oriented subjects than it did when they themselves went to school. Inuktitut language was taught as a subject; as was sewing and tool-making. This, combined with parental encouragement and real land-related experiences, made the adult respondents seem much more hopeful for the coming generations than they felt about their own experience. One female adult concluded:

Inuktitut and Qallunaititut ways have been integrated into our way of life, selected out of these ways are the good ones which are used today. All of them are used today. By using my language and showing what I want to show, I want them to know about 'nuna'.

Similar to the adult respondents, the elders referred to regional travelling being the best tool to instruct the children about 'nuna'. Most of the elders thought that instructing the children while travelling was the best way to help children to remember anything. Three of the elders mentioned the school programs which they themselves were involved in teaching. Two of them felt ambivalent about this, as children seemed to behave differently at school than they did at their own homes. A female elder explained:

"We, the Inuit, sometimes go to school, wanting them to learn the Inuit ways, such as sewing, making hides soft, drying seal-skins, but they don't want to smell the hides. They don't like that." A male co-teacher explained:

"They have different approaches, the students. Take my children, they behave in a certain way to us at home, they behave well and listen to our commands. But at school they become hyper, some of them. . . . Some of the youngsters do

not approve of Inuit ways and prefer to behave the Qallunait way. Some part of it is good, but some of it . . ."

The interviewee did not elaborate any further. An interesting issue was brought up by a female elder who thought that the children today behaved differently because, "today there are so many of them." In smaller communities in the previous camp people had fewer children, and parents exercised more behavioural control than the ones today.

QUESTION NUMBER EIGHTEEN: Can you compare the traditional way of bringing children up with that of today?

Four of the adolescents found this question hard to answer and did not offer any response. Some of the aspects of traditional way of bringing up children that other youth wanted to mention were quite varied, although all of them agreed that the previous generations of Inuit children had to learn to survive the Inuit way. One youth explained how the previous way was to teach children to be self-sufficient. Another thought that children of earlier times had to learn to be polite to the elders, while others mentioned that the children were taught to sew and hunt. Comparing these to present-day practices, one woman made the observation:

I see parents are teaching their children Qallunaatitut . . . the way people are bringing up their children now, some are really spoiled, like they get everything they want . . . but now they (parents) do not even teach them to sew or go hunting. And some even little kids talk back now.

This was also expressed by another youth: "Today some kids don't even obey their father when he asks them to do something. They are too lazy for that." One male adolescent was concerned about the situation young people found after they finished school. He found that there were no opportunities to find any employment in northern settlements, and many of his friends were in the same situation as he was.

When asked this question, one of the adult respondents could not help herself reminiscing about her own childhood:

I remember when I was being brought up, there were only few people living here (Pangnirtung). Us, my aunts, my grandparents and the police, and people in the nursing station. We were it. When we were growing up we used not even to be near the houses of the Qallunait, not around the police house. We could be around the trader's house if we were accompanied by his kids. We did not spend much time inside the houses but stayed outside for long periods, in the evenings and all day long. We made small houses outside, made small tents and played at cooking food. We were outside all day long in the early spring, late spring--out towards the river, towards the berry patches--we were there all day long. About six/seven we returned, but went back if we were planning to stay overnight. And we did not stay up late.

This she told in contrast to what the present day children do--spending much of their time inside buildings.

One male adult thought that back then in hunting camps days there was no such thing as 'teenage stage'. Children entered adulthood without any intervening stage and had to learn quickly how to be an adult. This

respondent also related how beforehand people used to practice child betrothals, where parents decided whom their children should marry:

I heard my grandfather say, that when you put two people together, they may not love each other, but they will learn to love. . . . If parents do not like what they see in the man . . . imagine not very good hunting, then he can turn his daughter somewhere else. Whereas the man hardly has any choice. . . . The woman has more choices.

Another male interviewee thought that people back then had to work hard everyday, and siblings worked collectively.

A female adult had the notion that people had limitless time to learn anything from grandmothers, while another female informant had the impression that parents spent pretty well twenty-four hours a day with their children. This way parents had control of what needed to be learned and done, and children learned their responsibility during this constant contact.

Another adult female interviewee referred to the better practice of breastfeeding children in the past then compared with bottlefeeding today.

But she also mentioned her childhood memories of difficult times:

We were sustained by our father's hunt. Some food was brought in by Hudson's Bay Company people, but only very little. . . . We used to be hungry for long periods, if there were lots of storms or when the ice on the sea was no good during fall and spring. It was bad; you get hungry.

According to the responses from the adults, people today live in communities, some even living in those all their lives. Compared to the hardships people had to undergo in previous generation's lives, life in communities was felt to be much easier than before. A male interviewee

thought that since there were so many more children today growing up together, people did not have to spend time with other people different from their own age-group. One could make a choice of partner in marriage, but all this, he concluded, was more-or-less practiced by trial and error, something that previous generations did not have a chance to experience. One adult female thought that present life in general was harder to live, and said this could be proved by the extent of people beating up one another. She felt that the cause might be that people have many more desires than they used to have. Another female adult interviewee reflected upon present child-rearing practices as being somewhat hurried:

we are in this bigger community, we have lots of commitments. We are working, we have meetings to go to, and we can not be with our children all the time, and I think that is why the relationship with the children now, as compared to then, has changed. Because we are so busy . . . you have to make the time . . . make time . . . make a point [to be] with your children. There is less contact now than before, because they go to school now, and you see them at lunch and you see them after work. And you do not do things like people used to do--you sit down and sew with your daughters where you make qamutik (sled) with your sons.

Expressions like the latter were also mentioned in connection with people being moved from their small camps into the larger settlements.

One elder responded that what children see today as being how Inuit life used to be, and the way they play it, does not amount to a full

picture of real Inuit life. This informant then went on reminiscing about his childhood:

Our fathers travelled by dog teams. It was really cold in winter time and he would say 'Just wait, when it becomes calm, maybe even tomorrow, you will come along, so stop now'. I was just crying to be allowed to participate.

In reference to travelling another elder explained that people used to travel a great deal and the children used to participate in hunting game. This implied spending much time with the parents and getting a lot of help from them. But now this informant felt:

there seem to be two ways of thinking in their hearts. They are thinking in Inuktitut, and thinking in Qallunaatit, and are therefore confused. . . . Children are sent to school at an early age, partly because we are too lazy to teach them the Inuit tradition, which is disappearing.

Another elder thought that abuse of alcohol greatly influenced family relations today. He explained that people used to get together without alcohol and laugh a lot together. He went on explaining: "[People] talked together really well and solved problems, talking and making good plans--in their true tradition". But now, he felt, that because the usage of alcohol, among other problems, people even steal money from others.

A wise, very beloved elderly man explained what parents used to do while bringing up small children. He told in great detail about what kinds of pelts were best for diapers, and how to feed small children adopted to the family. Two elderly women explained their perception of how present child-rearing is practiced. One said:

Some of the stuff that goes on today I do not mind, but some of it I do not care for at all. Some of them are really good at helping and exert their ability for good thinking, organizing in their way of behaving, and using the tradition of ability to quickly organize committees, etc. That is what I like today . . . our children are growing up much happier, but part of their way of life is confused--some of it being Inuit way.

Another elder stated:

They used to bring up children on their own, on the basis of their own reasoning; and the way you were brought up, you brought up your children the same. They are not bringing up their children the way their mothers brought them up, as they have much more access to material things. And children are learning at schools. They are at school all day long. They are only at home during the evenings, and they do not learn about the ways of their parents.

QUESTION NUMBER NINETEEN: What part(s) of child-rearing today is Inuktitummarik in your opinion? What part is Qallunaatitut?

Most of the respondents had difficulties in splitting up the daily life into two definite poles of practice, one Inuktitut, the other Qallunaatitut. Those who answered the question expressed their perceptions of what they saw as the traditional Inuit way, and what ways were the Qallunait way. Furthermore, most of the respondents gave examples of how these two sets of practices have become integrated into the present way of life at Pagnirtung.

The first interviewee among the youth talked about the people being led into arranged marriages in traditional times. She felt that parents were helped a lot, and people back then had to learn skills in order to survive.

This she compared to people living separately in big houses today.

Another female adolescent related that people used to have a lot of respect for elders, and she felt that people no longer offer any help to clean up the houses of the elders. Instead, youth were getting into groups and just following one another around. A young female interviewee explained that previous generations of children did not have to go to schools, but had to learn how to make kamiit (skin boots), sewing clothes, while men had to learn to hunt. She felt the Qallunaatit way was to emphasize cleanliness, and this she thought was better than being sick. This interviewee felt that children who were going to school currently became much more like Qallunait.

Among the male adolescents the impression of the traditional way of bringing up children was said to be travelling a lot, using Inuit food, tenting, learning skills, and using the Inuktitut language. About the Qallunait ways the usage of Qallunait language was one primary thing, and consuming food from the south was another. One felt that school and wage employment were definitely Qallunait ways. The last male adolescent disparagingly explained that: "Teenagers, they only think about Qallunaaq way."

Among the adult interviewees, the majority mentioned Inuktitut language usage and Inuit way of life as being Inuit ways of bringing up children. One male interviewee explained that the Inuit way of reassuring

a child about his/her genitalia was something just not done in Qallunait ways. Inuit, he said, have always been open about children's genitalia whereas, in Qallunaaq way, you hide them, rather than mention such body parts. He explained:

In Inuktitut we do not have 'private parts'. To our children we say lovingly 'where are my male parts?' If I did that to an English-speaking person, he would not understand . . . you smell them. . . . If you did that in front of Qallunait, they would think right away 'child abuse' or 'sexual abuse'. . . . Inuit never think that--it was their nallingarniat (the reason for their belovedness).

Another male informant talked about lifestyle, cleanliness, being very exact about everything, being tidy, the southern economy and always having jobs as being typically the Qallunaaq way. This same person talked about his feeling that people previously exercised great confidence in other people. This, he said, has been lost in the present adult population but now is returning among the generation younger than his own. He seemed very optimistic about confidence among the younger generation of Inuit even though the present job situation might be disastrous for them. He still felt that the younger generation had more chances to practice the true Inuit values than did his own generation. Another male interviewee asserted that people have become dependent and controlled by money these days. In the past, he felt, people helping each other had the effect that none of them were really poor.

A female adult respondent saw that present disciplining of the children in rearing them tends to be very much a Qallunaaq way, but nevertheless she was determined to use it, as she felt there was nothing wrong with Inuit becoming educated. Education was not going to change the Inuk inside the person, she explained. Disciplining one's children could not have been seen strictly a Qallunaaq way, as a number of the responses were very telling about previous generations having to obey their parents before. This emerged again as an answer to this question. Other perceptions of what were Qallunaaq ways were such practices as eating together. Television, movies, videogames and southern goods which all could be bought at stores were also included.

Among the elders the perception of people leading two lives at the same time was mentioned as a fact of life in Pangnirtung. This was neatly illustrated by an example, whereby Inuit made carvings telling about their traditional background while using Qallunait tools to express themselves. Another such expression was that Inuit hunt their game using Qallunait technology. Most of the elders selected Inuktitut language usage as being the Inuit way, as also was the learning about animals and hunting, also travelling on the land. One elder said that it was impossible to return to the Inuit way of life, but it would be good if children were taught the Inuit writing, listened to Inuit traditions, and learned to live the right 'human' way. One elder thought it was burdensome for parents whose children only

speaking Qallunait language among themselves. Such conversation was often exclusive of the parents. Such a situation could be avoided, according to this interviewee and to another elder, by taking the children out on the land and teaching them the Inuit way. This could be accomplished if one went to a place where there were no Qallunait at all, said an elderly woman. One elder woman felt that parents do not get much of a chance to be with their children once they start going to school, because children spend all day long at school. Another elderly woman was dismayed about some of the younger children not even understanding any Inuktitut when spoken to. One other elder woman explained what she saw as the Inuktitut way of bringing up children. She explained:

[Through] our language being used correctly, through our food usage and taking good care of all our children, by being able to organize ourselves, by not committing suicide, and by teaching how to learn well--these are all part of it. Here on our 'nuna' the ability to expand one's thinking is very much used.

Otherwise, she explained, using Qallunaaq behaviour, watching television, reading books, being friendly with Qallunait and certain eating, were Qallunait ways.

QUESTION NUMBER TWENTY: Do you see child-rearing becoming more Qallunaatitut or more Inuktitummarik in the future?

The majority of all the respondents felt that the Inuit child-rearing would become more Qallunaatitut than Inuktitut. Various reasons were

given for such a development. Among the youth there were several respondents who mentioned the teenagers as behaving and even talking more like Qallunait than Inuktitut. This, in turn, would make them teach their own offspring more Qallunait ways than Inuit ways. One adolescent interviewee felt that there were more Qallunait coming into the Arctic communities, and this would encourage more use of Qallunait ways.

Another aspect which influences people to become more like the Qallunait is the school. One youth felt that in the school, Qallunaaq ways were pursued by the students, and everybody went to school and hoped to get jobs. This, she implied, was the cause for child-rearing becoming more Qallunaatitut. One youth interviewee was adamant about her planning to teach her children Inuktitut. Furthermore, she wanted her "children's children to know how Inuit lived their lives on 'nuna' when there were no Qallunait." Two adolescent respondents felt that both ways should be taught. One felt it depended on the person. She explained:

Some are wanting to be like the southerners, so they do hardly talk to other Inuit. If that is what is wanted, there will be some uncertainty. Conscientiously, we are not trying to lose anything. We have to have a culture.

Another felt that people who entered communities in the North should learn Inuktitut as well as speaking Qallunaatitut, "living the Inuit culture and being educated in Qallunait ways," he explained.

Among the adult respondents there was some ambivalence about what the future had to offer. Many of the adults wanted the Inuit ways to

be still used, but some interviewees felt apathy about what was happening to what they felt was the disappearing way of life of the Inuit. Two adult interviewees felt that the Qallunait ways were going to be more dominant since there were no teaching materials in Inuktitut. A male respondent felt confident about Inuit ways continuing if the teaching material was in Inuktitut and if people insisted on utilizing the Inuktitut language well, bringing in Inuit stories and carrying on with hunting. Another male interviewee was very defensive about the Inuktitut language being said to be slowly disappearing. He explained:

We want to stay Inuktitut in future. The Inuit way is said to be getting lost. The word Inuktitoorneq (the speaking of the Inuit language)--has, ever since the first Qallunait came here, been said to becoming lost. It has not, so far.

He explained that although there have been attempts to oblivate it, the language unexpectedly showed some resurgence. It comes up for use in every way, but it could not be eradicated: "Any Inuktitut usage still translates into becoming more of an Inuk, and Inuktitoorneq is still going to be used forever." Another male interviewee thought that a completely new culture might arise as the mixing of Inuit and Qallunait values became a practice. A male informant explained that people would be drawn to adapt other ways than Inuit, unless people were offered something irresistible. He referred mainly to the employment and educational situation, and to people having to find new ways of keeping the population in the community rather than losing it to somewhere else in Canada for the sake

of jobs. Another explanation of Inuit ways becoming lost was given by a male informant. He theorized that people would always want to do things the easier way. Qallunait ways were much easier than the hard Inuit way of life, and the choice would be an obvious one.

Adult female respondents also implied that the way of rearing children was to become more Qallunaatitut unless people conscientiously worked on not losing the Inuit language and the Inuktitut way of life. One felt that when parents insist that their children become Inuktitut-practicing people, children do obey. However, those who were left alone to make up their minds tended to choose the Qallunait ways.

The feeling one got from asking the elders this question was one of defeat. As one elder explained:

Yes, it makes one really wonder. We, the true, pure Inuit, we who know the Inuit ways, we are not going to be alive then [future]. When we have passed on, all of us gone, what is to be done if nothing is available for helping knowledge of what we used to be? I guess it is going to be Qallunaatitut only, huh? Our way of life would be obsolete. That is no good.

Even though there were some who felt defeated about the present situation, most of the elders were more than willing to admit to wanting to take part in revitalizing the Inuit ways. One female elder was feeling very up-beat about having been asked to participate in research which wanted to collect material about 'the real Inuit traditions'. She was delighted about this, as she had been told that the material would be used for teaching in

the future. Another female elder thought that elders should actively help to keep the traditions going, while another expressed a hope:

Our ways are more or less Qallunaatitut, but there is no doubt that some have tried to be like Inuit. We should not really become Qallunait, and if we organized ourselves in terms of living on our 'nuna' we could avoid it. If we looked after a way of life, it did not matter even if it were done in Qallunaatitut. Let us then make our successors not forget our ancestors' way of life.

QUESTION NUMBER TWENTY-ONE: What do you think are the reasons for changes--if any?

With few exceptions, the youngsters thought the reason for any changes was that the Qallunait came to the area. One female adolescent explained that the Qallunait came to the community and started taking over by "owning and managing the Hudson's Bay Company, and managing the Hamlet." A male adolescent expressed his thoughts this way: "The Qallunait started to come and started living here. Our jobs are Qallunaatitummarik, our bosses are Qallunait." Two of the adolescents mentioned school teaching as having been the cause for changes, and one explained about the Qallunait: "Even though they teach a lot . . . they only teach about how to be a Qallunaaq. I have not heard anything about our land." The other expressed himself thusly: "This is our true land. Qallunait, they are interested in our land. They came here and started teaching in schools. And if we were to go to school, we would have to

learn only in Qallunaatitut." Two other youngsters talked about the different behaviour among the youth. One thought that the youngsters did not help parents, while the other explained what he apparently was told a number of times:

One hears about the times when there were no Qallunait; the youngsters were very willing to help and were good at listening. But now children are getting at each other. I do not know why, but children do not listen to their parents and do not obey them. . . . They [parents] often say that it did not used to be like that.

Among the adult interviewees other reasons for change were explained, although all of them also referred to the direct influence coming from the Qallunait. One male interviewee felt that people were forced to live two ways of life, which he felt had some psychological implications for individuals. He explained that much of the time it was uncomfortable to be living life like that, and he often felt that he was at a loss in keeping the Inuktitut part going. A female interviewee felt that the consequences of having been a student had cost individuals some grief, when young adults were told: "You are like a Qallunaaq."

The same interviewee made a direct reference to the people being moved from outpost camps into the settlements as being the cause of change. According to her:

People were moved here. All kinds of blessings were given those people by the government--like, if you get a house, you only pay two dollars in rent for a month or something like that . . . they were forced to move here.

She was speaking of a disastrous event one winter when, as a result of a dog-disease epidemic, all the hunting camps people lost their vital transportation. 'The great die off of the dogs', as they called it, was mentioned by some elders during the pre-interview conversation as the event which was one of the causes for them to be moved to Pangnirtung by government people.

In reference to camp life a generation ago, another female interviewee explained her view:

Way back people who lived in camps together were family units, and there was one way of living. In those camps they had their own ways, and even though they were not very different from one another, I believe the change came when they were lumped together and started to live in great numbers. And now, to some extent, the only way of learning is done through schools. There used to be some learning at home, but that is not really understood to be a way of learning, since it was done informally. There has been the change at school: they are trying to learn . . . about life. . . . It should be understood that schools and homes have to work together, so Inuit tradition would not be lost.

The same interviewee explained that changes included aspects that have influence on Inuit such as television, radio, music and Qallunaatit way of entertainment. She felt that people watching television "get lazy, and hardly get out."

Another female interviewee referred to the Christian missionaries:

The missionaries changed things a lot by ordering people: 'this is how you should be; you should not be like this.' They [Inuit] were being fed a lot of wrong information, about how you should be as a person. I guess that I blame a lot on the

Christianity from the past, where people were taught the religion in a negative way, not in a positive way.

One elder thought that the present way of life was fun, now that people live in places with lots of buildings. Along with this, he found the food good. But the main change he described was that people were getting jobs that they liked. Another discernable difference he explained with humour and hearty laughter, was the looks of people: "The looks have really changed toward Qallunaaq looks. Some look really cute and others I do not know. While their hair stays black . . ." he did not elaborate but ended his sentence laughing. Another elder thought people did not have the same opportunity to travel around as the Qallunait, and people did not have the same jobs as the Qallunait. One elder referred to his feeling of people utilizing the land differently than the previous generations and mentioned the whalers, saying: "I've only heard about them and we have encouraged our children to hear about them, as they should know about our way of life."

One female elder began to say something about the change in way of thinking, but was unfortunately interrupted by the telephone.

Afterwards she went on saying:

To some extent I believe in Qallunait ways since the students need to know about it. Their future jobs are their means of making a living. We used to live on animals and live in places where there were no Qallunait. Our fathers were working every day, hunting every day, and our mothers made clothes. We lived our own lives then, independently. I still believe that anyone should be able to live independently. If

people did not live on hunting, there are a lot of jobs that one can do in the Qallunaatitut life-way and there are good resources there for families. . . . I believe that this is the reason why it is necessary to know the Qallunait way of life. Inuit are going to be working. . . . If you support yourself, you are strong. . . . I believe it is necessary to know the Qallunait way, so that Inuit can be strong. This is also true if you choose to be a hunter.

The last three respondents were all female and they all referred to children going to school as being the cause of change. All also referred to their own wishes, that their offspring should know about the Inuit way of life. One of them explained:

Learning must be good since they want it so much. I do not care for this so much . . . if the emphasis is strictly on Qallunait. But there are no other ways than the Qallunait schooling. If they do not go to schools in Qallunaatitut way, there are no jobs available. So in that sense I do not mind them learning at school any more, even my own children. I want them to go to school so they can get jobs, as the ones that have jobs are the ones that have gone through school.

QUESTION NUMBER TWENTY-TWO: How much of Qallunaatitut way of life should be introduced to whom, and why?

Most of the adolescents felt that the young ones, the children or the teenagers should be introduced to the Qallunaatitut way of life. One female adolescent explained:

Teenagers . . . have to learn Qallunaatitut, because the older people say that we are the future of the community . . . and we got to have real jobs. . . . My mom always tells me that I am their future, and that I should have Grade Twelve. I should have some sort of a major in college or university, and that I should be doing something different from other people.

Most people here are trained to be mechanics. . . . And it is mostly the Qallunaaq people that own the businesses in this town.

Other adolescents who wanted the youth to be introduced to the Qallunaaq way of life felt they had to do so in order for them to get jobs. But there were also some who felt defensive about Inuit way of life. One such adolescent explained: "If the Qallunait culture is to be the predominant, the Inuit culture is going to be lost. . . . Qallunait should not be so prominent, because the Inuit way is getting lost." He suggested that only approximately twenty percent of the Inuit population should be introduced to Qallunaaq way of life, and only those who want to be taught that. He also felt that some parents did not encourage their children to learn Qallunaatit too much, as they felt it was not good for their future.

Most adult male and female interviewees both felt that some upbringing of the children would have to be done in Qallunaatit if jobs were to be obtained, for family support. A male interviewee felt that the introduction of Qallunaaq way of life was inevitable. People had already been accusing those who went to school of being Qallunaaq, and he went on explaining:

Our children learn Qallunaatit at school, and therefore speak it there. . . . For those who wanted to grow up in two lifestyles it has been a heavy burden. My children are like that: two languages, two lifestyles . . . since the kid was five years old. This has been a heavy burden to me. It is really confusing at times. My child, my son is undoubtedly like that, too.

He explained that at home they spoke Inuktitut to let their child see the way of life, while at school he used another way of life. This interviewee felt that a lot of families experience the same situation that he was in.

A female adult interviewee was a teacher in the community. She had some thoughts about the school curriculum:

As long as we do not get the Inuktitut curriculum to the standard where it is accepted as a credit for high school, for the school, right now I think that it [teaching Qallunaaq way of life] would have to be almost eighty to ninety percent Qallunaatit . . . I would like to see something (Inuktitut) being recognized and being put into the credits . . . and recognized as a passing mark, in terms of school. But if it can be recognized, I think it (curriculum) can be half and half.

Two female adult interviewees talked about their frustration when trying to combat too much Qallunaaq influence on people. One talked about not being able to erase the idea that people have in believing that Qallunait are wise, and their way of life is in 'another cloud higher'. Another felt that people are waiting for one another, not wanting to be the first one to take an initiative. One talked about the different approaches to adolescents. She felt that teachers tell the students that when they reached fifteen to sixteen years of age, they were on their own, while at home they were not considered adults until they were at least eighteen. This interviewee felt that the stage of their development when teachers left them alone was when the youth tended to lean toward Qallunaaq way of life. Others, she felt, were just pulled away by their peer group, following

the trend toward becoming more Qallunaatitut. This was happening while at the same time we are losing the elder population, she concluded.

In reference to this question, an elder talked about job opportunities at Pangnirtung but did not offer any further response. A male elder expressed what he knew of the existence of Inuit teachers at school and their teaching in Inuktitut, even though it might be minimal in his opinion. He preferred that Inuktitut be taught at the same time as Qallunaatitut was taught. The same opinion was expressed by a female elder. An elder female intimated her worries about the youth being much more Qallunaatitut-behaving, saying that "they have adopted the Qallunait ways more than anyone." And she was worried that both ways of thinking were not going to be utilized at the same time.

QUESTION NUMBER TWENTY-THREE: To what extent does the school teach children your perception about 'nuna' and Inuktitummarik life?

This question was adjusted appropriately for the adolescents, bearing in mind they had no children. Instead they were asked if they thought that the school taught them enough about their own perceptions of 'nuna' and the Inuktitummarik way of life.

The majority of the adolescents did not think that what they learned of Inuktitut culture at school was enough, and they gave examples of their own school experiences:

In Grade Twelve, just this year, we had someone coming in for just a few weeks to teach about the land and sky. But we did not learn much because there was not enough time. He just taught us in the school, we did not go out.

"They just do not know about writing in Inuktitut. They [taught] some parts of the body. It would be fine if they [taught] . . . about our people, our culture." Other examples of this were expressed this way:

We have had that at school since we started kindergarten. We only had Inuktitut teachers. When we got higher grades we mainly had Qallunaatooq. So far we did not have Inuktitut. It is not satisfying as you have to work hard for it. There are more Qallunaatitut and more courses in that than in Inuktitut. Our teachers speak in Qallunaatitut, they hardly speak Inuktitut.

I do not find it good to be taught both Inuktitut and Qallunaatitut. Maybe they get mixed up. From their parents they [school children] are told their own tradition. But they are merely told . . . we do not live like that anymore. They [parents] still tell us [about old days], and then [children] started to go to school in Qallunaatitut, and the language is different, learning about Qallunait and what is good for them. . . . I did not really care about that any more, because I used to think 'that country, who cares if I do not learn that thing?' Because I am never going there.

We have learned Inuktitut at school, learned about where on 'nuna' people lived, without being told where to. . . . There is cultural inclusion from which grade I do not know, to Grade Nine. But from Grade Ten there is no inclusion.

"Yes, we learn about land relatedness at school in Inuktitut. It is not taught in Qallunaatitut."

Among the adult interviewees there was a sense of progress in terms of more teaching material being produced in Inuktitut. One male interviewee would like to see that there be enough teaching material in

Inuktitut to teach right through to Grade Twelve. Another felt that the cultural inclusion material and the Inuit involvement in teaching only happened during the winter. This interviewee felt that summer programs and actual experience programs, where school children were taken out on the land, was lacking. As he explained:

It makes you appreciate more of what difficulties your ancestors had to go through to survive, and it gives you much more understanding of your tradition and your background . . . you do not have to go through a major grade system, you do not necessarily have to pass it. . . it would give [school children] much better sense of who they really are. They will begin to understand their limits and what they can do. And that would be safer for the land and the animals, altogether.

Another male interviewee explained that the basics of Inuit perception of 'nuna' and Inuktitummarik life were taught during primary grades. He explained:

We have Divisional Board here on Baffin Island and teachers work hard. Also people in the Legislative Assembly and the members of what was Nunatsiaq worked hard to get teachers. If we wanted to take control of our school, it is not going to be a cheap [undertaking]. In fact it is going to cost a lot of money. It is very expensive. We did create a Board and they wanted to organize a lot, but really lacked in people and teaching material.

Another teacher-related issue which this informant was concerned about was the sending of inexperienced school teachers to the communities. He felt they were lacking in knowledge about family life, as they were sent out North right after their university years.

One female informant gave names of people who were instructing in the Inuit cultural inclusion program, and another thought that it was satisfactory and to her liking. One of the Inuit teachers who was part of the interviewee group, explained:

[It is] not really, not yet, but it is slowly getting up to that stage. . . . Because the curriculum is all done in the south, they all have Qallunaatit perceptions. We have made our curriculum; it is not really our curriculum, it is a guide where all the Baffin [Island] communities were [gathered], and we got what they wanted to be taught in the school, and they (ideas) are slowly being put to use in the school. So hopefully, this year, we would be using that curriculum from kindergarten to Grade Nine. . . . This is strictly for Baffin Islanders. . . . At least we have some material.

When elders were asked this question, the majority of them did not find the teaching of these two aspects adequate. One elderly woman thought that the Inuktitut was taught as much as the Qallunaatit. One felt it was enough, but that it was the school children who did not use the Inuktitut language the right way. Another elderly woman thought that there should be more elders going to school to tell legends and the ways of elders.

QUESTION NUMBER TWENTY-FOUR: What can be done to ensure that the Inuit perceptions of 'nuna' and Inuktitummarik life are adequately included in the school curriculum?

When youngsters were asked this question, all of them responded enthusiastically and readily expressed their thoughts. One female

adolescent thought that the best way of teaching the school children about 'nuna' and Inuit way of life was to take school children out on the land and to teach more Inuktitut. One way to do the latter was to teach Inuktitut words that only the elders were using now. Another female adolescent suggested that the school system hire more Inuit teachers, even if this was to consist mainly of Inuit adults and elders. This interviewee was aware of the attempts to make such a program possible, but the stumbling-block had been the financial aspects. She explained: "All these years I have been really wanting to learn how to sew sealskin and caribou hide, but I can not find anybody." Yet another female adolescent presented her idea: "If they [school] have learning units about land relatedness, [they should] not just teach them to write in Inuktitut [and] how to read." She laughed about the fact that she learned about whaling in the Arctic by reading one book about it.

Among the male adolescents, the idea of having elders participating in teaching about 'nuna' and the Inuktitummarik way of life was as strongly asserted. Said one adolescent male: "For one thing, they have to stand up and tell . . . go to schools and tell them about the land and the tradition[al] way." He also mentioned that children learned about 'nuna' from their parents. Another male adolescent suggested that parents should be the people to encourage their children to live the Inuktitut way, and by this the disappearance of the way of life could be avoided. One male adolescent

felt apprehensive about the future and thought it might be a good idea to have elders participating in teaching, while at the same time Qallunaatit was taught.

The adult interviewees were at least as enthusiastic as were the young adolescents in answering this question. "The way we have been asked to do things, through the stories, and through film, 'nuna' could still be visible, and the same for the Inuktitut way of life, if these were included in the school beside having Inuit teachers," said a male adult interviewee. One of the male interviewees was an Inuk film producer who has been very involved in producing films portraying Inuit life. His suggestion was to make some captivating film programs that schools could have access to. He went on explaining:

Inuit have to organize themselves about what we have to know about 'nuna'. We've got a whole lot in Inuktitut education that Qallunait never realized. . . . The tools we have adopted from the white man's world. . . . Television--it is just one of the good tools. . . . We could even organize the elders while they are not all gone. They all still want to help, and they claim still to want to work hard at this.

The same person, as also another male interviewee, thought that some of the Qallunait that come to the community could easily be utilized: "As there is increasing numbers of them . . . it is just [a matter of] looking for exact ways to use them to save our own traditions and lands, values."

Another male interviewee thought that everybody in the community should get serious about what they wanted to do. He explained that children knew

to what extent the parents cared, and the same was true for the teachers.

Some coordination was necessary to get things done the right way.

The last male interviewee thought the best achievement was for the Inuit to become owners of the land. He wanted an establishment of Inuit teacher training funding so the numbers of the Inuit teachers could fulfill all the need for teachers. If this became a reality, he said, it would be necessary to build a program where school children could continue to have Inuktitut throughout grade school up until Grade Twelve. He found that although there is a good high school at Iqaluit, many of these students returned only speaking Qallunaatitut.

A female interviewee thought that responsible parents whose children go to school would have to start voicing their concern publicly and start talking to officials about their interests. She explained, "the more people make noise, the changes will happen. But it's got to come from us. We are the ones that have to live with it. It cannot come from the government." Another female spoke of her own participation, having voiced her concerns to the Education Committee at Pangnirtung:

When I was going to school, I was continually criticized by my parents [who were saying that] my life is changing. Who was it who approved and signed for me to go to school when I did not have the authority to say yes or no? . . . I have told the Education Committee here and the teachers: unless you are going to teach fifty percent of that curriculum in Inuktitut, I am not sending my kid to school and I will fight you in the court, if I have to . . . so they made up a policy, at least until they are at Grade Five, everything will be in Inuktitut.

Another female interviewee thought that it might be confusing for children to have too many teachers tending to their learning. It might be better if there were only one teacher per grade rather than have a number of them. The teacher interviewee explained:

We brainstormed what we can do to preserve the Inuktitut way of life, and a lot of the time we have talked about sending the kids to the land during summer, even though it is not part of the school year, [but as] school vacation. . . . That could be part of the curriculum . . . [while] meeting with the parents regularly. We know what we want and we also have good leaders who can lead us for teaching. The leaders are always telling us of new projects. This is a change and it is benefitting us. It is a true change.

The idea which the adolescents and some of the adult interviewee had about elders being more involved in teaching school children the Inuit way of life and about 'nuna' was echoed by one enthusiastic hunter:

If we started doing things now, while we the young ones [compared to the elders] still have not forgotten, we still would like to teach goals in regard to Inuit tradition. I would very much like to participate, since I have a home out there, where I was born and grew up. I am one of those who held onto parts of the way of life. If we put things together really well and make good ways for these children to go on, and do not look down on what was our way of life, we could make it return. We always wanted to help our youth by telling them and showing them everything. Some of them will adopt the language and the way of life. . . . Those of us who know and have positive good thoughts for achieving this could, with help from the government, get some money to be used for this.

Another elder wanted to air his thoughts:

If the generation after us insisted on going on like the present, I do not believe it is any good. I think about this a lot I say this not to be against the Qallunait, but I want to air my thoughts. . . . I do not mean that absolutely

everything must be in Inuktitut, but only to let them know because we care for it a lot. You know it is heavy to us who are already weakened. But if we combined our efforts about Inuit knowledge, we could discover how great our way of life could be. We should listen to one another.

A number of times 'a good future' was equated with youngsters having knowledge about the Inuit way of life. This conviction was expressed not only by elders, but was also stated by young adolescents.

Reinforcing such feeling, an elder male interviewee explained:

We have been instructed not to forget our old ways. People have encouraged us to be users of that way of life so we could ensure the continuation of that usage. It would be much better if the youth was instructed like that, as Qallunait teachers do not understand any Inuktitut.

Explaining what Inuit traditions were about, an elder interviewee expressed these thoughts:

Inuit were given this knowledge in all sorts of ways, on their own, truly on their own, deriving from their ancestors. These old traditions, I do not want them to be forgotten, because they represent a valid, good way of life. . . . If the way of life and the language were taught at school, I would be really happy. On their own, they (children) speak Qallunaatit, and I do not understand.

Some other elders talked about their own involvement in teaching about the traditional aspects of life. One was once interviewed about legends by a researcher some time before this enquiry, and another one described a program where elders were to build a qammaq (traditional house) at the school, so children could learn about such buildings.

Otherwise, all elders agreed on the need for the children to learn about the

Inuit way of life and the language through the school. As to how, in detail this could be achieved, the majority of the elders did not offer any suggestions. But they did assert the broad principles of Inuit community responsibility in getting involved.

QUESTION NUMBER TWENTY-FIVE: What is your greatest concern?

The responses to this question were one of the most productive ones in this study. The winter before the arrival of the present researcher and family, the community had a shocking experience, as four young adult males had committed suicide within a few months. This was a frequently expressed concern, particularly among the young adolescents, as these young men had been their friends or relatives.

In that regard one youth thought that there should be what she called 'suicide control centres', where people could get help with their problems. She thought taking people with personal problems out on the land might also help. The same interviewee was also concerned about the Inuktitut language situation. She had heard about the Canadian Western Arctic Inuvialuit who had forgotten the Inuktitut language and was horrified about such prospect in her own community.

The second female adolescent explained how she, in consultation with an elder, finally understood her own bewilderment about the two ways of life. This had been a great relief to her, as she now knew where she

stood. This interviewee also told about not wanting to lose the use of Inuktitut language.

Among the male adolescents, one talked about not wanting any pollution for the sake of the future, another explained that through this interviewing process he realized that he was never taught about 'nuna' in school. Another male interviewee expressed his concern about not being able to get a job due to what he felt was an inadequate use of the English language. He also disapprovingly spoke about how many of the youngsters were far too much inclined to stay in the settlement and not go out hunting.

The job situation was something that preoccupied a lot of the adolescents. One talked about his problems with not being able to get a job because he dropped out of Grade Nine. He wanted to impress upon the children that one needed good marks at school to be able to get a job later.

Among the adult interviewees one man talked about people becoming a physical part of 'nuna' by being put onto the land at death. Unlike the present practice of burying people in graves, people in past times became truly part of 'nuna'. He thought that putting dead people into coffins was unnatural in the North and felt that the soul of people do not get a chance to liberate themselves from their bodies that way. He himself wanted to be buried the same way as the old tradition: this way, he

said, people would know when his soul became free, as the rock collapsed. He also wanted to convey the feeling that when people stopped going to school, they do not stop learning. That was when real learning actually started.

Another adult interviewee was concerned about people becoming too acquisitive these days. This notion was also addressed by an elder. Both felt that such a notion was not really an Inuktitut way, and both were distressed about it. The importance of getting education was mentioned by this male interviewee, and having to respect people and the surroundings was also important to him.

One male interviewee wanted to tell about his feelings, about the way the whalers had treated the Inuit. He felt that the Inuit working for the whalers were mere slaves for them and that it was time for the people to realize this. He knew that a number of the elders would disagree strongly with him on this subject, but this was how he saw it. He also felt that people in Pangnirtung were too complacent and waited for miracles to happen, instead of taking the initiative to do something about their own problems.

A female adult interviewee expressed her concern:

My greatest concern about the Inuit . . . is for the young people. . . . I do not think they know what lies ahead of them. They are really caught in the middle, they are not really sure if they want to become hunters, fishers.

She felt that the families claimed their youngsters too much and do not give them opportunity to break away from the family ties to obtain education somewhere else. In addition, she felt that although the community has done a lot to solve social problems, the population has a long way to go yet.

One strong female personality wanted to express the male/female issue:

There is a thing called women's liberation. Equal rights; it is coming in the North, and is in the North. The Inuktitut way of living is to respect your man and the man respects you. Well, women's liberation seems to avoid a man's influence on women.

Another female interviewee was also concerned about the job situation in the community and the young people. She felt that there was nothing young people could do about it. This was especially bad in the winter-time when so much fewer jobs were available in town. The jobs available were only for people who had obtained higher education.

In terms of the future, one female adult interviewee was adamant about people having to work toward the future. She said: "If we worked toward our future, without sitting around, that is the only way. We would not go anywhere unless we do something."

The last female adult interviewee expressed her hopes this way: "It would be best if people were taught about people who live on 'nuna' from their own perspective about their tradition."

The first male elder interviewee explained that he often related really well with the angakkuit--the people using shamanic thinking. But to his thinking Christianity and the angakkuit were incompatible. To him it was very apparent. He was also the elder who was concerned about the acquisitiveness invading the Inuit thinking. He thought that such notion hurt people inside. Young people do not become fond of themselves, because they wanted too much beyond their means. But such aspirations do not measure up to reality, and this causes them to dislike themselves, and some even commit suicide because of this.

An elder explained his concern that the children were put to school at too young an age, this way:

the youngsters are put into schools even before they are able to understand. I believe that some of them are really confused, as they possess two ways of thinking in their hearts. They do think Qallunaatit and do indeed speak it. On the other hand, their intellectual ability has been taken away because of having to choose to speak Qallunaatit or Inuktitut. I think that while their minds are 'soft', Inuit traditions are lost that way. That is my thinking, while they are still small. I have made my children remember this. I feel that my children got lost while they went to school, never realizing that once they become adults, they make good use of the intellect which they had lost while being 'in between', in adolescent stage. Now that there is more Inuktitut being spoken and taught, I am happy about that.

A female elder talked about the new responsibilities of the elder population in an era of renewed interest in Inuit identity among the present population and among the Qallunait. She liked being approached by the Qallunait, except her greatest obstacle was not being able to respond in

what she jokingly called 'bad Qallunaatitut'. She was also concerned about the elders having requested informant fees when they were asked to be recorded for use in schools. She thought it was bad attitude, considering children do not get to be told the legends. But maybe they would understand once children were only speaking Qallunaatitut, and they themselves were witnessing it.

A number of the elders wanted to express their gratitude for being interviewed, as they were aware of Inuit tradition disappearing once they themselves pass away. This interviewing would at least help in diminishing such trend, they thought.

This chapter presented the accumulation of responses to the questions in their un-reinterpreted form.

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings

The following discusses the answers to the sub-problems set forth in this study. It should be noted that the researcher has been careful about not allowing too much overlap of responses, while respecting their interrelatedness.

SUB-PROBLEM ONE: How do the Inuit perceive the physical environment 'nuna' in which they live?

The majority of the respondents referred to their individual feelings about 'nuna', saying how much they found the land beautiful. There were some respondents who referred to 'nuna' being nalligusuttoq which in English could be translated into the land being loving, nurturing and being looked after. Such responses were given in connection with what people felt was an interactive relationship with 'nuna': you look after 'nuna' and it will look after you. Next to the individuated feelings about 'nuna', there was a tendency to express 'nuna' in terms of it being home for the individual and home-land for the collectivity of the Inuit. The present researcher, being an Inuk from Greenland, was particularly sensitized to this expression of feeling as being applicable to all Inuit throughout their Ukiortartoq Circumpolar habitat. Although there seemed to be a strong

sense of collective ownership of 'nuna', among the youth, an awareness of individual possibility of legal ownership of plots of land was evident.

During the informal interviews, people often referred to the claiming of land. It seemed that people have a strong sense of inheritance from what some of the informants called nunaqaqqaartuminiit--the ancient first occupants of the land. When asked a question concerning people being capable of owning 'nuna', some interviewees referred to the ludicrousness of land being owned. One elder responded that he had never seen any person 'making' land and, therefore, no-one could claim it. An adult interviewee felt that claiming ownership of land was as far-fetched as a person claiming to own the Earth. Both such thoughts represent the traditional Inuit way of thinking. These two interviewees were aware of that and went further to explain their interpretations as to why Inuit at present feel they have to claim 'nuna'. Here, one could talk about the differences of ownership. While Inuit may find it ludicrous to own land, it nevertheless appears that they want to claim 'nuna'. It is not so much to own 'nuna' as an English speaker may comprehend it, but to be allowed to continue to nurture 'nuna'. For the modern Inuit the concept of ownership is vital but variant from the Euro-Canadian's notion of possession of a measured piece of the Earth. Rather, it does imply the right to stewardship of and co-existence with a traditional habitat.

In interviewing elders on the concept of land ownership it became clear that their feeling of their rightful ownership had been violated, without their being consulted by anyone and without any opportunity to be challenged or challenge the claimants. Frequently mentioned was a sense among the Inuit of their being disorganized in comparison with the Qallunait, who for so long have tended to intrude new and already-ordained social institutions into the Arctic society. These ideas are often introduced before the Inuit have had a chance to anticipate the new realities. Laws, regulations, organizational structures, quotas, lines of communication, sanctions and rights for non-Arctic, non-Inuit interests tend to be presented to the Inuit as already institutionalized, before the people have been informed, let alone consulted. This pattern creates a sense of incapacity in terms of social organizing, of helplessness, frustration and awkward impotence, which combine to inhibit the Inuit in their development of confidence and competence in handling themselves in modern Arctic society. As an elder described it, they had been living a way of life that Inuit had always led, and one day they were told that Qallunait had claimed 'nuna'. No other process was instituted, except now people really have become aware of what they were about to lose.

As much as people have the sense of inheritance of land from the nunagagqaartuminiit, there is a sense of inheritance of knowledge from these people. It is also in the sense of inheritance that the future arose, in

the responses concerning what land means to the Inuit. Land represents the future for people, in particular for the youth, who see this land to be their individual and cultural foundation. This is very much connected with protecting the land from pollution. As 'nuna' is a home place which sustains the animals which Inuit live on, people are to exercise care in ensuring the long-term preservation of natural resources for future generations. To some extent people felt that in order to preserve 'nuna' and to avoid it being polluted, Inuit have to claim it, so as not to risk any pollution from other people. In-so-far as 'nuna' represented the past, the present and the future, some respondents felt that 'nuna' was altogether about their own life-way, forever.

At the same time as 'nuna' is a homeland for the Inuit, 'nuna' was also described as a place which provides food for the people. This is not only in terms of physical wellness, but applies to the mental well-being, as the majority of interviewees referred to the rejuvenated spiritual strength people found after a period on the land. Some respondents felt that they were actually part of 'nuna' themselves, and some respondents even felt somewhat psychologically invaded by being interviewed about 'nuna'--even by a fellow Inuk (note that it was the subject which was felt to be intrusive, not the interviewer). It was as if we were discussing a sacred subject.

One theme which very frequently was brought up in the responses was the significance of being able to travel on 'nuna'. It seems that there is

an abiding desire to be able to travel over 'nuna' freely, and this is an important aspect of Inuit life. Even today, as people hold jobs which tie them down to a sedentary lifestyle, people spend a good part of their salary to buy equipment for travelling and hunting.

In reference to the question of the spiritual aspects of 'nuna', people responded implying their awareness of the animals having their 'own power'. In questioning further about what people meant by this, the interviewer brought up the pre-Christian Inuit belief of animals having souls. The response to this was sometimes in agreement, and sometimes a complete denial of its validity, on the basis of church theology. Some of the respondents referred to the animals as being made for people to eat, and indeed when there were notions of claiming land ownership, the animals in the Arctic habitat were equally claimed to be owned by the Inuit.

On the subject of spirituality and Christianity, a number of adult interviewees felt that Christianity had been introduced among the Inuit, emphasizing the negative and burdensome aspects of its beliefs, e.g., original sin, or guilty evil, and this, they felt, had led the Inuit into apathy. There is no doubt that the young adults of the Pangnirtung Inuit have started to question Christianity's validity in the Inuit world and have started looking into other spiritual inspirations, including Inuit pre-Christian beliefs.

In connection with the spiritual aspects of Inuit perception of 'nuna', respect was often mentioned. People stated that they have been told to respect 'nuna' and anything that is on 'nuna'. One does not make fun of 'nuna', nor of animals living on it. This is seen as a serious matter, and people having any notions of disrespect toward 'nuna' and the animals easily lose their esteemed personal integrity among other people.

As one can conclude, the Inuit perception of 'nuna' easily translates into a complex notion of intimately interrelated human and animal life on 'nuna', rather than a simple description or analysis of the physical appearance of the land. It is in this sense that people feel how much they are physically, spiritually and culturally a part of 'nuna'.

SUB-PROBLEM TWO: How do the Inuit express their perception of the human environment in which they live?

It is apparent that the interviewed people have a sense of division into three sets of lifestyles which were defined as being distinctively practiced among the present Inuit population. As indicated earlier, people at Pangnirtung have a strong feeling of inheritance of 'nuna' and knowledge deriving from the nunaqqaartuminiit. The elders, the innait or inutoqait, were said to be from this group of people. Their childhood was defined as being one of traditionalistic lifestyle. This was asserted by all age groups among the informants. The majority of these elders were born in the

hunting camps--nunaleralait--(now often spoken of by Qallunait as 'outpost camps'). They grew up not knowing any other lifestyle than the traditionalistic. In fact, these elders represent the core of the camp groups now all living in the settlement of Pangnirtung. Still today people are discernably identified as being persons from, e.g., Illutalik, Qimmisooq, Tuapait, Illungajooq, Nunataaq, Usuaaluk, Imikik, or Qeqertaq (see map). There are indeed more camps (Boas, 1888), but these are the camp names given to the present researcher as examples of the differences between groups living now in Pangnirtung. One interviewee told the present researcher that in earlier times of Pangnirtung people felt so strongly about their grouping in terms of these camps that even intermarriage was discouraged. As time went by, such strong feelings have become less divisive. Among the elders, if one talked about their 'nuna', these hunting camps were the habitats evoked by the term. 'Nuna' to them is more than a vague generalization. The word has geographically quite specific associations with socio-historical and mental images.

With a few exceptions, the innait of Pangnirtung are monolingual Inuktitut-speaking people and are seen as the founding core for revitalizing the modern Inuit identity development. It should be noted that these are inevitably the ones who are invited to participate in and carry out school 'cultural inclusion' programs.

Although the innait represent the traditionalistic Inuit way of life, this group of people is very much influenced by Christian doctrine. An interesting aspect of this is that the interpretation of the Christian faith expressed by these people at the same time gave emphasis to pre-Christian Inuit belief. For these elders, it was important to say that people are part of 'nuna' insofar as people return to become part of the earth at death. Another aspect that the elders wanted to emphasize was that people had to be morally good. In many ways, the quality they wanted in contemporary persons was the same human quality predicated in pre-contact Inuktitut thinking, but the elders mixed this with Christian faith, insofar as good-living people are promised a place in Heaven after death.

Some of the elders and adults who were born in the hunting camps and grew up there during their early childhood prior to the move to the settlement, referred to the era of their childhood as being severely trying at times, as people often had to survive hardship and privation. Most of them had intimate knowledge about the area of Cumberland Sound and all animals, as they themselves were providers for their families as hunters or mothers at the time of their own early adulthood. Elders remember how people worked hard, collectively, at a time when there were virtually no Qallunait in the area of Cumberland Sound, other than the fur-trader, the Anglican missionary and R.C.M.P. staff members at the Pangnirtung settlement site. They feel they knew a way of life that could offer

independence and provide security from most vicissitudes. Not many elders mentioned the era of whaling as playing any particular role in their lives, although they must have been the offspring of parents or grandparents who dealt with the whalers.

The second form of lifestyle currently practiced among the modern Inuit society is that of the adult population. Most of this age group, if not all, have gone to schools; some of them were sent to residential hostel schools outside the community. They have learned very basic English language usage but remain largely Inuktitut-speaking. The younger people of this adult category are users of both Inuktitut and English. They are, however, very aware of their upbringing being basically Inuktitut and are able to judge which aspects of life are Inuktitut and which are Qallunaatit. While most of these people are able to choose some adaptive aspects of either of the two lifestyles, others found themselves feeling 'trapped' midway between the two ways of life, Inuktitut and Qallunaatit. Those individuals found it awkward and burdensome to be living like that, and they tended to become very sensitive to any perceived criticism that they were too much like Qallunait.

Because of their awareness of different lifestyles, the adult population of Pangnirtung Inuit has become politicised and strongly defensive of the Inuit way of life. At the same time the adults do appreciate what they perceive to be the positive aspects of non-Inuktitut

culture. They usually feel strongly about the benefits education can offer people, but this, they feel, has to be well-coordinated with the Inuit way of life.

Most of the interviewed people in this adult category held salaried jobs in Pangnirtung and therefore operated comfortably in the money system. They were usually determined that their own offspring be given an opportunity to support themselves by salary earning.

Concerning spirituality among this group, some appeared to be looking at the Christian faith with vague reservations, but few have even taken the trouble to look into the traditional Inuit belief in a search for other forms of spirituality. However, it is by no means every individual in this group who looks for other ways of attaining spirituality. All people in Pangnirtung have been baptized into the Anglican church, and many still attend some or most services. Some assert that God is the one Creator to whom they express gratitude for the land.

There is no doubt that these adult group people in the Inuit population feel inadequate in terms of their knowledge of land and land-relatedness, compared to the elders. They know that they have a different way of relating with the 'nuna' than the elders did at the same age. These adults have different equipment to use to travel over 'nuna' than did the elders. It is mechanized, providing them with fast transportation, but which to some translates into not getting to know the

land intimately. Another form of self-perceived inadequacy is their sense of uncertainty because they have not been taught all the place-names of the area in which they live.

There is a feeling among the adult population that because of the kind of schooling they have received, they have also lost the opportunity to learn about the true Inuktitut values and traditional knowledge. This, according to some adult respondents and elders, has led people into abuse of alcohol and drugs, and to depressions, all of which people felt are very non-Inuktitut aspects of life. It is most likely, because of the feeling of inadequacy about the Inuktitut knowledge and lifestyle, that a great number of the adult interviewees mentioned apprehension about what the future has to offer. In addition, the life-way of the Qallunait is not fully adopted into the Inuit lifestyle. People know that their lifestyle is a new one, and because of their awareness of rapid cultural change they feel that they have no means to predict their own cultural future.

The third lifestyle category concerns the pattern of the adolescents and children. The young adolescents are aware of the different kind of child-rearing practices which their parents experienced. According to them, this was definitely different from the one they themselves are undergoing now. This was expressed by parents telling the young people what were the expectations the parents had of them, in terms of obedience, loyalty and responsibilities to the family unit. As far as some adolescents are

concerned, they have much more say in their own affairs than did their parents at the same age.

From the elder's point of view, the behaviour of children today is different from that of children of previous generations. It seemed to the elders, and also to some adults, that parents today have much less control of their own children in terms of what they learn and in terms of discipline. There were inferences made from both the adult and elder population about the fact that these aspects of child-rearing have been taken over by the school instead of remaining within the family context. After all, the children spend all day long at school, and sometimes even the evenings are taken up with school-related learning or activities of some kind.

The sheer size of the proportion of children and adolescents in the present Inuit society of Pangnirtung has also led some people to speculate that children are more influenced by their peer groups than by their families. An elder wondered about this, as people are now congregated in settlement lifestyle rather than living in hunting camps, where populations were small constellations of extended family units, and where parents indeed had the control of what children should learn, with no interference from the school system. A male adult interviewee also brought up the issue of the proportion of children and adolescent population. He speculated that children and adolescents out of necessity were going to become more Inuit-oriented in their lifestyle than the present adult population. This, he

thought, will happen as there are not going to be enough jobs for all, when they become adults.

From all the age categories in this study, people in general expressed their feeling that the youth were much more Qallunait-oriented than any other group in the society. Some elders went as far as stating that some of the children and the youth simply did not understand any Inuktitut when spoken to. So, whereas the adult population might be more Inuktitut-oriented in their language use, the youth were seen to be more Qallunaatitut-oriented in their usages of language and behaviour, even though they all spoke Inuktitut.

In terms of human environment, there is no doubt that the Inuit have become acutely aware of the Qallunait influence on their life. Qallunait are seen as people who hold little or no respect for the land nor the animals, but they assert ownership and control of these. They are seen as being greedy for any resource at all, and Qallunait would do just about anything to find whatever resources they think they need, with no regard to the preservation of land nor animals. Qallunait could disturb and pollute the land without understanding the consequences, and therefore cause damage and even unimagined extensive destruction. Qallunait impose laws without consultation, and this is seen as very intrusive to the Inuit way of life, particularly as law makers usually ignore the Inuit, and Inuit 'get pushed around' this way. Even with such perceptions of the Qallunait,

people took care to ensure that their statements gave no offense. They sincerely wished to avoid conflict with people with whom they must continue to co-operate in the future.

What Inuit found distasteful is that all this development could be done for benefit to an individual or corporate body, but not necessarily with regard for any collective benefit of the society. Inuit believe that there are more and more individual Qallunait coming to their 'nuna', and this will cause more change. In fact, they see that Qallunait have already caused a great deal of change in the Inuit way of life.

One thing which often arose in interviewing young people was that they found that in the Qallunait way of life, keeping clean is an important Qallunait discipline. Some adults thought that Qallunait exercised a lot of behavioural discipline among the children, 'unlike the Inuit'. They also felt that Qallunait require exactitude in dealing with anything.

Nevertheless, most present-day Inuit felt they are compelled to live a life which seems more the Qallunait way than the Inuit way, because people found the Qallunait way of life easier to live than the Inuit way of life. Here, it is a question living a modernized life in the settlements, living in houses, and becoming educated in order to acquire any salaried job. This, combined with being able to live in the Arctic, Ukiortartoq, continuing to be able to enjoy living off the animals of the land and yet having a choice of Qallunait food, is what people saw as a good

amalgamation of these two lifestyles. Most present-day Inuit felt that they can choose to continue using some of the Inuit values, combine them with such good values as the Qallunait have, and make a workable mix of these in the future.

The tools and equipment of the Qallunait are what the Inuit think they are capable of utilizing to further their own economic and cultural aspirations. Such items as television, radio, guns, outboat motors, writing systems, have all been adapted to fit the present interpretation of what an Inuk is. So, despite the ambivalent Inuit perception of Qallunait, they still feel very compelled by the Qallunait and their culture, at the same time knowing what it has cost and will cost them in terms of the cultural aspects of the Inuit society. According to the findings of this study the Inuit feel they can use the Qallunait skills and instrumentation to reverse the contemporary problems, including redirecting the trend of cultural change.

SUB-PROBLEM THREE: How do the Inuit link their perception of physical and human environments to the culturally accepted practices of child-rearing?

The linking of the physical environment through child-rearing seems to be completely left to the families and the community population. Seeing this, one would have thought that the attitudes, behaviour and motives in relating with the land might be as varied as family differentiation,

particularly now that people are divided by economic occupation and education. But one of the interesting outcomes of this study is the realization of how emphatically and universally the people feel about not wanting the land to become polluted, whatever their background. Extreme care of the land has been inculcated in most if not all individuals, although some were said not to have followed this through consistently. The fragility of 'nuna' is something people seemed very attentive about. People have been told not to be careless with land, as such behaviour may offend the animals and cause them to divert their patterns of movement. Leaving garbage on the land was seen as carelessness and also as a sign of an ultimate degree of disrespect for the land and the animals.

Such an attitude not merely reflects respect for the animals specifically, but toward them as an integral part of the totality of 'nuna', an image which is the very essence of the whole human relationship with the land. The relationship between animals, human beings and the land is seen as an exchange of goods for decent treatment, and without a rigorous implementation of this attitude and behaviour from the human component, the bond is seen to be broken. If a rupture in the relationship occurs, it is the people who will be the losers. They know that animals and the land could exist without help or interplay with human beings, but people could not exist without the animals the land provides. Thus, 'nuna' is seen to be the very foundation of life for both animals and people. Therefore it is up

to the people to live up to their responsibility to the land and the animals, by rigorous social control. Such controls take the form of, for example, people being told not to overhunt, not to harvest more than is needed, and not to abandon any hunted game.

The inculcation of such attitudes takes place from early childhood, by parents and extended families taking children out on the land. Myth, folktales and personal narratives are included to reinforce the way of thinking, and adults also serve as role models. Even though there are identifiable and indeed discernable differences in child-rearing practices, as between the elders and the adults today, such attitudes against pollution and overhunting appear to be very strongly implanted among the youth.

There is a clearly discernable feeling that people normally cannot change the physical environment. But now that people live in modernized communities, the settlement site itself is perceived to have been changed by roads, buildings and dwelling houses. Inuit see themselves as less likely to be the cause of physical change on 'nuna'. Although the Qallunait are seen as potential causes of change of 'nuna', it is also perceived to consist of such a degree of integrity that even the Qallunait have no means to change the vast unpopulated area of the Ukiortartog, the Arctic.

Concerning the human environment, the present researcher has presented two manifestations which the Inuit perceive within their contemporary society. One is clearly the traditional Inuktitut way of life,

which is seen as now unattainable as something to go back to. The other one is identified in the interviews as the Qallunaaq way of life.

Regarding Inuktitut child-rearing in the Inuit society concerning the human environments, there are a number of issues which the interviewees felt were typically Inuktitut. One is a factor of diet. In homes where traditional Inuit food, inussiutit, is preferred and more generally used, obviously there is a direct link with the source of the food and the means of obtaining it. There is, then, generally some correlation between the normal regular food habits of the family and the nature and extent of cultural orientation. That is, the greater the usage of Arctic foods, the more traditionalistic the family, and vice versa. This, however, should not be oversimplified, because some people sedentarized by their employment or physical condition may be forced to depend on southern store-bought food to a greater extent than they would prefer. Such people may often regard traditional country food as a special treat, or frequently look to obtain food by some means from those able to hunt. Some employed families purchase country food within the settlement, but hunted meats remain a very valuable means of social bonding, insofar as very often hunting products are freely shared, usually along kinship lines. Thus, the relationship with the land by means of the practicalities of sustenance becomes moreover an emotionally valued way of maintaining social solidarity within the extended family and beyond. In a culture where family

commitment is of such great importance, this clearly demonstrates these various dimensions of land-relatedness in a functionally integrated way, with the emotional matrix quite strongly manifested.

The other issue concerns the Inuktitut language, which is felt to be important in Inuktitut child-rearing, as a linkage with the land and the Inuktitut human environment. Next to the already-noted factor of land-relatedness as a source of identity is the almost equally important matter of Inuktitut language usage. Clearly, much of what is important in the environment, as perceived in Inuktitut cultural terms, is best discussed in the language of that culture. The data contain frequent statements, not only by elder people but by younger parents and even childless adolescents, emphasizing the importance of Inuktitut language usage in all contexts, and certainly in the vital realms of social and physical environment and their interrelationships. The subject of language as a vital element in the culture almost universally arouses very strong emotion. Fear of its vitiation or even ultimate loss is real and profoundly felt.

The parents interviewed among the Pangnirtung population felt they could utilize some of the child socialisation practices of previous generations. They felt that the present mode of child-rearing is a compromise between the Inuktitut and the Qallunaatit. While there seems to exist strong emphasis on understanding of the Inuit perception of 'nuna' as a foundation and indeed the psychic core of the Inuit identity, the

young people are very much encouraged to attain school type education, so as to be able to support themselves and their future families.

The differences in child-rearing pointed out by the interviewees are, among others, that parents today do not spend twenty-four hours a day with their children. As some of the wage-earning parents were saying, they found themselves hardly spending any time with their children, as their time is additionally committed to many community responsibilities. Whereas previously people taught their children the tasks required of them for adulthood, some people felt many now no longer afforded the time to teach their children.

Direct and constant contact with the parents, which was felt to be a normal daily pattern in previous generations, has now become penetrated by the school requirements. The school system is seen as having taken over the responsibility of educating children, teaching them the necessary skills to support themselves in adulthood. A great majority of the younger generation equated education with getting a job.

The overall impression one gets from the interviews is that school is seen to be a Qallunait cultural centre from which all attitudes, behaviour, social values and language of the Qallunait are acquired by the school-related population. It is thus through the conditioning of the children, the Inuit in Pangnirtung feel, that people come to adapt to the Qallunaaq approach to the Inuktitut environment.

SUB-PROBLEM FOUR: To what extent do the Inuit feel that the kind of perception they have concerning their physical and human environments is reflected in the school curriculum which is taught to their children?

On the question of the Inuit perception of the physical environment being reflected in the school curriculum, most interviewees felt that it was not. As stated in sub-problem three, the inculcation of Inuit perception and indeed of the relationship to the physical environment is largely left to the families and the community. Therefore, the general feeling is that the school system does not contribute to this particular perception.

In interviewing the elders, this researcher sensed that this generation felt that the structure which the schooling system introduced to the Inuit population was something that could not be changed. This meant that both organisationally and in terms of curriculum and methods, they felt confronted by something monolithic and unreachable. It seemed to them that the school authorities never lived in the Arctic community, and those who were living in this community represented a corporate system with which they were impotent to negotiate any change. This system seemed to be a non-accessible body with which people could not communicate directly. Such a situation was alien and seen as a great obstacle to people in a generation whose activities and decision-making were founded on easy and ongoing communication, interacting effectively with any one of the authorities within their society. Such feelings also have been intensified by

the cultural barriers, as the school system did not make any effort to make the structure more Inuktitut-oriented, up until relatively recently.

Among the adult interviewees this notion of not being able to change the curriculum, did not seem to be so severely felt. On the contrary, there have been various developments which the adults helped to introduce, also including some elders, thus in fact achieving some cultural changes in the school system. The adults now feel that the content of the curriculum has become more Inuktitut-oriented. Such programs as skin preparation, sewing instruction, hunting implement-making, Inuktitut syllabics writing and getting elders to come to school to tell old legends, have made the adult population realize that even already pre-structured organisations such as the school system can be changed.

On the question of the school curriculum reflecting the Inuit perception of 'nuna', the feeling continues to be that the school does not offer any contribution so far. People would like to see programs which would encourage more land-relatedness. Examples are discussed in the next sub-problem.

During the interviews, one could not help noticing an implicit ambivalence which people seem to feel about the school. There is no doubt that the Inuit of Pangnirtung see the school as an instrument where non-Inuktitut lifestyle is introduced. People are aware of a different kind of discipline being introduced to the children. Many of the parents

described how children behave one way at home and behave differently while in school. What concerned the elders seriously was that children spend all day long at school and therefore do not get a chance to learn Inuktitut skills, because the children's time is taken up learning the Qallunaatit way.

While feeling this, people nevertheless want their children to get a formal academic education so they would be able to get jobs later in adulthood. So, in terms of the human environments, school teaching reduces the Inuktitut human environment, while greatly encouraging the Qallunait way.

Whereas an outsider might think that the school teaching will inevitably result in students conditioned to the Qallunaaq way of life, Inuit convey their hopes subtly that the process of their Inuit children going to school will ultimately provide a foundation for a new way of Inuit life which will be a compromise between the Inuktitut and Qallunaatit ways of life.

SUB-PROBLEM FIVE: How do the Inuit see their perception of physical and human environments becoming adequately included in the school curriculum?

In terms of the Qallunaaq part of the human environment, interviewed people in Pangnirtung feel that the school is doing a good job in teaching the children the Qallunaaq ways. But there seems to be a

widely-shared opinion of needing some limit as to how much Qallunaaq individuals should become. This was felt notably by some adults who have undergone schooling and later experienced being called Qallunaaq by other Inuit. This causes some resentment and hurt feelings on the part of the named people.

Coming to the question of how to ensure perpetuation of the Inuit perception of the physical environment, there is evidence of doubts about the present school system carrying out this part of Inuit learning. The feeling is that any program the school carries is regularly measured in grades and credits, and the learning of land-relatedness is felt not to be the subject which Inuit would want to have judged this way. The reasoning behind this is partly due to school closure during summers, when the greater part of the getting-out-on-the land takes place. Another reason is also the severity of winter climate in the Cumberland Sound area, making it unsafe for younger school children to go out on the land during the winters. It is felt, at the same time, that older school children could be taken out on the land by responsible adults, to begin experiencing travel conditions and hunting during the most typical part of the Arctic year, the winter.

Essentially, Pangnirtung people feel it should be up to the parents and the community to look after the land-related part of Inuit child learning. People at Pangnirtung should make explicit plans for youth cultural training programs, and rather than merely discussing it, people

should 'get their act together' in carrying out such plans. It is generally felt that the mere experience of being out on the land disciplines the individual. The individual inevitably develops a respect for 'nuna', and therefore for him/herself, by just being exposed to the elements which are beyond the control of human beings. One person learns how to handle oneself responsibly in such conditions. Here, it is resolutely felt that adults play a significant role in their actions and attitudes, being models for the children.

Concerning the Inuktitut way of life being included in the school curriculum, respondents believe that when the teaching staff becomes all people of Inuit descent, the school curriculum would inevitably become more Inuktitut-oriented. Not all Inuit teachers have to be trained professionally. They said that people who are from the community and who are esteemed for the Inuktitut skills and knowledge they have developed, are as likely to be well-qualified teachers. Taking these requirements into consideration, even the basic need for teaching Inuit children the Inuktitut language right from Kindergarten to Grade Twelve could be met. At present, the Inuktitut language is taught up until Grade Nine. Such observations are expressed in light of the knowledge of the shortage of money permeating all government services.

Beside the recommendations about the teaching staff, references to the use of audio-visual aids were made. There are many recent films made about the Inuit, stories that Inuit have participated in recording are being

published. Moreover, books written in Inuktitut syllabics are available. All these could be utilized, said respondents, in combination with elders contracted to provide founding for broader Inuktitut cultural knowledge, which goes far beyond pure manual skills. School children could be taught about Inuktitut life by being taken out on the land, while Qallunaaq teachers could be encouraged to take intensive courses in Inuktitut language and culture.

In connection with the Qallunaaq teachers, the interviewees stated that these teachers consist mainly of young people who are just out of university. These beginners lack the understanding of the Inuit way of treating and teaching children. Moreover, as most of them come to the community as single people, they are perceived to lack the necessary understanding of Inuit family life and Inuktitut cultural context in their teaching. Although these teachers are Qallunaaq themselves, they seem to lack the initiative and leadership qualities normally associated with Qallunaaq, even dealing with their own Qallunaaq society and its structures. Even less are they seen as informed or competent in dealing with Inuit frustrations with Qallunaaq society. This refers more to school teachers, but all the elements of the Qallunaaq society as they pass through the settlement or through various modes of communication, reinforce the over-arching southern societal presence. It is in that sense that people of Pangnirtung feel that Qallunaaq teachers should be trained to speak the

Inuktitut language and understand the Inuktitut world. Such a process will enable the Qallunaaq teachers to participate in ensuring that their impact on the Inuit culture is positive and constructive. And they may even become instruments for redirecting the trend of cultural change.

When Inuit ownership of 'nuna' is finally formalized as the culmination of currently ongoing national negotiations, the Pangnirtung people expect that the Northwest Territories school system will be directly affected, particularly when the administration is changed by the creation of Nunavut. This new geo-political unit will much more extensively emphasize Inuktitut usages in most realms of life, from bureaucracy to renewable resource harvesting. Indeed, the education system has already been identified, respondents realize, as a high-priority target for policy reform toward an approach better reflecting Inuktitut knowledge and values. In the meantime, some of the interviewees stated that Inuit have to find more ways of voicing their concerns.

PROBLEM: In the context of present Inuit child-rearing practices, it is necessary to explore the way in which Inuit perceive and integrate their relationship to nuna, and to understand their perspectives of the human context. Therefore, the major question of this study became: What are Inuit perceptions of the physical and human environments, and how do these perceptions affect their child-rearing practices?

Analysis and synthesis of the interview data of this study suggest that for the Inuit of Pangnirtung, the Inuit perception of the physical environment includes the surrounding habitat (sea, ice, land, air, snow cover, weather) on which all the living Inuit are reliant. This includes the physical as well as the cosmological and spiritual relations. The various ecologies supporting all kinds of life are perceived to be fragile, and if not handled with care, any one of the life-bearing systems may collapse. This is perceived to be an ultimate loss to human beings. 'Nuna' is seen to have its own integrity and is the means through which animals and human beings achieve their inter-relationship. The Inuit, in describing the interconnectedness of all the various life forms in their habitat, have shown detailed ecological knowledge and sensitivity. As 'nuna' represents the foundation for people and animals, it needs preservation. Pollution of any sort is seen to be a cause of breaking the relationship between people, 'nuna' and animals, and is strongly discouraged.

Pangnirtung Inuit claim not only the surrounding area but all of the Arctic, Ukiortartoq, to be collectively theirs with the rest of the Inuit inherited from the nunaqaqqaartuminiit--the first ancient people. They also claim the Inuit cultural knowledge to be inherited by the same process.

While such a habitat may seem to be essentially a base for any current-existing life-form, to the Inuit it is seen as a foundation for their culturally-conditioned society, the linkage of present people with the past

and the future, and therefore the vital source of identity and cultural continuity. The land holds a strong emotional attachment, which in brief translates into the complex notion of human life on 'nuna'.

In terms of the human environment, the Inuit of Pangnirtung clearly defined four sets of lifestyles being practiced in the community. Within these four sets, one is perceived to be the traditionalistic Inuit way, while the present lifestyle could be divided into additional two categories of Inuit way mixed with varying degrees of non-Inuit lifestyle. While these are identified as variant in their degree of Inuit lifestyle, they are not seen as exclusive of or separated from the traditional culture. However, the fourth lifestyle is seen as exclusive of the Inuit and identified as being the one lived by Qallunait. Young people are seen and see themselves as torn among these choices by the forces of school, jobs and family. To the Inuit, Qallunait are perceived to hold little or no respect for 'nuna' in all its Inuit context. Nevertheless, in their greed for attaining any resource, Qallunait are perceived to be potentially polluters of the land. Qallunait are seen to be great imposers of laws which lead Inuit to feel 'pushed around'. Despite such perceptions, Inuit feel compelled by the Qallunait life and see the potential in them to be utilized by the Inuit to redirect the trend of cultural change.

This habitat-focused study found important characteristics of the child-rearing practices to be indeed concerned with Inuit relationship with

the land as their cultural foundation, and the Inuit have no notion of giving up their emotionally-bonded relationship with it. At the same time they are influenced by the changing human environment mediated through the school system--and therefore through the younger generation. Inuit parents want their children to remain closely attached to 'nuna', but they also want their children to have a choice in being able to operate self-sufficiently in the Qallunait world. This Inuit hope can be accomplished by their staying in their own Arctic home community or region.

This chapter dealt with the findings of this research and was divided into sections of sub-problems set forth for this study.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary, Discussion, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Study

This last chapter provides a summary of this research, including that of the major findings. There is a discussion of the findings, relating these to the literature and the theoretical framework. This is followed by recommendations and suggestions for further study.

This study enquired into the perception of the Inuit of Pangnirtung, Northwest Territories, concerning their relationship to the physical and human environments. These perceptions were obtained in order to better understand the Inuit child-rearing practices and to find out whether the school system reflected Inuit perspectives of their traditional habitat and their changing social environment. The data were collected during the summer of 1989 (a total of 36 interviews), yielding for this thesis 29 Inuit interviewees' responses to 25 questions (upon transcription 7 interviews were excluded due to poor recording or incoherent interviews). This undertaking was carried out using a cultural-ecological conceptual framework, developed for this study.

A qualitative approach, both to the research and the data analysis, was chosen, putting emphasis on the emic aspects of the informant responses. The literature review included the development of cultural-

ecological theory and extended to analyze the literature dealing with studies undertaken among the Inuit in the Circumpolar world.

The findings of this study were based on a presentation of the responses to each of the questions from 1 to 25. These data, and a categorization of all responses, provided a foundation for identifying answers for the sub-problems set forth for this study. These were:

1. How do the Inuit express their perception of the physical environment in which they live?
2. How do the Inuit express their perception of the human environment in which they live?
3. How do the Inuit link their perception of physical and human environments to the culturally accepted practices of child-rearing?
4. To what extent do the Inuit feel that the kind of perceptions they have concerning their physical and human environments are reflected in the school curriculum taught to their children?
5. How do the Inuit see their perception of physical and human environments becoming adequately included in the school curriculum?

The findings of this study included the fact that the Inuit perception of their surrounding habitat not only represented the physical presence of the elements, but also included the cosmological and spiritual relationships. Nuna--as the habitat is known to the Inuit--was seen to support all kinds of life which together consisted of fragile interdependent life-bearing systems

and, therefore, nuna was seen as a societal foundation, as also for all creation. Within this, the human being is seen to be a social part, and at the same time, as an interceding part of the environment. Such a perception impels people to take extreme precautions in relating with the animals and nuna, so the interrelation with these will not be broken.

Within the human environment, this research found that the spiritual aspects of life play a very significant role in human behaviour. The study did indeed demonstrate that this aspect is important to Inuit in expressing their relationship with their habitat. While most of the responses concerning Inuit spirituality were expressed in Christian doctrine, these expressions nevertheless reflected Eskimoic belief. This notion was supported by Nutall (1991, 1992) and Wenzel (1991). An interesting perspective brought out by Nutall (1991, 1992) was his statement that the Christian religion now practiced by the Inuit of Northern Greenland actually was a continuation of Eskimoic belief, reinterpreted (reiterated) by Christian doctrine. According to Robert Williamson (personal communication, 1992), the spirituality among the Inuit coincides with and consists of traditionalistic and Christian beliefs which happen to provide a sense of continuity with the environment and the ancient people who have been part of it. Certainly the naming system, which still today is practiced in Inuktitut context but became formalized in Christian church baptismal

naming (Williamson, 1988), represents but one example of this manifestation.

It became apparent that the Inuit perceive the habitat as the intimate setting of the sub-group's history, whereby geographical features become symbolic of events, personalities and memories long-held in the sub-culture's oral tradition. This equates with Nutall's (1992) expression of these facts of landscape, seascape and ice-scape also being perceived as 'memory-scape'. But, going beyond this, the study asserts the Inuit feeling of the habitat as the source of societal continuity, reaching out of the past, through the present, into the future.

According to the interviewees in this Pangnirtung study, the future is seen to be as important as the present and the past in the contemporary Inuit relationship with the environment. This is an interesting aspect which clearly needs to be better understood. Like many other Native hunting societies, the Inuit were normally seen by researchers as lacking extensive future-orientation. While this might be true in terms of practicality in daily life, seasonality of subsistence, material goods, and to some extent in the newly-introduced money economics, there is among the Inuit in this study a great and widespread concern with the preservation of nuna, as it is intended not only for present use, but perhaps even more for the use of future generations. People at Pangnirtung know that the past generations had good use of the land, and the present people are using it, as it is their

turn in the flow of continuous use. But the present usage of nuna is always done with compelling precautions about future generation usage. Robert Williamson (personal communication, 1992) interprets this to be of adaptive significance in the newly-found, modern sense of futurity for economic and social development purposes. The present researcher also believes the preservation of the physical environment to have been derived from the Inuit philosophy.

Striking, in terms of future perspectives, was a widespread and deep-seated apprehension amongst the Pangnirtung people about their ongoing and later ability to relate with the habitat. This was expressed as a growing problem of cultural unpreparedness, due to contemporary and evermore prevailing Qallunaatit influences everywhere, while at the same time feeling inadequate about one's own cultural background. It was also expressed as a fear that present and further pollution problems will provide them in the future only with a habitat of hopelessness, largely bereft of resources and attended by health hazards, such as have already been documented by government scientists.

As nuna is seen to be an inheritance from the ancient first people--nunaqqaartuminiit, Inuit saw their present existence in each generation to be temporary usage of the habitat, which always was meant to be available for the future generations. This, to the Inuit of Pangnirtung, meant that nuna was a vital source for identity and cultural continuity.

People attach strong emotions to the habitat, which, together with the animals of the habitat, they claim strongly to be theirs. The present strong feeling among the Inuit to claim nuna is contradictory to Inuit philosophy, as nuna contains its own integrity and cannot be 'owned' by anyone. While one could talk about English and Inuktitut comprehensions of the word ownership, there is no doubt that Inuit, on the basis of their sense of being 'pushed around', feel really threatened by the fear of being 'pushed aside' from nuna. And this notion is one of the reasons for claiming land.

In terms of the human environment, the Pangnirtung Inuit defined four sets of lifestyles being practiced in the contemporary community life. While the first three were defined as variations of Inuktitut lifestyle--due to the variant degrees of Qallunait (non-Inuit) lifestyle adaptation, the fourth one was seen to be exclusively the non-Inuit, the Qallunait. The Qallunait were perceived to be greedy for any resource they feel they 'needed'. This could eventually lead to nuna becoming polluted. The Qallunait introduced laws and regulations, implementing a set of pre-ordained social controls, and intruded into the life in the Arctic without the consent of the Inuit.

Despite such a perception, the Inuit felt that the Qallunait could be helpful in redirecting cultural change into a more Inuktitut-oriented lifestyle. This could be possible through a school system (which up until recently was seen to be insensitive toward the Inuit needs), reflecting more the Inuit values and lifestyle, while at the same time providing the Inuit

children with the opportunity to get salaried jobs as a hoped-for (but uncertain) option.

Discussion of the Results in Their Relationship to the Related Literature

At this point it should be noted explicitly that the present researcher is pleased to realize that the findings of Mark Nutall (1992), in terms of Inuit land-relatedness, are strikingly similar to those of the present research, despite the fact that both projects were planned and carried out entirely independently. George Wenzel's (1991) years of similar work have also produced comparable findings.

Succinctly, Nutall (1992) said that people are able "to perceive the physical environment by the senses and through the interaction of experience, thought and language" (p. 40). Such perceptions are then "modified, ordered and conceptualized" (p. 40). He explained that Inuit talked about "the seascape and ice-scape in the same way as landscape. All three are contoured and the mind, through language, recognizes and expresses shape and form" (p. 40). This reinforces the present researcher's sense that the notion of nuna, to the Inuit, comprises more than the terrestrial aspect of the environment. Furthermore, Nutall (1992) explained that in attempting to understand Inuit and their relationship with land, such aspects of relationship as "between people, between people and

places, and between people and animals" (p. 43) must be studied. Upon analyzing the questionnaire for this research undertaking, the present researcher came to the conclusion that these were indeed the areas this study has also explored, in terms of understanding the Inuit perception of the physical environment. This was reinforced by the fact that Wenzel (1991) also explored the area of the kinship system among the Inuit as being the very core of social existence in their relationship with the land and the animals.

The criteria Nutall presented represent a great leap beyond Julian Steward's 'cultural core' for analyzing cultures, discussed in the literature review of this thesis. Nutall's critique of the literature notes that previous studies of human relationships with the environment among hunting societies have had a tendency to see landscape as being exclusive from the human component. Nutall (1992) argues (referring to Cohen's study on Shetland), that the features of landscape are:

features of social identity, and the croft condenses the past through the landscape itself, and through its associations with the natural calendar; with community; with an earlier mode of subsistence and the ideal of self-sufficiency. (p. 39)

This clearly illustrates that, in terms of land-relatedness, future studies would have to take the social environment into greater consideration than any attempt to understand the early criteria expounded originally by Julian Steward in the 1930s. While the same factors Nutall (1992) was referring

to were strongly asserted by the present researcher's interviewees, an omission concerning the future is apparent in the quotation he uses above.

In terms of the human environments, the present researcher agrees with Wenzel (1991) that not only are the Inuit adapting to their physical environment, but they are at the same time adapting to a new social environment. There is no doubt that Inuit perceive themselves as situated in a rapidly-changing culture. As Wenzel (1991) states:

it is necessary to discuss Inuit subsistence today as an adaptive response not only to the exigencies of the natural environment, but also in regard to the social and economic constraints to which Inuit have been exposed. Undeniably, the effective environment in which Inuit currently operate is one composed of unchanged natural elements, plus a number of European-introduced technological and economic introductions. (p. 25)

This study found, in the light of cultural change occurring with remarkable and indeed disturbing rapidity over few generations, that full absorption and social integration of innovation takes much longer than some social planners and indeed the interacting people themselves realize.

The internalization of such rapid cultural change also occurs through child-rearing practices. This study found that the Inuit at Pangnirtung realize that the present practices are different from the traditional ones. Condon's (1988) statement about child-rearing in style and context, not having changed much since the 1920s, was not supported in this study. People perceive the traditional child-rearing to have been controlled entirely by the family members and the societal group. Since the start of

the cultural changes, social controls have been steadily ceded to missionaries, R.C.M.P., teachers and the Law of the nation, with very little input from the Inuktitut perspective, if any.

In discussing Berry's (1980) notion of the school system being an introduced 'acculturated behaviour' among the Native peoples, the present research argued that the school system is as much part of today's Inuit life as are the traditionalistic hunting activities. From the interviews, this researcher realized that as much as going to school has become part of the daily life, Inuit at Pangnirtung still felt that the content and context of school is somewhat alien and foreign to the Inuit culture.

An aspect of the future, which also needs attention in studying Inuit society, is the range of implications derived from the currently large proportion of young people in that population. Relatively few of the after-school youth and present school-age children can realistically hope to have a lifetime future of regular-wage employment. This is obvious to the Inuit themselves, as this issue was brought up a number of times by all age-groups among the interviewees. Given that the vast majority of the Inuit do not wish to migrate to other parts of Canada outside the Arctic region for employment, and given that people need to live effectively within their own society and environment, it is vitally important to find ways of making people continue to be as self-sufficient as possible. This individuated and societal self-sufficiency is not new to the Inuit, as has been noted by such

social scientists as Boas (1888), Rasmussen (1929, 1930, 1931, 1932), Briggs (1971), Williamson (1974), Condon (1988), Burch and Foreman (1989) and Nutall (1992). While some formal academic and technical training should always be available to all, this demographic situation implies a major change in curriculum planning, to work positively with the Arctic future economic and demographic realities.

The theoretical model developed for this study was indeed useful for the present research (see page 32). It set out visually what needed to be studied conceptually. The model helped the researcher to identify how the elements related to one another and to be more specific in focus. For further study purposes, such a model could become a tool for identifying and relating appropriate data areas and establishing the necessary criteria for cultural ecological approaches, in a wide variety of cultural settings.

However, for purposes of future research stemming from this study, a further development of this model may well be needed. This study, in common with those of Nutall (1992) and Wenzel (1991), found that the physical and human environments were so interconnected from Inuit perspectives that no arbitrary and artificial division of these may be workable. The same is likely to be true in many other societies--hunting, pastoral or agrarian--in various parts of the world.

The model developed in this work is, while finding those of Berry (1980) and Ogbu (1981) both useful, a more flexible instrument than either.

They relate the components of the cultural ecological scheme of relationships in either a causative and sequential pattern (Ogbu), or in what appears to be a set plan of reciprocal relationships (Berry)--and in both cases are valid and indeed valuable in their own contexts and for their specific purposes.

The model developed herein is seen as certainly applicable to the sociocultural structures and dynamics of the present Pagnirtung study, and most likely in other situations of rapid cultural change. This flexibility makes the model useful for analysis at any moment of social history, without dependency on traditional western linearity of thought.

The foregoing may be more than theoretically useful, insofar as the data in this study further support the notion of the future as inextricable from the actions and concerns of the past and the present; and the future is emerging as a major part of the human-with-habitat relationship in the most practical of planning and policy realms.

Having discussed the findings of this study, the next section will present recommendations and suggestions derived from this study.

Recommendations

The findings of this study revealed a distinctive discordance between the Inuit perception of the physical and human environment and the way Inuit school-children are at present learning to continue to grow into self-sufficient citizens in their adulthood. Thus, it is recommended:

1. that Inuit philosophy be validly included in philosophical studies at any level, and stand as a vital foundation from which to draw upon in all future curriculum development in the Arctic;
2. that teachers of Inuit children be thoroughly imbued with this philosophy;
3. that in light of Inuit parents wanting their children to be bilingual and bicultural, an increasingly sophisticated bilingual and bicultural method of curriculum development be elaborated;
4. that Inuit parents define their educational responsibility for their children so that the school system could incorporate and extend this responsibility;
5. that programs be developed so that elders could comfortably and meaningfully participate in school-based northern society-oriented learning;
6. that the existing school system drastically increase and organize teaching of fully recognized Inuktitut language and life-way knowledge;

7. that a policy be established to intensely train Qallunait residing in the Arctic in the Inuktitut language and Inuit way of life, to the extent that they would comfortably and effectively help Inuit redirect the present course of cultural change;

8. that in the light of the disproportionately large population of young Inuit, ways be found for them to live a meaningful, self-sufficient and constructive adulthood. Considering the reality that relatively few of the young generation can expect a lifetime of regular salaried employment, this situation should be anticipated by a curriculum that maximizes adaptability to habitat-related activities and lifestyle. The curriculum should naturally also provide the option of industrial society training;

9. that programs be developed for those Inuit who are already perceived to qualify for teaching by local people in terms of their acknowledged expertise in Inuktitut cultural knowledge to become qualified for certification as teachers;

10. that means be found to realistically and effectively transmit to Native people and other policy-making people the essence of research findings, in forms of communication that will stimulate the major educational changes necessary;

11. among the insights which must be taken seriously in child-oriented policy are the following: that the geographical, the social, the traditional and cosmological-spiritual elements of northern cultural

ecological knowledge are inextricably linked, and must not be deconstructed in educational policy and curriculum development.

Suggestions for Further Study

1. Given that this and recent cultural ecological studies have concentrated on new criteria, further development work be undertaken to include the aspects of the relationship between people, between people and places and between people and animals, an undertaking that should incorporate the future as an aspect.

2. Further theoretical development work be undertaken as the foundation for more extensive analysis of child-rearing in the context of indigenous identity-nurturing factors. Child-rearing practices should be central to this documentation as they discernably form the articulation of cultural insights, spiritual knowledge and social values.

3. More extensive theoretical research be undertaken to thoroughly document and analyze the state of belief and value systems in contemporary society, so as to more effectively understand the persistence of spirituality in contemporary society and its relevance to present and future lifestyles related to cultural ecological relationship.

4. In the light of the great concern expressed by the Inuit over habitat pollution, it is recommended that multi-disciplinary research be organized so as to understand this phenomenon in the Circumpolar world

as a contemporary problem in technical, economic, political, social, psychological and cultural terms. This should be done so as to involve all cultures and Circumpolar nations in the development of effective solutions, satisfactory to the Arctic inhabitants.

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