

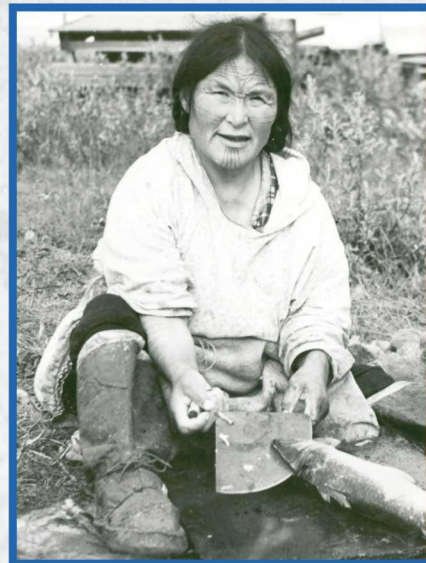


UNIVERSITY OF
CALGARY

Proceedings 14th Inuit Studies Conference

11-15 August 2004

The Arctic Institute of North America
University of Calgary
Calgary, Alberta, Canada





Proceedings

14th Inuit Studies Conference

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Compiled by
Robert O. van Everdingen

Conference Organizing Committee

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Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. is a non-profit Canadian corporation founded in 1974, whose objective is to promote and disseminate knowledge about Inuit language, culture and society. Apart from various research and publishing projects, it publishes *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, an international scholarly journal now in its 28th year, and sees to the organization of the Inuit Studies Conferences, held every two years since 1978.

Cover pictures

Background: A 1940s settlement of caribou-skin tents on the Barren Grounds. Photo by Canon James Harold Webster. Photographic Archives of the Arctic Institute of North America.

Left inset: Sixteen-year-old Jane Kogliak at Itchen Lake, Coppermine region, in 1944. Photo by Canon James Harold Webster. Photographic Archives of the Arctic Institute of North America.

Right inset: Kukilugak splitting a salmon for drying at Coppermine. Photo by Canon James Harold Webster. Photographic Archives of the Arctic Institute of North America.

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Knowledge in Action : The Northern Contaminants Program
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Christopher Furgal

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The case of ITK: An organizational perspective on communicating to Inuit
Jose Amauja Kusugak

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Facilitating community-based research
Patricia Cochran

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Multi-cultural engagement for learning and understanding
Carl Hild

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How bringing knowledge “home” to the Inuit changes what we bring back to our “home”
Béatrice Collignon

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Reinterpreting Inuit children drawings of landscape to facilitate the transfer of
Inuit knowledge of the land.
Scott Heyes, Peter Jacobs and Pasha Puttayuk

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Inuit oral history and the writing of "Arctic Justice"
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Taarnirmik unnuangujjuqanngimmat "Darkness is not the cause of the night":
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The Watkins Gospel Selections: The first book published in Inuktitut syllabics.
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Language and identity after the advent of Nunavut: Some enlightened opinions
Louis-Jacques Dorais

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How will Nunavut speak to the future? Changes to Nunavut's Official Languages Act
Jonathan Dewar and Eva Ariak

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Inuit youth: The future of Inuktitut
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Anna Berge

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Aging, Inuit life stages, and rethinking culture change in the Canadian Arctic
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Empowerment:
Experiences with communicating research results in two research projects in Greenland
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Productivity studies in Greenland:
Methodological problems and research design
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Telling science stories
Peter Evans

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ArcticNet: A newly funded Network of Centres of Excellence of Canada to conduct integrated natural/health/social sciences study of the changing Canadian coastal Arctic
Martin Fortier

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Communicating research results to Canadian Inuit
Lynda Howard and Ross Goodwin

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Pamela Stern

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First Nations and the Canadian Legal System: Conflict management or dispute resolution?
Pierre Rousseau

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The immoral ethic of conquest:
Inuit and Qallunaat reactions to the High Arctic murder trial of 1923.
Kenn Harper

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Autochthony and governance:
Symbolic appropriation of the land among the Inuit of Nunavik and Nunavut
Bernard Saladin d'Anglure

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Modern Greenlandic art: Communication of research results on a Greenlandic Museum web-page
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H. G. Jones

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Igloodik's art of community-based film-making
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"Their Powerful Spirit: Inuit Women in a Century of Change"
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Creating a distributive learning project from a distance: Lessons learned
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Ajiiqatigiingniq: Lessons learned from Nunavut's Language Research Project
Ian Martin and Shirley Tagalik

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Taking graduate courses to the Circumpolar North
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Atuarfitsialak: Greenland's new school
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Rural development and community healing in Alaska
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G – Inuit Health and Well-being

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Nasivvik Centre for Inuit Health and Changing Environments
Christopher Furgal and Susie Bernier

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Possibilities for future Inuit housing
Shawna Cochrane

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Culturally sensitive counselling with Inuit: An example of practical application of research
Marja Korhonen

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Fast-Slow, Active-Passive, Wet-Dry, Hot-Cold:
Differences between Inuit and biomedical approaches to dealing with accidents and injuries
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“My way to myself”: Preserving the healing power of voice in a community-based participatory Research project on
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“Whatever Floats Your Boat”:
The University of Alaska Museum’s Nunamiut Eskimo Kayak Project
Angela Linn, Molly Lee and Roosevelt Paneak

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When the weather is Uggianaqtuq:
Using interactive, multimedia technology to document and communicate Inuit knowledge
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The bridging of cultural barriers, communicating science in the Far North -
insights and lessons learned.
Gordon Balch and Susan Sang

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"Our Use for the Land is Changing": Incorporating Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit into environmental assessment for a
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Natasha Thorpe and Emily Angulalik

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Accessing stories through ethnographic film
Shelley Tulloch, Michelle Daveluy and John Houston

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Finding the right words: The Niqiit Avatittinni Committee
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Labrador's North Coast communities:
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"Why don't they get it?":
Talk of medicine as science, St Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung, 1933 –1938
Paule McNicoll and Frank J. Tester

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The endurance of Tangirnarmiut
Gordon Pullar

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Taitsumaniaklukasak Kimmirumi: 1960-2000
Nelson H. H. Graburn

K - St.Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung: Missionary Nurses and People

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St. Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung: Creation and context
Christopher Trott

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The Anglican archival record: Acquisition and research potential
Teresa Reilly

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Longings of the heart: The women of St.Luke's Mission Hospital, Pangnirtung
Emily E. S. Cowall Farrell

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"Then the bargaining began": Pangnirtung, the Museum, and the Dr. Jon A. Bildfell Collection
Kenneth R. Lister

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History of Inuktitut Uqauttin Weeks through press coverage
Michelle Daveluy, Doreen Chow and Clint Westman

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Pigiarvik Video Project: Promoting Inuktitut through the use of video
Marni Amirault

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Transmitting results to Inuit: Identifying our audience and research constraints
Liesel Knall and Michelle Daveluy

M - Theorizing Inuit Studies: Retrospect, Prospects and Ethics

1

Belugas all the way down
Ted Dyck

Welcome

Karla Jessen Williamson

Chair, 14th Inuit Studies Conference
williamson@itk.ca

Plenary Speakers and Delegates of the 14th Inuit Studies Conference

I am hugely delighted and honoured that each one of you decided to attend the 14th Inuit Studies Conference. We warmly welcome you to beautiful Calgary and thank the host of the conference: the Arctic Institute of North America (AINA), located here at the University of Calgary. AINA was created in 1945 by wise and passionate actions of influential individuals. The Parliament of Canada and the Congress of the United States enacted the establishment of AINA, mandating the Institute to profoundly broaden the understanding of Arctic conditions through the use of natural and social sciences. To that effect the Arctic Institute built up a very respectable library, a well respected journal *Arctic* and established the Arctic Science and Technology Information System (ASTIS). AINA facilitates research and manages a research station at Kluane Lake in the Yukon.

It was also passionate and wise individuals who created the Inuksiutiit Katimajit (IK) Inc. IK is the parent organization for the Inuit Studies Conferences (ISC). Like AINA it is a not-for-profit Canadian corporation and was founded in 1974. IK promotes and disseminates knowledge about Inuit language, culture and society. Apart from various research and publishing projects, it publishes *Études/Inuit/Studies*, an excellent internationally recognized scholarly journal, now in its 28th year. The Inuit Studies Conferences are held every two years ever since their first year, 1978. Imagine a world without the Arctic Institute and the Inuit Studies organization - for this congregation an abhorrent thought.

For this 14th ISC we have come together as a community of passionate and wise individuals to discuss how Inuit themselves can best utilize ancient and very modern Arctic knowledge – much of it gained through their own research collaboration. We used the title: “Bringing Knowledge Home: Communicating Research Results to the Inuit.” Each one of the abstracts submitted has respected the title and the intent of the topic, and I am pleased to have received more than 96 abstracts for this conference. Many of you are well experienced in viewing research issues cross-culturally, and I congratulate each one of you for showing and sharing your own experience in your growing practice of doing research across cultures.

Amongst us are six plenary speakers whose expertise in meaningful delivery of the research findings is profound. Each one of the plenary speakers will talk about their professional experience in the negotiation

K. J. WILLIAMSON

of the follow-up of research procedures in various Inuit communities. I have purposefully organized the speakers so that we get to know how such a process has taken place in Greenland, Canada and Alaska. I have also ensured that we get to know what the experiences are like from the Inuit point of view and what that might be from the academic point of view. I wish you well in all your deliberations.

I like to acknowledge the work of AINA staff members and the conference committee members Dr. Robert G. Williamson and especially Dr. Robert van Everdingen for their tireless effort in organizing the abstracts and program. I would also like to thank Igloolik Isuma Productions for joining the ISC, and I hope that video and film making by and for Inuit becomes a vital part of the Inuit Studies Conferences in future. I trust that you will have many opportunities to talk with old colleagues and friends and new acquaintances who work in the same disciplinary fields, and hope you will also seize whatever chances you get to discuss Arctic interests across the disciplines, with various members of this knowledgeable and valuable mixture of cultures. I wish you an enticing experience in the coming days.

PAPERS

Creating a Distributive Learning Project from a Distance: Lessons Learned

Collene Armstrong

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ABSTRACT. This article explores the creation of an educational CD-ROM about ancient arctic peoples. The author shares her experiences and the lessons learned from the challenging process of working at a distance with diverse groups to successfully complete this project. The topics explored include: a) *Project Management and Communication from a Distance* with discussion of communication issues, cultural issues and project timeline issues; b) *Design and Development Decisions* with discussion of needs analysis, technical considerations, bandwidth issues, software and hardware issues, font and language issues, dialect issues, and copyright issues; c) *Evaluation and Approval Process*, including the steps involved and a description of a technical summative evaluation. Each topic contains a summary of the lessons learned, and the article concludes with the author's thoughts on the creation of a positive development environment in a distance setting.

INTRODUCTION

"Inuit Culture, which thrived in the harsh Arctic environment, will also thrive and advance in a global environment.

What will remain, and what links the past, present and future, is the sense of community, the willingness to help each other out, to be innovative and resourceful, in a word to be Inuit.

To be Human Beings."

Jaypeetee Arnakak, Iqaluit

The project started out simply enough—to create a grade 8 multimedia CD-ROM to support the Western Consortium Social Studies and Nunavut's Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit curriculum. Grade 8 students would use this CD-ROM to explore the ancient arctic peoples through the science of archaeology as part of their Nunavusiutit curriculum. The scope of the project included four distinct content sections:

- Arctic Challenges—an introduction to the climate, environment and peoples of the arctic.
- Ancient Arctic Peoples—an exploration of the Palaeo-Eskimo and Neo-Eskimo peoples as they migrated, and were affected by climatic and cultural changes.

C. ARMSTRONG

- Archaeology Culture Clues—an exploration of the process of archaeology and how it is conducted in the arctic.
- Searching for Clues—exploring a real archaeological site to learn about the Dorset and Thule cultures.

Stakeholders

The main stakeholders involved in the project include the Nunavut Department of Education and Inuit Heritage Trust.

The Department of Education has committed to developing its own Social Studies curriculum with input from Elders, Nunavummiut (i.e., the people of Nunavut), school staffs and other authorities in the area of social development, history, geography, environment and law. The Department of Education's goal is to have this new curriculum attempt to develop a progressive understanding of the Inuit worldview. From their standpoint they wanted this CD-ROM to meet the tenets of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (i.e., traditional Inuit knowledge, skills and attitudes) as outlined in papers from the Government, and other Inuit organizations. The Department of Education would provide curricular and media support for the project. The Elders or cultural advisors on staff with the Department of Education were located in Arviat, Nunavut and with only one exception spoke only Inuktitut in the Arviat dialect.

Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT) was created as part of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement to develop policies and legislation to protect Nunavut's cultural heritage. The protection of Nunavut's archaeological heritage also falls within the mandate of the IHT, and public awareness campaigns and projects like this CD let people know the importance of preserving and protecting archaeological sites. They are funding this project to promote awareness of the rich archaeological culture of Nunavut.

The Department of Education and IHT wanted the CD-ROM to be developed in both Inuktitut and English with an intended distribution to all schools in Nunavut as well as to community heritage centers or museums.

An instructional designer was contracted to collaborate with the various stakeholders, content experts, writers, media specialists, elders, artists and teachers to design and develop the CD-ROM. While a collaborative approach was critical to the success of this project, it was complicated by the fact that the design team and stakeholders were spread across Canada, spoke different languages, had significant cultural differences, as well as varying technical proficiency and access to the internet.

This paper will focus on the issues surrounding the creation of a distributive learning project with such a diverse group of stakeholders from a distance, and the on lessons learned from such an experience.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT AND COMMUNICATION FROM A DISTANCE

Project management for the design and development of the CD-ROM was the responsibility of the instructional designer/project manager. The team members were divided into the main stakeholders (IHT and the Department of Education), the cultural advisors, writers, content experts, and curriculum support. The role of these groups was to provide resources, text, content, advice, translations, illustrations and feedback to the developer. These groups would also be involved in the review and final approval process for the project.

The developer, who also acted as the project manager, was responsible for ensuring that the groups clearly understood what was expected in terms of their contributions, timelines for delivery, and means by which they were to be delivered. With so many people involved, the developer also needed to maintain a collaborative and supportive environment for the team members while they learned about new programs and ways of handling files. Some members certainly pushed the limits of their own technical abilities. For example an Elder from Arviat who spoke both English and Inuktitut wrote several sections of text for the CD. His comfort level was to create the text in a Word document in Inuktitut first and then translate the ideas into English in another file. The process of attaching these files to an e-mail was also a new skill for the Elder. The developer would then receive two word files as an e-mail attachment, one in English and one in Inuktitut. Team members in Arviat also had to learn how to FTP large graphic and sound files to the developer using Macromedia Dreamweaver.

There appear to be two main factors to the success of a project with geographically and culturally dispersed team members: group building, and computer or technical support for communication and content development. To support these factors requires a project manager who understands not only the technical components of the project but also the need to build a sense of community among the team members. Eseryel and Ganesan, in their article *Distributed Group Design Process: Lessons Learned*, define group design as a design approach in which different stakeholders, such as users, designers and graphic artists, are actively involved throughout the design process. (Eseryel & Ganesan, 2001). With the experience gained from this and other projects it is hard to imagine success without full participation and without the designer taking on the role of facilitator.

Communication Issues

Communication with such a diverse and scattered team required a comprehensive approach. E-mail, phone, fax and teleconference quickly became the standard for day-to-day and summary conversations. A communication plan included monthly progress reports to the main stakeholders IHT and the Department of Education.

Conference calls with e-mail follow-up were used for development meetings for discussions of resource requirements and establishing deliverables and timelines for team members. These more formal meetings were usually held at the planning stage for each section and near the end of the development for that section. This allowed for full participation of the team members in the early stages of the development and often sparked new ideas for the instructional content as resource ideas were shared.

Communication with the Elders was of particular importance as they were the primary cultural advisors, illustrators and translators for the material. Only one elder of the group spoke English and it often fell to him to translate the developer's requests to the other members of the group. It was also important to follow-up any verbal requests with written e-mail versions to help English-as-a-second-language speakers.

For widely dispersed working groups, where members may be in different organizations and different parts of the country, evidence suggests that computer systems providing access to shared information, at any time and place and using minimal technical infrastructure, are the main requirement (Gorton, Hawryskiewicz, & Fung, 1996). Relying on e-mail programs that the team members were comfortable with, as well as regular telephone contact, helped ensure communication was clearly understood by all parties.

Cultural Issues

Cultural issues also came into play, as for the Inuit Elders it is not polite to ask questions. Rather it is up to the person teaching to demonstrate or provide information as needed. This is a cultural component that many Qablunaat or non-Inuit teachers do not handle well when their class does not respond to their lecture teaching style. This is particularly difficult when one wants to assemble content that only the Elders have the authority to provide! For example the developer sent an e-mail request asking advice as to a migration activity being constructed. The developer wanted to know if a family that was starving would eat their dogs in order to survive. The developer received no direct answer from the Elder and took this to mean that it was not acceptable as part of the activity. The developer was surprised to receive an e-mail with a drawing

attached of a starving family butchering one of their dogs for their next meal. The drawing was the answer to the question.

While this was an example of two very different cultures working together, there were issues among the Inuit themselves. Nunavut is a large territory with great differences in language, customs and availability of resources of the land and water. Often Elders from Arviat would contact Elders from more northern communities to confer on artifacts made of materials not known or harvested in Arviat.

An example is the confusion Arviat Elders expressed over how an ancient harpoon float was used by the Thule people thousands of years ago. Not feeling like they possessed the correct knowledge, they contacted an Elder on Baffin Island who provided the necessary information and even provided detail on how a walrus penis was used for part of the harpoon assembly.

Project Timeline Issues

Working with such a diverse team required careful budget and schedule planning. The project was divided into four main content development sections to match the four sections of the CD. The schedule for development, however, did not follow the same linear timeline as the content of the CD. While development would progress on one section of the CD resources, translations and illustrations would be gathered at the same time for other areas of the project. For example a list of possible illustrations was drafted and sent to the Elders in Arviat. Elders there worked on the drawings at their own pace and scanned versions were FTP'd to the developer as they were completed. Often blank frames were left in the development of a section waiting for illustrations or text from Elders or content experts. For example the section on Norse settlement on Ellesmere Island was left as blank until the archaeologist involved sent the text and slides to support the section. Development continued around the blank frames.

Project Management Lessons Learned

- Develop a communication plan where any verbal decisions or requests are followed up with an e-mail document.
- Translate records of decisions, timelines and requests so all team members can have this information.
- Develop a list serve for this project to discuss general development, timeline, and resource issues.
- Create a collaborative supportive environment where the project dictates the timeline and deliverable requirements, and members feel comfortable learning new skills to meet those demands.

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- Be flexible in the development plan, to allow resources and content to be developed for different sections at the same time.
- Allow for following protocols, cultural differences, and unforeseen language or translation issues in the project schedule.
- Build extra time into the schedule upfront in the event team members are not able to meet deliverable timelines.
- Be aware of protocol: It is not polite or proper to rush Elders. It is also proper protocol to reimburse Elders for their time. Budget time and resources to meet these protocol requirements.

DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT DECISIONS

Needs Analysis

The needs analysis was conducted very early in the development process. From the onset it had been decided the final product would be an interactive, multimedia distributive learning environment. It had also been decided that distribution to the schools and Heritage Centres would be by CD-ROM. There was discussion that if the development could support both CD and future Internet distribution then it may be able to support a broader audience than the initial CD distribution. To support these decisions, information was gathered from the Department of Education's Technical advisors, to determine predominant platform, operating system versions, screen sizes and default resolutions, and the ideal way they wished to distribute the CD for student use. Information was gathered from the archaeologists who had excavated arctic sites, about which site was best to use as a base for the project, and what images and text were available. Curricular requirements, dialect decisions, and learner information were also determined from the Department of Education team members. Most of this information was gathered through a process of telephone conversations, research and e-mails.

With all of these requirements to consider the developer suggested using Macromedia FlashMX as the development tool. This program allows for distribution of the final project by internet or self-launching projector on a CD-ROM, with no issues surrounding cross platform use or special font display.

Lessons Learned Regarding Needs Analysis

- Gather information from the experts rather than attempt to develop expertise in every area.

- A needs analysis takes longer, and is even more important, with stakeholders and team members scattered over great distances.
- Share the results of the needs analysis in both English and Inuktitut to ensure accuracy, and gather feedback.

Technical Considerations in the Design and Development Process

With a project of this scope and complexity in terms of the number of content providers, advisors and sheer volume of material that needed to be created, two main technical concerns arose:

- Bandwidth issues for sharing materials, content and communication
- The software, hardware and technical issues surrounding the creation of the content and actual CD-ROM.

Bandwidth Issues

With team members spread throughout the country, e-mail and FTP were the two main ways that files of content, translated materials, graphics and drafts were shared. This process was complicated for the team members located in Nunavut government offices, because e-mail file attachments were restricted in size and their system often timed out FTP'ing large files. Many of the drawings and illustrations were created by the Elders in the Arviat office and once scanned the file sizes averaged 1.5 Megabytes in size and required FTP'ing for sharing. First Class was initially tried as a means to share these files with a Department of Education First Class server located in Yellowknife. Access from the Arviat side was hampered by demand on their bandwidth with the First Class server often timing out before the files were transferred. After much frustration at the difficulties encountered in completing one of the most fundamental requirements for the project to move forward, we decided to schedule the FTP from the Arviat end after their regular office hours when bandwidth was less occupied.

Software and Hardware Issues

While Macromedia FlashMX was decided on as the development program other programs were required to create audio, video, and graphics and to share the files through FTP. The primary platform for this development was the Macintosh. As the project progressed, the developer used OS 10 operating system and the Arviat office continued to use OS 9.0 operating system. Just to make things more complicated, the

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Elders in the office used networked Windows 2000 workstations. The schools in Nunavut are primarily networked Macintosh OS 9.0 iMacs and eMacs with older and newer systems thrown into the mix. The museums and Cultural Heritage Centres in Nunavut use the Windows platform. The CD will be incorporated into their displays for public use. Much of this information was gathered as part of the needs analysis stage and determined in part the development program for this project.

The recording of audio for the CD was completed in Arviat, primarily because the recording needed to be done in English and Inuktitut with an Inuit voice. The Arviat office was fully equipped with translations and recording equipment as all meetings were conducted with simultaneous Inuktitut/English translation. Therefore it was agreed that Arviat would complete all the recordings. Training on SoundEdit 16 was initially conducted as it was a very intuitive and easy program to learn and use. After issues with compatibility with newer Macintosh operating systems arose, Peak was chosen instead. Training was provided while the developer was in Arviat for the approval stage of the project. A process was developed for recording where printed text with English and Inuktitut versions was marked with the English sound file names. Some sound files could be sent through FTP, and larger files were burned onto a CD and sent with the paper version to the developer. The importance of setting up a clear system of naming files and having text support was critical to ensuring the correct sound files were placed on the CD. Inuktitut is a syllabic language and unless you can read the syllabics there is no way to determine which sounds go with which text.

The project located several videocassettes of an archaeology field school in Igloolik with tape of high school students participating in an excavation of a Thule site. Several programs were used to convert the tape to digital format for editing and incorporation into the Flash environment. Decisions such as length of a video clip and the quality of the audio and video display are directly related to the file size the overall project can support. FlashMX has the ability to compress video significantly for high quality streaming with low impact on the RAM or processor of the user's computer. These decisions have to be balanced with the actual instructional value of the video itself. Since the tape included images of students and was edited to demonstrate specific stages of the excavation process, it was seen as a very valuable resource for the visual and auditory learner.

Another issue was to find a reliable and easy to use FTP program that did not corrupt multimedia files through the process. On initial testing of sharing file formats such as .flh, .fla, .aiff, and .psd, problems were encountered with servers converting files into gibberish. Interestingly enough, when using the FTP component of Macromedia Dreamweaver, all files were transferred with no corruption or issues of

compatibility. Dreamweaver's FTP function was easy to set up and allowed for files created on the Macintosh platform in Arviat to be sent through the Windows Dreamweaver FTP in Arviat for access across the country.

Lessons Learned Regarding Bandwidth, Hardware and Software

- Accept that all bandwidth is not created equal and that access can and will be an issue for isolated communities.
- Provide clear written support on how to use the FTP function, scan graphics and burn CD's for English-as-second-language speakers.
- Match the development software to the distribution environment and technical requirements.
- Consider all hardware platforms and operating systems when deciding on development software and distribution.

FONT AND LANGUAGE ISSUES

Inuktitut is the first and official language of Nunavut. Inuktitut is the language of instruction in elementary schools across Nunavut. Student report cards, newspapers, and electricity bills are produced in Inuktitut first with the English version on the reverse or flip side. Inuit students are English-as-a-second-language speakers (EL2), readers and learners. Inuktitut is a syllabic language with at least four distinct dialects within Nunavut. The cultural advisors or Elders employed by the Department of Education in Arviat speak and write the Arviat dialect of Inuktitut.

Font Issues

The Inuktitut language has had its own syllabic font since the early 80's when Apple Canada developed a postscript font and manufactured syllabic keyboards for the Baffin Divisional Board of Education on Baffin Island. The font is now available for both Windows and Macintosh format and most recently as a Unicode font (Inc., 1999). All fonts are available for download from the Government of Nunavut's website (Nunavut, 2001).

The program chosen to develop the CD, Macromedia Flash MX, allows for fonts to be embedded in the movie for both the Internet and for CD-ROM use. That way the user does not require the font on their system to view the correct text from either the Internet browser or the CD-ROM projector. Microsoft Word

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was used by all team members, including the Elders, to type both the English and Inuktitut text for the project. E-mails sent from the Elders with Inuktitut in the body of the message would view as gibberish until the text was pasted into WORD or Flash where the proper font was applied. This made for interesting messages flying through cyberspace.

Archaeologists working on the project did not have font issues as they provided text primarily in English. Translated interviews and recorded narratives were usually in English. Their writing was sent as WORD attachments by e-mail or text references faxed in their original format.

Size of the font used in the development of the CD was also a consideration as it needs to be large enough for students to read on the standard monitor size in the schools. Inuit students have a high rate of myopia, and screen image and text size are becoming increasingly important design considerations (Norn, 1999). In this case the developer designed for average screen size of 17", with the ability of the playing CD to scale to fill the size of the viewer's screen. If the CD is viewed on a 15" screen then it will scale to fit and the font size will still be within readable limits for Inuit students.

Language Dialect Issues

While the Department of Education in Arviat decided the Inuktitut version of the CD was to be in the North Baffin Dialect, the Elders in Arviat speak the Arviat dialect. The Cambridge Bay Elders involved speak Inuvialivut, and the Elders from Pond Inlet and Igloolik speak North Baffin. The Elders providing much of the comments on the plants, animals and artifacts speak and write in the Arviat dialect. This meant that any translated text written by these Elders was in the Arviat dialect and not the final chosen dialect of North Baffin. This is confusing, yes, but dealing with this issue was critical to the acceptance and use of the final CD. In the English version of the CD all the Elder information provided, such as Inuit traditional uses of plants, animals and artifacts, was included in both English and the dialect of the Elder speaking. That way the Elder's original voice was maintained. In the North Baffin Inuktitut version the English sections would be translated into North Baffin and the original dialect text from the Elder would remain as well.

The audio was also an issue, because the recordings by Elders in the Arviat office were in the Arviat dialect. The solution came with a retired Inuk minister, originally from Pond Inlet but living in Arviat. His daughter worked in the office and he was approached to lend his voice for the North Baffin recordings. An honorarium was required for his participation and this of course needed to be worked into the budget. The Cambridge Bay Elders were recorded as they spoke of Tuniit and Thule stories onto audiocassette. The audio was translated to Inuvialivut, North Baffin and English text versions. The audio was not re-recorded

in North Baffin, because the stories belonged to the Cambridge Bay Elders. This audio file was converted into a digital audio file and burned onto an audio CD to be included with the teacher's guide as support for the final CD.

Lessons Learned Regarding Language and Font Issues

- Consider font size in the initial design phase
- Settle dialect issues early in the project and remain consistent throughout the project.
- Ensure the quotes or text provided by Elders remains in the dialect of the Elder who provided the information. The text can be translated into other dialects as long as one version remains in the Elder's original dialect.

COPYRIGHT ISSUES

While much of the text, graphics and illustrations were original and created specifically for the project, many resources were gathered from various sources and required permission for use. Archaeologists provided hundreds of slide images of various archaeological sites and artifacts, many of which they had photographed and freely provided permission for their use in the project.

In some cases the images belonged to institutions such as the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec, or the Museum of Nature in Ottawa, Ontario. A long process of contacting these institutions, requesting permission, paying administration fees, and providing details on each and every image requested, took considerable investment of time and energy. Even though the process was complicated, most of the institutions involved waived the copyright fees for each image and only charged administration fees because the project was educational.

The process was much more complicated when permission was requested for the use of drum and song recordings from Baker Lake, Nunavut. Each Elder involved in the original recording was contacted, permission obtained and an honorarium paid. A translator was required as the Elders only spoke Inuktitut, and a great deal of effort was involved to ensure elders had signed Inuktitut forms granting permission.

Lessons Learned Regarding Copyright

- Ensure copyright permission is obtained for all materials used in the project.
- Provide permission forms in both English and Inuktitut.

EVALUATION AND APPROVAL PROCESS

Several members of the team were involved in the formative and summative evaluation processes as they applied their content expertise, text editing skills and cultural authority to the different sections of the CD. One benefit of working with the Flash environment is that a large project can be broken down into smaller sections or movies, which are controlled and loaded as the user requires them. This provides a way to develop the sections in components with the added benefit that they can be viewed separately from the whole of the larger movie. These smaller movies or Flash files are much easier to share among team members for viewing, editing and testing through FTP and e-mail.

Once again Dreamweaver was used for this process as the FTP client. Dreamweaver also allows for a check in and check out function to be enabled for multiple access and editing of the files. Once enabled, if the writer in Prince Rupert has checked out three Flash files for editing, this will be indicated when the developer logs into the FTP site and those files cannot be taken out until the writer checks them back in. This is a useful feature to ensure files are not overwritten as someone else works on them. The main writer involved in the project downloaded the Flash files and edited the text right in the files and then FTP'd the corrected files into a new file folder.

The smaller Shockwave or .swf files were shared through e-mail. This allowed for viewing of the draft movie without the ability to edit the original Flash file. For example the curriculum expert in Arviat would access the Shockwave movies through e-mail attachment and play them on her desktop to view the Inuktitut. She would then e-mail text corrections and comments to the developer who would make the changes in the original Flash file. This process also worked well with the archaeologists involved especially with the complex interactions dealing with the archaeological sites and the different artifacts. This allowed for the formative evaluation process, which is so important to the overall development of the project.

Steps involved in the Summative Evaluation and Approval Process

Preliminary Review. Before the project is sent to the various groups for review it is prudent to conduct a preliminary review of basic functionality and an edit of the text.

Content Expert Review. One archaeologist working on the project traveled to the developer and worked one-on-one proofing and correcting the factual content. Having the archaeologist present to make the changes directly in the Flash files saved time and confusion for both the developer and the content expert.

Another benefit of working in the Flash environment is the ease with which text edits can be made. The archaeologist was willing to learn about editing the text in Flash and by the end of the session could navigate a Flash file and independently make corrections. The importance of building this kind of capacity cannot be over-stated. On the next project this team member is involved in, she will be able to work on the Flash file edits independently (with support close at hand) which may eliminate the need for the face-to-face editing and approval time with the developer.

Cultural Advisor Review. The final approval from the Elders did require face-to-face support by the developer and a trip to Arviat was necessary. The English-speaking Elder spent three days viewing the site frame-by-frame, making suggestions, corrections and comments. Several times during the process he would confer with other Elders from the office and from other communities. This process cannot be rushed and additional time must be budgeted for issues and concerns raised by the Elders that require re-working of text, images or interactions. For example during the approval process one Elder raised concerns over the version of a story used in the Inuit creation story section. After conferring with other Elders an alternate story and introduction text for the section was presented to the developer. This required reworking of that section of the CD as well as re-recording of supporting audio. Another example of an issue raised by an Elder was the use of the archaeological terms Palaeo-Eskimo and Neo-Eskimo. The Elder bristled at the use of Eskimo as it is considered a derogatory native term meaning “eaters of raw meat”. Once it was explained that Palaeo-Eskimo and Neo-Eskimo were archaeological terms used to describe ancient cultural groupings of people and not to describe contemporary Inuit, the Elder accepted the use in the CD.

Stakeholder Approval. Inuit Heritage Trust had received e-mail and telephone reports on the project as it progressed. As part of the final approval process, the president of Inuit Heritage Trust traveled to Arviat and reviewed the CD content while the developer was present in the community. Pleased with the CD, he did request the addition of the Inuit Heritage Trust logo, which required re-working of one frame of the project.

The Department of Education in Nunavut relied not only on their own review of the CD content but on the advice of the Elders. Educational curricular comments were forwarded to the developer by Word attachments and e-mail.

Technical Summative Evaluation

Any project with this level of complexity, number of interactions, graphics and navigation requires careful testing while in development as well as a final field test review. Once the changes suggested by the

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content experts, cultural advisors and stakeholders were made, a final beta version of the CD was created for testing. The CD was tested on several different computer platforms and operating systems as well as generations of computers for basic functionality, user experience, navigational clarity and audio levels. While formative evaluation is a critical component of a solid design process it is also important to enable a technical summative evaluation with several different users or testers to catch any last design, typing, and navigation errors that would interfere with the user experience (Magnusson & Svensson, 2000).

Lessons Learned in the Approval Process:

- Ensure that team members have access to draft versions of the different sections as they become available.
- Commit to a formative evaluation process that encourages excellence from all members of the team.
- Ensure that team members have the technical support available to actually view the .swf files.
- Conduct as much of a preliminary review as possible, to ensure functionality, and that typos are corrected before presenting for the review and approval process to the various groups.
- Involve each group in the review process and make sure they feel confident that the changes they are suggesting or requesting will be valued.
- Conduct the review and approval process face-to-face with the Elders, the content experts and the main stakeholders of the project.
- Time and energy are saved if corrections can be made directly in the development environment of FlashMX.
- Budget time for the review process and ensure adequate time for making the required changes and edits.
- Celebrate the success of the project and thank those involved.

CONCLUSION

This was a major project, taking over 8 months, and involved people of different cultures and technical ability, who were spread all over the country. As the project manager and developer had experience working with very different groups of people on past cultural-based projects, best practices came to bear. There were many lessons learned during this project, all of which can be applied to the next project that comes along.

The positive aspects of this project include the operability of the project content and the sense of ownership and authority shared among the team members. Decisions such as the use of FlashMX as the

authoring software, which provided smaller developed sections of the project for viewing and editing by team members, the use of FTP as a central hub for sharing files, and the extensive use of e-mail and teleconferencing, contributed to building a sense of community among the team.

It is easy for a project as diverse as this one to lose momentum, with team members losing interest due to disorganization of the process. Leadership is an issue and not one fully dealt with in this paper. Suffice it to say that the project manager takes on more of a role of facilitator.

Team members learned new skills, applied old ones and supported each other as they met their commitments to the project. In many ways the online distance environment created by this project is similar to an online distance-learning environment. The project manager worked to support all the team members as they committed and then delivered their contributions to the project regardless of where they lived, much the same way an online instructor would.

It is the author's hope that, by detailing just some of the decisions and considerations required to bring this divergent group together, a greater understanding is created of the positive development environment that can be supported from a distance.

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Appendix I

Excerpt from the original project proposal detailing the learning objectives from both the WCP and Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit Nunavusiutit strand.

The WCP document will guide the development of the CD-ROM content as it outlines grade profiles, specific Skills and Processes outcomes by grade level, with accompanying Values and Attitude outcomes and Knowledge and Understanding outcomes listed by sub-themes.

In Grade 8 the content theme is “Connections to the Past”. The outline for this content theme is: “Grade 8 students will focus on the worldviews and diverse perspectives of societies of the past, and will explore connections between past and present ways of life. They will reflect upon beliefs and values, considering how worldviews are shaped and how they influence life and societies. They will explore the influence of the physical environment, as they examine the tools and technologies created by societies to help them meet their wants and needs. Students also consider the images, art, and literatures of societies, as the outward expression of beliefs and values of people living in different times and places. They will examine the impact of intercultural contact in societies and consider how this contact creates change. Examples will be drawn from Ancient cultures including ancient indigenous cultures of the north.”

Key values and attitudes to be developed in Grade 8 are historical empathy, and an appreciation of the worldviews of societies of the past. Focus skills and processes include the interpretation and evaluation of historical evidence, metacognition, and critical thinking in the context of diverse historical and cultural perspectives.

For Values and Attitudes outcomes students will respect, appreciate and demonstrate an ethical regard for what they can learn from the past and apply this learning to future endeavours.

For Knowledge and Understanding outcomes students will compare and contrast the roles and responsibilities of citizens in past societies; consider oral traditions as sources of information about life and identities in the past; describe how worldviews may change as a result of factors such as contact with other societies, and technological and economic change; demonstrate an understanding that an individual’s way of seeing the world is shaped by his or her culture or society; identify major figures and stories of an ancient society’s mythology; describe family structure and the roles of family members, in societies of the past; analyze how the arts reflect the spirit beliefs, and values of a society; and explore examples of architecture

as an expression of worldview. As well students will describe the characteristics of the physical environment of a society of the past; demonstrate an understanding of the influences of the land on the development of societies of the past; demonstrate an understanding of how archaeological practices and findings have changed and continue to change our perceptions of past societies; and demonstrate an understanding that accounts of the past may differ. Finally the student will identify technological achievements of societies of the past and describe the effects of these technologies; and describe how the technology of a society reflects its worldview.

Hans Egede Oqaluppalaarutaa: Hans Egede's Story

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ABSTRACT. In the mid-19th century, a Central West Greenlandic catechist named Hans Egede wrote an account of his family's oral history in Greenlandic. The unpublished manuscript is extensive and gives fascinating information about daily life, including hunting practices, religious traditions, and local traditions and superstitions, spanning the period from the 1780's to the 1850's. Working with this manuscript, I have transliterated Egede's writing into the modern Greenlandic orthography and added a morphemic breakdown with English translation. This process has brought to light interesting linguistic data, including differences between 19th and 20th century Greenlandic, oral narrative style in Greenlandic, and the importance of contextual information in decoding discourse. This paper presents a brief analysis of some of these points.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a rapid and superficial summary of some interesting observations about the language of an Old Greenlandic text. It is largely a-theoretical, and the goal is to present a holistic approach in understanding discourse, and in identifying what the structure of discourse allows the speaker or writer to communicate. This work has grown out of a study of older texts in which words and linguistic structures are sometimes very clear, but the ultimate sense of the text is not. Some observations will be obvious to speakers of Greenlandic and experts in Greenlandic literature and rhetoric; however, there has not been significant mention of some of these features in linguistic descriptions of Greenlandic, and I hope these observations will begin to fill an important gap in our understanding of Inuit languages and dialects, specifically with respect to discourse structure.

One of the advantages to working with older texts is precisely that it is so obvious what one does not understand; with modern language, we tend to make assumptions about how well we understand what is being communicated. The text in question is an as yet unpublished manuscript written in the 1860's by a Central West Greenlandic catechist named Hans Egede for Hinrich Rink, the well-known collector of Greenlandic narratives; it is a somewhat free-flowing narration of various of the author's family stories, interspersed with historical and mythic stories from his region (Hinrich Rink Archives, 1868?). This text, which the author titled Hans Egedep Oqaluppalaarutaa, or 'Hans Egede's Story', has not previously been transcribed into modern Greenlandic or translated into either Danish or English. The text is unusual in its

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length, its fusion of oral history and legend, and its relatively oral style (although other such texts are likely to be found in original form in Rink's personal archives, cf. Thisted 1996:256). There are several types of information which are needed to understand the language of the text, and, conversely, what can be understood from the text. These include, among many other things, information on linguistic change; historical, social, and cultural information; the purpose for which the text was created; and information on discourse style. I will briefly mention the first three, to show the wealth and range of information that can be gleaned from one text, but I will then focus especially on discourse style and the role of indirectness in the text.

LINGUISTIC INFORMATION

The correct interpretation of many segments of the text depends on an understanding of the types of structural change the language has undergone since the composition of the text. The text is also a rich source of information for linguistic change between 19th and 20th century Greenlandic. Obvious linguistic differences include the use of obsolete morphophonological forms, as in example (1) (all examples below are taken from the Hans Egede text):

- (1) old Greenlandic *takatuma*
new Greenlandic *takassuma* deictic relative form of *kanna* 'the one down there'

The text is also rich in obsolete or obsolescent lexical forms and expressions, as in example(2), in which the root of the word was unknown to the consultants. None of the native speakers in Greenland could make much sense of the section of text at this point, except to speculate about it having to do with selling something expensive:

- (2) *ersippassannguarsiniarput*
ersippassannguaq-si-niar-vut
just.now-but-it.is.said rib?-get/buy-want/fut-3PL.IND
'they wanted to buy a rib to make a stanchion on the sled'

There are also many obsolete syntactic forms, as in constructions with the now obsolescent word *unner-* 'to say', or 3rd person co-referential subject forms of participial verb moods (now replaced by contemporative mood forms), both of which are illustrated in the next example:

(3) *taanna Maliit aamma takugini unnerpoq*

taanna Maliit aamma taku-gini unner-voq

that.one.ABS Maliit.ABS and see-4SG.SUBJ/3PL.OBJ.PART say-3SG.IND

'that Maliit also said she saw them'

In many cases, this text merely reinforces observations of linguistic change which are already well described. In other cases, the text offers evidence for heretofore unacknowledged linguistic structures. I have addressed some of these in previous work (cf. Berge, 2002).

HISTORICAL, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL INFORMATION

Also necessary for the interpretation of the text are the historical, cultural, and social backgrounds which gave rise to it. For example, Hans Egede writes about his family's oral histories and stories. His family is primarily from Central West Greenland, from the Sisimiut and Maniitsoq regions. In one episode, he describes a relative's trip to the far north, where the hunters find walrus skulls and ivory in a hut. Since no commentary or explanation is given, and the author presupposes shared knowledge with the reader, interpretation is left up to the reader. In this case, a knowledge of historical trade patterns along the west coast of Greenland, including trade for ivory in the north (Gulløv 1983), makes this vignette relatively easy to understand: the relative has come across a hut used for trading purposes. In another of the relative's adventures, he is described as camping on ice and wasting whale meat:

(4) *sikuinnarmungooq tammaaraangami*

siku-innar-mut-gooq tammaar-gaan-gami

ice-just-SG.TERM-it.is.said lay.camp-whenever-4SG.CAUS

'when he had set up camp on the ice, it is said,'

qilalugattami mattaanik nutsilerlutik

qilalugaq-taq-mi mattak-nik nutser-ler-lutik

white.whale-part.made.of-4SG.POS.REL whale.skin-3SG.POS.INST move-begin-4PL.CT

'they moved with his white whales' skins'

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aallalerlutillu

aallar-ler-lutik-lu

leave-begin-4PL.CT-and

‘and when they left’

iluunngaalu qimallugu

iluunngaqa-a-lu

qimaC-lugu

‘the.whole-3SG.POS/SG.POSM.ABS-and go.and.leave.something.behind-3SG.OBJ.CT

‘they left all of the inner parts [i.e. meat] behind’

Because the words seem to convey a message which cannot make sense according to the traditional understanding of how a hunter would behave, either in terms of camping or in terms of disposing of the catch, none of the translators were able to make sense of the text, and there was little agreement on the translation. The text is also useful as a source of information on very localized customs, which often did not make their way into regional ethnographic studies. For example, the writer describes his grandfather visiting some northerners with the odd custom of pushing people they saw for the first time:

(5) *iterlutik ullaakkut*

iter-lutik *ulaaq-kkut*

wake.up-4PL.CAUS morning-VIA

‘when they woke up in the morning’

aniakasattuk ilaata

aniar-kasaC-soq-k

ila-ata

go.in.and.out.several.times-disdainfully-PART-DU.REL part-3SG.POSM.REL

‘one of the two nasty people going in and out’

terlingaaneerluni ajallarmani

terlingaaneer-luni ajaC-llar-mmani

push.from.behind-4SG.CT push.with.palm.of.hand-INTENS-3SG.SUBJ/4SG.OBJ.CAUS

‘pushing him from behind pushed him hard with the palm of his hand’

sunaaffagooq taamak ileqqoqamiut takornartanik takullutik

sunaaffa-gooq taamak ileqqoq-qar-mi-vut takornar-gaq-nik taku-lutik

wow-it.is.said thus custom-have-so-3PL.IND see.for.first.time-PAS.PART-PL.INST see-4PL.CT

‘it turned out that they had this custom seeing someone for the first time’

As Thisted (1996:255ff) points out, these types of tales are gold mines of information on local history, customs, mythologies, and more.

THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH THE TEXT WAS CREATED, OR THE SPEAKER’S OWN CONTEXTUALIZATION

Third, in many cases, it is rather difficult to interpret the text without having some idea as to why the text was created, what motivated the choice of stories told, and what the message was. Many of these vignettes go beyond strictly historical experiences and some seem to be trivial compared to the overwhelming life experiences that family members experienced, and that, to some, merit reporting. For example while the stories cover the introduction of Christianity, the Habakuk rebellion (an important episode in the effort to establish the primacy of established Christian church leadership, in which a segment of the population around Kangaamiut temporarily followed the religious authority of two non church-trained converts, cf. Gad, 1982:324ff), the founding of major towns, and so forth, they also include stories of village fools, brutes, and ghosts.

Obsolete words and presuppositions about shared information make some of the stories within the text very difficult for the translators to interpret, as we have seen. The same is true when crucial information about the purpose of the text is missing. Thus, in one of the vignettes, an elderly senile man tells of his mother going mad from hunger. At one point, a girl wearing mussels attached to her kamik soles approaches the mother and says:

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(6) *avanngarsuaq pivunga Kupparsuarmit*

avanna-g-suaq pi-vunga Kupparsuaq-mit

from.the.north-big.ABS do-1SG.IND Kupparsuaq

‘I came from the north, from [Kupparsuaq? the cliffs?]

taanersup Kuppalisuup

taa-ner-soq-p Kuppalisuaq-p

call.sme/smthg.something-PART-REL Kuppalisuaq-REL

‘The one called Kuppalisuaq’

piiarsullarmanga

pii-ar-rsuar-llar-manga

take.smthg.away.from-with.force-INTENS-3SG.SUBJ/1SG.OBJ.CAUS

‘when he took me away from [there] by force’

Qallumaatsuutigiqara!"

qallumaatsoq-u-utigi-qi-vara

one.who.is.quiet-COP-have.as.cause-INTENS-3SG.SUBJ/1SG.OBJ.IND

or *qalloq-maar-ssutigi-qi-vara*

lips-be.wearing-for.this.reason-INTENS-3SG.SUBJ/1SG.OBJ.IND

‘it is the reason I don’t speak much / I don’t like this food’

None of the native speakers or linguists consulted were familiar with the term *qallumaatsuutigiqara*, and neither the words nor the role of this side story in the greater narrative are clear.

There are also stories in which the words are understandable, but the sense of the story is not. For example, in one vignette, the author’s grandfather notices men peering into the window of the house in

which his sister just gave birth. He follows the men to the beach, where they disappear forever. To understand many of these stories, it is absolutely necessary to understand the world of the supernatural in Greenland. The men who disappear on the beach are probably mythical coastal dwellers, and this would have been generally understood by the Greenlandic readers through shared knowledge of various myths and legends. Stories of the coastal dwellers are documented, whereas the girl with the mussels remains obscure today, perhaps through the loss of shared knowledge.

It also helps to understand the role of the supernatural in the narrative. There was a tradition in the 19th century of collecting and later publishing traditional tales and legends of the Greenlanders; efforts were spearheaded by such missionaries as Kragh and his seminary students, and later by the collector Rink. One of Rink's methods of text collection was to ask Greenlanders to write their own stories down and send it to Rink, and that is apparently what Hans Egede did. What we do not know, however, is how Hans Egede understood 'stories'. From the manuscript, it is apparent that the oral histories, while they appear sporadic and unorganized, and perhaps reflect the free flow of his thoughts, nevertheless very often include stories involving the supernatural. It is clear that Hans Egede did not differentiate between his family stories and these supernatural events; they were integrated in the recollections of family life. Rink, on the other hand, published myths and legends as separate stories; in effect, he de-contextualized them. In fact, many of the manuscripts I have worked with show this contextualization, whereas the published versions do not. Identifying where personal experience stops and the traditional supernatural experience begins, as well as how this affects our understanding of the text, is an important consideration. There are many other sources of such stories, such as letters written for *Atuagadlliutit*, the first Greenlandic newspaper, or stories written down for Knud Rasmussen, all of which were heavily edited for publication. Fortunately, the manuscripts often survive in various archives, and, as Thisted eloquently writes, "Brand new perspectives are opened up when we are...allowed to shift the main emphasis from the isolated tale to the tellers and the whole "oeuvres" that they sent in (Thisted, 1996:255).

DISCOURSE INFORMATION: THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIRECTNESS

Finally, there is something that contributes to a feeling of reading the text through an opaque veil and that is the manipulation of indirectness as a discourse style. There are many different ways in which the author makes indirect reference to something, and while indirectness contributes to the complexity and skill with which the narrative is presented, it creates certain challenges in interpretation. Some of these are described below.

Removal of the narrator from the narration

There are at least four different methods of indirect reference which are manifest in this text. One method that is employed is the removal of the narrator from the narration; that is, the narrator does not present himself as an omniscient narrator. When describing his early childhood experiences, for example, he writes about his perceptions of what happened in his family's camp as if he were still a child:

(7) *Qingakkarsuakktut Ittujuukkullu*

Qingakkarsuaq-kkut Ittujuuq-kkut-lu

Qingakkarsuaq-family.ABS Ittujuuq-family.ABS-and

'Qingakkarsuaq and his family and Ittujuuq and his family'

taamani ukiukktut arfattaraluarput

taamani ukiuk-kkut arfaC-ssaraluar-vut

at.that.time winter-VIA catch.a.whale-ought.otherwise-3PL.IND

'at that time they ought to have caught a whale that winter'

kisianni uanga arfimik takunngilanga,

kisianni uanga arfeq-mik taku-nngit-langa

but 1SG.ABS whale-inst see-NEG-1SG.NEG.IND

'but I didn't see any whale'

mattaalu nerisarlugit.

mattak-a-lu neri-sar-lugit

whale.blubber-3SG.POS/PL.POSM.ABS-and eat-evidential-4PL.OBJ.CT

'and I did eat its bits of blubber'

His lack of omniscience goes beyond the careful attribution of something to hearsay or to indirect information that is encoded in Inuit language through the use of particular morphology such as *-sar-*, an

evidential morpheme, or *-gooq* 'it is said'. The author is explicitly focusing on this indirectness. In fact, he consistently writes from the point of view of the time of the narrative itself, leaving his own experience and knowledge out. Thus, he writes in the 1860's, at a time when Qaqortoq is already well established as a major settlement in Greenland, but he tells his grandfather's story of arriving with the Danish trader to the future site of Qaqortoq from his grandfather's point of view. Qaqortoq is described as *illorsuaqarfissaaq* 'a future place of big houses', rather than as an *illoqarpoq* 'a place with houses, a town'. Word-formations such as this tended to temporarily confuse Greenlandic translators, because of such changes in present-day expectations of language use.

Indirect reference to relationships

This indirectness in the narrative is further evident in his description of relationships. Hans Egede rarely provides details regarding his own relationship with other participants in the narrative. For example, a large part of the narrative consists of stories he remembers hearing from an old woman named Maliit. These include a story of the conversion of a shaman, Amaalissuaq; much later in the narrative, we learn that this Amaalissuaq is the writer's own great-uncle, but only by piecing the relationships together. In another, rather complicated set of stories transmitted by the old woman Maliit, an elderly and mentally infirm man is apparently spending time with Maliit and her young family. He is never given a name or a place in the family, but in traditional Greenlandic society, it is highly likely that he was in some way related to Maliit: given his age and his senility, he would not have been supported if he were not related. Who this Maliit is, is never made clear, but it becomes more and more likely that she was herself related, however distantly, to Hans Egede himself. All her stories and the stories of the elderly man must then be family stories, rather than random stories of casual acquaintances. This would make sense from a sociohistorical point of view: the stories families tend to transmit are family stories rather than odd vignettes of histories belonging to other groups. Another example: Hans Egede also writes that his grandfather Egede's sister married a Danish trader; from then on, she is known as 'the trader's wife', and the trader is never referred to overtly as a family member, but simply as 'the trader':

(8) *Egedelligooq aleqaa*

Egede-p-li-gooq aleqaq-a

Egede-REL-but-it.is.said elder.sister.of.younger.brother-3SG.POS/SG.POSM.ABS

'But Egede's older sister'

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niuertuatta nulisiuppaa

niuertoq-ata nulisiuC-vaa

trader-3PL.POS/SG.POSM.REL take.someone.as.wife-3SG.SUBJ/3SG.OBJ.IND

‘their trader took her as his wife.’

Taamani taanna niuertup nuliaa qitornartaarmat

taamani taanna niuertoq-p nuliaq-a qitornaq-taar-mat

at.that.time that.one.ABS trader-rel wife-3SG.POS/SG.POSM.ABS child-get.new-3SG.CAUS

‘At that time, when the trader’s wife got [gave birth to] a child,’

He consistently keeps this ambiguity and indirectness throughout his narrative, and it is never obvious who is family and who is not.

Indirect reference via negation

Another form of indirectness is the use of negative forms for the expression of ideas and states. Obvious examples are the common lexicalized forms such as *ajunngi*- ‘to be all right = to not be bad’ and *nalunngi*- ‘to know = to not be ignorant’. However, the discourse style in this text reveals an extensive use of negation for expressing states, as in the following:

(9) To not be impatient yet, or, in other words, to not have grown tired of waiting:

suligooq erinigilernagit

suli-gooq erinigi-ler-nagit

yet/still-it.is.said wait.for.something.impatiently-begin-3PL.OBJ.NEG.CT

‘while there were still not impatient for them to arrive, the ships appeared

(10) To not be not nice enough, or to be rather nice:

pikkuginnginnamiuk

pikkuginngit-namiuk

thinks.something.not.nice.enough/be.unimpressed-4SG.SUBJ/3SG.OBJ.NEG.CAUS

‘not thinking that something was not nice enough/not being unimpressed with something’

(11) To not know there wouldn’t be people, or to realize there were a lot of people:

umiarsuilligooq nunalimmata

umiarsuaq-t-li-gooq nunaliC-mata

ship-ABS.PL-but-it.is.said come.to.harbor-3PL.CAUS

‘but when the ships came to harbor, it is said,

inuqassusia aatsaat nalujunnaarpaa

inuk-qar-ssuseq-a aatsaat nalu-junnaar-vaa

person-have-quality.of-3SG.POS/SG.POSM.ABS just.now not.know-no.more-3SG.SUBJ/3SG.OBJ.IND

he didn’t not know any more its quality of having people (i.e. he found out just how many there were)’

(12) To not come back empty handed, or to come bearing gifts:

ilaagooq susaanngippallaartut

ila-i-gooq susaar-nngit-vallaar-soq-t

part-ABS.PL-it.is.said come.back.empty.handed-neg-too.much-PART-ABS.PL

‘some didn’t come back too terribly empty handed’

These types of negations are so pervasive in the text, and I have come across some similar stylistic features in other Greenlandic texts, that it suggests a wide-spread discourse style based on what in English would be called understatement. Understatement as an Inuit discourse style has been noted especially with respect to irony in song duels (cf. Frederiksen, 1954:24), or in conversations between social competitors in which status needs to be negotiated. This is found largely in ethnological sources, and not so much in linguistic sources. What is interesting in this text is that understatement is not primarily ironic or self-

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deprecating. What role this plays in normal discourse has not yet been studied, but I suspect it is rather important.

Indirect reference via metaphor

Finally, another form of indirect language use evident in the text is metaphor. Some metaphors have been so frequently used they are essentially lexicalized: thus, *arni* ‘his woman’ is ‘his mother’; *pisartooq* ‘hunter’ is ‘someone who usually gets something’; or perhaps also *aliortor-* ‘be surprised by an unexpected sight’ for ‘see a ghost’. These are all commonly found in dictionary entries. In this text, there is ample evidence of the use of other metaphors, some of which are probably still in current use, such as *aalajangi-* ‘to hold onto’, meaning ‘to remember’, and its opposite, ‘to not hold onto’ = ‘to forget’ (p. 10); *aalajanger-* ‘to stand firm by one’s word or opinion’ meaning ‘to take a decision, to stick to a decision, to remember’. Another is the use of *nungu-* ‘to disappear’ for ‘to die’ or ‘to finish an activity’ (as in dogs finishing food, or finishing a soapstone lamp). The very use of metaphor, however, leads to ambiguity in interpretation, and the use of *nungupput* ‘they disappeared’, referring to newly baptized Greenlanders in one story was variously translated as ‘they died’ by one person, as ‘they left’ by another, and as ‘the number of unbaptized people was fewer and fewer’ by a third:

(13) *kuisiorarlutillu nungusorsuupput*

kuisiC-jorar-lutik-lu

nungu-sor-suaq-u-vut

be.baptized-one.after.other-4PL.CT-and

disappear.under.water-part-big-COP-3PL.IND

‘having been baptized one after the other, they all [disappeared/died/left]’

In fact, the use of metaphor is probably one of the more important reasons for textual obscurity, particularly as metaphors have been largely unstudied and unrecorded as such. Some metaphors are probably no longer in common use, such as *pillerorpoq*, literally ‘to be insane’, but consistently used in the context of starvation and death:

(14) *pillerortorsuullunigooq toquvoq*

pilleror-soq-suaq-u-luni-gooq

toqu-voq

become.insane-part-big-be-4SG.CT-it.is.said die-3SG.IND

‘it is said that being very mad, she died’ (of a woman having eaten too much in secret after a period of starvation).

Taken together, these strategies for building the narrative suggest that to understand Inuit language use, we should probably spend some time understanding the role of indirect reference in Inuit languages. The only references to this that I have seen in the linguistic literature are found in Miyaoka (1996), and only with reference to interpersonal conversational style in Central Alaskan Yup'ik, perhaps because of the sociolinguistic importance of indirectness in Japanese. It is possible that the lack of attention on this feature of language use in many other descriptions reflects the relatively non-ritual use of indirectness in Western culture, or the use of indirectness for pragmatic or social reasons, rather than being encoded through structural means.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

To understand the text, one must have the context; and yet the text provides a means to better understand the context. Both go hand in hand. For example, to make sense of the syntax, we have to understand what linguistic changes have occurred, and yet this text is a source of information on linguistic change. To make sense of the narrative flow, we have to understand details such as relationships between the characters, which means we have to understand the author's use of indirectness, which we have to uncover in the first place. These are just a few of the interesting points to be gleaned from the text, and each of them warrants a great deal more attention, particularly from linguists. For example, to date, we have no systematic linguistic studies of indirectness or metaphor use in any of the Eskimo-Aleut languages; yet the examples above surely have shown the importance of these features in the interpretation of the text. Structural linguistic studies tend to ignore the importance of non-linguistic contexts, such as sociocultural or historical information; but in some cases, it is almost impossible to make sense of the language use without this information. The study of text in context should prove enormously interesting for a deeper understanding of Inuit language use.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS = absolutive, CAUS = causative, COP = copula, CT = contemporative, DU = dual, FUT = future, IND = indicative, INST = instrumental, INTENS = intensifier, NEG = negative, OBJ = object, PART = participial, PAS = passive, PL = plural, POS = possessive, POSM = possessum, REL = relative, SG = singular, SUBJ = subject, TERM = terminalis, VIA = vialis

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Taarnirmik unnuangujjutiqanngimmat
“Darkness is not the cause of the night”
An Inuit Perspective from Canadian Eastern Arctic on the Night

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ABSTRACT. Although outside observers may be inquisitive about the Inuit night, it does not seem to constitute a question for the Inuit themselves. An analysis of their discourses shows however that the Inuit have built a rather complex system for the representation of their daily night so that it may remain meaningful across the extreme seasonal variations of darkness and light that exist at high latitudes. According to their statements, several elements contribute to the mental construction of the night. This communication, largely based on accounts collected in Mittimatalik/Pond Inlet (Nunavut), shows that the night *unnuaq* (*unnuattak* for the spring night) belongs to a register beyond that of darkness; *unnuaq/unnuattak* is rather a learning process since early childhood, it is felt by the body, it is bounded by time-marks, characterised by notable drop of temperature, and is the expected period for sleeping since the night should be restorative. Moreover, it comes out that most of the accounts are of a highly subjective nature. Many Inuit, and not only the elders, do not give too much credit to over-generalizations and to supposedly objective descriptions, whatever the field considered. The statement on the night is not an exception and favours the forms “I” and “we” since it aims at relating what is experienced individually or collectively, and not at producing a standard knowledge that could be translated in an objective manner. Whereas there is a night every day, people can only put forward their own perception of it, not an absolute reference. The Inuit night is an intellectual construction strongly marked by individuality.

INTRODUCTION

In this communication, I would like to share some elements pertaining to the concept of “night” and its representation among Canadian Inuit. Night, darkness and related phenomena have until now never been considered in their anthropological dimensions. On the one hand Arctic winter and summer have always attracted the interest of scientists who found in the “extreme” climate conditions justification for their often deterministic analysis of the Inuit life styles. Indeed the alternation winter-summer and its strong contrasts in terms of darkness and light, temperature, frost, and hunting practices have been largely described since the 19th century. On the other hand, ethnographers have largely ignored the night as a personal experience and collective representations (Bordin, 2002, 2003).

Therefore I want to address here a few questions such as how do Canadian Inuit speak and define their daily night? And how could we as anthropologists propose an interpretation frame for the representation of the night based on data collected during fieldwork? Using more particularly, but not exclusively, the accounts of Inuit living beyond the Arctic circle, precisely at Mittimatalik/Pond Inlet (72°42' N) in the north of Baffin Island, it appears that, whereas the “nature” of the Inuit night raises some concerns for outside observers, it does not seem to constitute a question for the Inuit themselves: night and day, *unnuaq* and *ulluq*, alternate on a daily basis, they say, all year around. There was indeed often astonishment, amusement and sometimes even slight irritation when a question such as “here in spring and summer, when the sun never sets, is there still a night?” was put to a number of North Baffin people. The answer being seemingly obvious from their own point of view, the analysis of their discourse shows however that Inuit have built a rather complex system for the representation of their daily night so that it may remain meaningful across the huge seasonal variations of darkness and light that exist at high latitudes. According to their statements, several elements contribute to the mental construction of the night. I will show that the night belongs to a register that is beyond that of darkness, and is rather defined by several criteria, all interdependent.

NIGHT AND APPRENTICESHIP

The experience of the night is first related to its learning at an early age:

iittiaq unnuaqasuungungmijugut, siqiniq talittunailigaluaqtillugu qaujilaurama taimangalimaaq surusiuninni qaujimainnaqtara silavut talittunailigaluaangat anaanama unnuakkt anaanaga iqqumaqujisuitualuulaurmat unnuakkt siniqattaqujimut, unnuangujuq qaujimainnaqattaqtara. (Marta Kunuk)

“Of course we do have a night even when the sun does not set, I have always known it, since I was a child, even when the outside world remains bright, during the night my mother did not want us to remain awake, she wanted us to sleep; when it is the night, I know it.”

This elderly Mittimatalingmiut woman used initially the radical *qauji-* which expresses a situation of experiencing, learning something; this stage precedes that of the full knowledge, given by the lexical base *qaujima-* that she employed later. And for her nothing has changed: *unnuangujuq qaujimainnaqattaqtara*, “when it is the night, I always know it”.

Several other people made similar comments about their awareness of the night going back to early childhood and to their parents’ injunctions: putting and maintaining the night-day differentiation falls within

the parents' responsibility. A younger mother, thirty-four years old, considers that this apprenticeship is still maintained and that it keeps all its relevance nowadays.

NIGHT AND FEELING

The same young woman also told me the following:

Timiga ikpigusugunnaqtuq unnuangunningani. Iqqumattiaraluaruma qittaingagaluaruma qaujimajuq timiga unnuanguqtumi. (Gisa Inuaraq)

“My body can feel the night. Even if I am wide awake and that I do not want to sleep, my body knows that it is the night.”

The night is then also a feeling. The lexical analysis shows that the person expresses a subjective quality, a sensation of her body, by using the morpheme *-gusuk-* which carries the notion of feeling, inclination for: *timiga ikpigusugunnaqtuq unnuangunningani*, “my body can feel intrinsically when it is in its night”.

Therefore, even without darkness, one can not confuse the night with the day. The same holds true in winter during the period called *tauvigjuaq* when the sun does not rise:

unnuanguinnaujjannimmijuq, ulluq qaujimagattigut ullaakut tamaani 6mi 7mi-iqqumalisuungugama qanuinngittiraangama qanimarujunngi&&unga taqaqqanngi&-&unga, qanuinngittiraangama ullaakut, ullunguq&ugu taanginnaqattaraluaqtillugu qaujimanattiasuungungmijuq ulluujjuq, unnuktuq, ilaa qaumaluaqattarunniiraluaqtillugu sungiunganarmijuq. (Marta Kunuk)

“It is certainly not always the night, we know the day, the morning I wake up regularly at around 6-7 am when I go very well, when I am not sick, not tired, it becomes the day even when it remains dark, we know perfectly when it is the day, the evening, we are used to it when its stops to be bright”.

One person used a construction which does not leave any doubt: *unnuanguinnaquujjugaluaq unnuanguinnanngittuq*, literally “although it seems to be always the night, it is not always the night” (Alan Maktaaq).

PHYSICAL NIGHT AND MARKERS

The night is also characterised by a number of signs, in particular by time markers. Since the introduction of watches and clocks, the night, whether dark or bright, is framed within the twenty-four hour

cycle. For instance, according to several people, *unnuk*, “the evening” and *unnuaq*, “the night”, are defined as follows:

uatsi tamaani 10miinngippat unnuangunngittuq unnuutuinnaqtuq. Uvvaluunniit ullukkuugaluaq Imi taaqtualuuliriiqtuq unnuanguniraiguvit unnuangunngittuq taaq isumaginnginakku uatsi tavva angajuqqaarjuaq. (Ilisapi Uuttuva)

“Until the clock indicates 10 pm, it is not the night (*unnuaq*), it is only the evening (*unnuk*). And at 1 am, even when it is not dark, you can say that it is the night; I do not think that because it is dark, you could call it night. The clock is the main master.”

Time markers existed however well before the use of the technical means and were based on the observation of the movements of the sun, of the moon and of the stars (MacDonald, 1998). As one elder says:

siqiniq taima quttituaalujaanngilaq unnuamik taijauppat taimannali isumagijaqtara, paunaalujaanngittuq siqiniq unnuanguniraujumiq uqaqtuqatuaqpat. (Gmaili Qiluqisaaq)

“If the sun is not very high, one calls this moment night (*unnuaq*), it is what I think; when the sun is not very high, it is said to be the night.”

The stars were very important when traveling and for the indication of time, especially to mark the beginning and the end of the day and of its activities, as one elder of Igloolik points out: “The *Ullaktut* stars [Orion’s belt] when they first appear [in the evening] are slanted; when they straighten up it’s time for bed” (Michel Kupaaq, in MacDonald, *op. cit.*: 201).

To emphasize the dichotomy between the darkness *taaqa* and the night *unnuaq*, Ilisapi Uuttuva stresses the continuation of the use of time markers, stars and clocks, by the successive generations:

taaqsigattaqtuq taanna unnuangutittijuugaluaq uatsimigli malingniqsauungugatta taakkualu sivuliqput ullurianik maliqattaqtuviniit taikkua tukturjuut kisuit tujjaqpallialiqattarmata makippalliaquujivak&utik ullaanguliraangat. Unnualluaq unnuk taarnirmik unnuangujjutiqanngimmat.

“Darkness can mean to be in the night, but we rather follow our watches. Our ancestors followed the stars and when those of the *Tukturjuut* constellation [smaller dipper] raise increasingly, this shows that the morning has arrived. It is not the night simply because it is dark.”

This account dissociates clearly night and darkness (and also day and light). The use of the morpheme -*jjuti* expressing the cause, reason, displays that darkness and light are not the “cause” of the night and of the

day, respectively: *taarnirmik unnuangujjutiqanngimmat*, “the night does not have darkness for cause” and *ulluujjutiqanngimmingmat qaumajutuinnarmik*, “the day does not have only the light for cause”.

The cycles darkness-light and night-day are regularly out of phase, the first one showing all its relevance on the annual scale, the second coming with regularity every twenty-four hours.

NIGHT AND SLEEP

Although regular observations show that the night is not always or entirely devoted to sleep, far from it, it is still always mentioned to characterize the night as attested by many evidences. For instance the evening *unnuk* and the night *unnuaq* can be distinguished according to the following:

ajjigiinngittuq unnuk unnuktuq iqqumainnaq&uni suli kisiani unnuaq siningnaq&uni. (Gisa Inuaraq)

“They are different; the evening, we are still awake, but the night makes one to sleep.”

Even when evening and night look similar, like dark, they have different implications. The use of the causative morpheme *-naq-* in *unnuaq siningnaq&uni* shows that the night is “what makes one to sleep”. This morpheme stresses the dynamic character of the night episode with respect to sleep.

Another elderly woman told me that she never thought about the night other than in its relation to sleep:

taimanna suli unnuakkuq iqqumaluni piuquijginnginnakku piuginnginakku ulluup ajjigiinngimmagu ullumut ajjigiitinnasukkaluaq&ugu ajjigiinngittiarmagu ulluq ajjigiinngimmagu unnuaq. (Marta Kunuk)

“I do not like to be awake at night, I do not like that because it is different from the day, even if one wants to confuse the night and the day, they are different.”

Sleeping during the day only creates an illusion had already declared another person. Several of my informants also agree on the fact that the night exists (*sanajau-*, literally “was created”) so that the body could rest:

uvangali taanna ullurlu unnuarlu taakkuak sanajausimanasugijakkiik uvagut taqaiqsiriaqarnittinnut timivut, timivut taqaiqsiriaqarninganut aaqqisuqtausimani-nganut timitta atugaksariniarmagu, taarningani sanannannginningani taqaiqsiriaqaqpuq timi, taqaiqsilauq&uni taarmat suurlu qaumalirmat sananialirmigami iqqanaijarniarami ullukkuq taqasimangi&&uni ullukkuq iqqumajariaqaliqpuq taanna taimannali sanajausimanasugijara, taqaiqsiriaqarmat timi, iqqanaijariaqqaq&unilu taimanna sanajausimanasugijara. (Aani Pairngut Piitaluusi)

“I think that the day and the night were made, the night for our rest, our body needs to rest, when it is dark we cannot work, the body has to rest; after being rested, when there is sunlight, we can start working during the day, we have to stay awake during daytime, I think it is like that, the body needs rest and must also work, that is why it was made like that.”

THE CLEAR NIGHT OF SPRING: *UNNUATTAK*

Until now, we have met the terms *unnuaq* and *unnuk*, the first one built on the second, both being found throughout the whole Inuit area to designate the night and the evening, respectively. It is however worth mentioning that in North Baffin (Iglulik, Mittimatalik), there is a specific term to designate the night without darkness of spring: *unnuattak*. Indeed, in Mittimatalik, several elders use spontaneously this term to talk about the night in spring:

ii unnuattaqaqtuq unnuamik tailataanngitavut siqiniq akparmat unnuattangmik taisuuvuq unnualik. (Alan Maktaaq)

“Yes [in spring] there is a night that we do not call *unnuaq* but *unnuattak*, when the sun is low, the night is called *unnuattak*.”

One must therefore understand that in the High Arctic context, *unnuaq* was previously used in reference to the dark night.

The night of spring is experienced and expressed as such by the Inuit of North Baffin: although there is sunlight, it is not the day, whence the use of the lexeme *unnua-* showing that we have to deal with a night episode; but it is not the “ordinary” dark night, whence the correction by means of a morpheme, *-ttak*, which seems to express the concept of “being like” (coming from *-ttajuq*, which usually does, behaves usually).

Despite the accuracy of the term, I have noticed that it tends to fall in disuse: the older Mittimatalingmiut generation knows it, but hardly uses it anymore; young people do not know it as I could check it. In the Southernmost regions, for example in Nunavik, the “extreme” physical phenomena of the high latitudes do not exist and therefore *unnuattak* is not known in these regions (Qumaq, 1991).

CONCLUSION

Unnuaq designates the daily night throughout the Canadian Arctic, all year around. This night does not merge with darkness *taa*, even if they are in phase in some regions or at certain seasons; darkness invades sometimes the day which in this case becomes *taujuq*, while at other periods the light spreads over the night.

Let me remind what Ilisapi Uttuva declared: *taarnirmik unnuangujjutiqanngimmat*, “the night is not defined by darkness”.

For my interlocutors and according to what they made me understand, *unnuaq* is conceived as a number of elements which are associated the ones with the others and belong, according to my flexible interpretative categorization, to either a more normative frame whether they are physiological, social or physical (the night combines itself with early learning, it is a period time-limited, it is shaped by the movements of the sun, it is also the period normally devoted to sleep), or to a rather more sensorial frame (through what the body feels). I stress here the fact that this is my construction of the night such as I think the Inuit – of North Baffin in particular – do represent it. None of them produced a continuous speech on what the object “night” would be and which would include all the elements I presented. The criteria defining the night emerged rather by “scraps”, following the questions which were addressed to them individually. The whole aspect thus draws a conceptual framework for the night in which every person could probably find his own way.

In North Baffin, the bright night of spring is designated by the term *unnuattak*, whereas *unnuaq* is kept for the dark night of the other seasons. As recalled by the linguist B. Pottier, languages express distinctions connected with knowledge about things (Pottier, 2000); *unnuaq-unnuattak* and *taaq-taujuq* constitute good examples in Inuktitut. Nowadays, some elders still make the lexical distinction between *unnuaq* and *unnuattaq*. Younger people no longer know this term although the reason for the lexical oblivion is not clear. *Unnuaq* functions therefore nowadays as a generic term to designate the daily night, independently of its degree of darkness. In this respect a teenager of 15 years old told me that what distinguishes the winter and summer nights is neither the darkness, nor the lexicon, but the behavior of people, thus granting primacy to the social aspect.

Night and darkness form a duo ruled by a dialectics which appears disconcerting to us: if the night returns every day for the Inuit, such as everywhere else on the planet, it is not the case of darkness. Although for the peoples living in temperate, tropical and equatorial regions the night is probably not either reducible to the sole darkness, the latter constitutes nevertheless its essence, a physical substrate of variable duration but impossible to circumvent. There is obviously a different reality in Arctic lands.

Finally I would like to underline one last important aspect of the Inuit discourse related to the night. In her work on the geographical knowledge of Inuinnait, geographer B. Collignon (1996) showed that the Inuit space is conceived through relations, in terms of axes and routes which connect places. It is a variable, relative, subjective space. She writes that: “It is impossible for an Inuinnaq to describe a place in an apparently objective manner. He will always specify the point of view of the description. The season is

almost always specified, but also the place where he was himself situated”. This mental mechanism seems also to operate in the construction of the Inuit representation of the daily night. I have indeed gathered a large number of evidences putting ahead the omnipresence of the subject in the discourse. Many are the Inuit, not only elders, who grant only little or no credit to over generalizations and to descriptions supposed to be objective, whatever the field under consideration. The discourse on the night does not make an exception and favors the use of “I” and “we” in order to relate individual or collective experiences. This could probably explain the definition *ad minima* of *unnuaq* given by the Mittimatalik collective dictionary (Quassa, 2000: 153): *unnuaq, unnuullu ullaallu akunninga unnuanguvuq*, “night: period comprised between the evening and the morning”.

When twenty Inuit speak about the night relying on several criteria to define and characterize it, it is not under the umbrella of objectivity, but as a basis of narration for their own life, as shown by the few examples presented earlier. Accordingly, whereas every day there is a night, people can in fact often only speak about their own, without ever thinking of it as an absolute reference. Perhaps more that at lower latitudes where the vast majority of the world population lives, the night is for the Inuit the outcome of experience. The Inuit night is an intellectual construction strongly marked by individuality, which is probably not without consequence on a people having to deal more and more with time constraints for *e.g.* school, wage work or opening hours of services (Bordin, 2005).

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Facilitating Community-Based Research

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ABSTRACT: In October 1993, the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) passed a unanimous resolution at their annual convention to support the creation of the Alaska Native Science Commission (ANSC). This resolution stated the desire of the Alaska Native community to become actively involved in scientific research, to become aware and informed of science investigating Native lives and environment, and to ensure that when science is performed in Alaska, it is with the knowledge, cooperation and understanding of the Native community.

The ANSC was created to bring together research and science in partnership with the Native community and to provide information to communities regarding science and research that impacts their health, life culture and environment. It serves as a clearinghouse for proposed research, an information base for ongoing and past research and an archive for significant research involving the Native community. ANSC provides information, referral and networking services for communities and researchers seeking active partners in research projects.

Over the past 10 years, the ANSC has worked with researchers and Alaska Native communities to assist in building equal and effective partnerships between researchers and communities. ANSC has provided guidelines, ethical standards, sample agreements and other materials to assist in establishing positive working relationships and mutual understanding. ANSC has promoted the training of Alaska Native youth in science and research, the use of Elders and traditional knowledge in science, and nurtured the ability of communities to do their own science.

The issue of communicating research results to indigenous communities has historically been inept or non-existent. ANSC will share its experience on how the facilitation of community based research can effectively deal with this issue, and will present information on current issues in Alaska and how they are being addressed.

The mission of the Alaska Native Science Commission is to endorse and support scientific research that enhances and perpetuates Alaska Native cultures and ensures the protection of indigenous cultures and intellectual property.

Its goals are to:

- Facilitate the inclusion of local and traditional knowledge into research and science.
- Participate in and influence priorities for research.
- Seek participation of Alaska Natives at all levels of science.
- Provide a mechanism for community feedback on results and other scientific activities.
- Promote science to Native youth.
- Encourage Native people to enter scientific disciplines.
- Ensure that Native people share in the economic benefits derived from their intellectual property.

ANSC began with the adoption and advocacy for adherence to the **Alaska Federation of Natives Policy Guidelines for Research:**

- Advise those Native people who will be affected by the study of the purpose, goals and time frame of the research, the data-gathering techniques, the positive and negative implications, and the impacts of the research.
- Obtain informed consent of the appropriate governing body.
- Fund the support of a Native research committee appointed by the local community to assess and monitor the project and ensure compliance with the expressed wishes of Native people.
- Protect the sacred knowledge and cultural/intellectual property of Native people.
- Hire and train Native people to assist in the study.
- Use Native languages whenever English is the second language.
- Include Native viewpoints in the final study.
- Acknowledge the contributions of Native resource people.
- Inform the Native research committee in a summary report, in non-technical language, of the major findings of the study.
- Provide copies of the study to the local people.

Targeted areas of concern identified by the Native community include:

1. Environmental health and the causes of disease that is specific to Alaska Natives, especially the types of cancers that are killing the young and non-substance abusers.
2. Elements and conditions that contribute to the survival of Native cultures and societies, and identification of major barriers to cultural survival.
3. Partnerships with agencies and researchers who have supported community involvement in research and work well with the Native communities.
4. Active community involvement in science and research which:
 - Informs communities of their rights regarding research done on their environment or people.
 - Establishes community research standards and protocols.
 - Establishes standard research reviews to address issues of local concern and cultural values.
 - Assures that scientists work with communities on the direction and design of research.
 - Channels communication of research results in a practical manner back to communities which are most impacted.
 - Helps scientists work directly with students who are interested, in the classroom and at the research site, to foster interest and involvement.
 - Promotes hire of local people to assist with research.
 - Prepares locally-held knowledge of community resources.
 - Promotes student learning through elders.
 - Encourages and supports students who are interested in science to become actively involved in the research of their people and homelands.
 - Establishes local standards for the utilization of traditional knowledge with consideration of intellectual property rights.

ANSC developed programs to begin to meet the needs and desires of Alaska Native communities as defined in statewide meetings. These programs include:

Traditional Knowledge & Contaminants Program – which documents traditional knowledge about environmental changes throughout Alaska. TK was gathered in statewide regional meetings of Elders, hunters, gatherers, resource managers, youth and Native scientists. Meetings were conducted in traditional

talking circle formats in order to maintain the integrity and cultural context of traditional knowledge. Data from the meetings was put into a searchable database on the website www.nativeknowledge.org. Contents include: Resource Guide for Tribes (to assist in developing research proposals), Native Concerns (searchable by keyword, area or person), Research Summaries (of each region in the state) and Related Websites (with links to websites of interest and current relevant research findings).

Alaska Native Community Resources Directory – a statewide directory of Native Scientists and other community resources. Information gathered includes contact person, area of knowledge (beaver, moose, ice, climate change, fish, plants, etc.) and location of observations and knowledge.

Alaska Native Regional Research Plans - identifies community research protocols, prioritized research topics, and community contacts in both searchable database format and written reports. The database also lists all NSF and other research in region. The Regional Research Plans assist NSF staff and researchers in identifying priorities and research needs of Alaska Native communities and are compiled through regional statewide meetings.

Alaska Native Science Internship Program - ANSC places Alaska Native college students in areas of science and research. Interns work with Native organizations and researchers in a variety of projects such as contaminants, biology, subsistence, cultural and social issues, and education.

Mini-Grant Program - This program provides funding for tribes in Alaska to identify and address their environmental concerns through community-based/driven research. Science advisors are provided to communities, as well as training for village bio-samplers. Contacts and arrangements with laboratories are set up and assistance is provided in completing quality assurance project plans. ANSC also assists in community discussion of results from the projects. Examples of projects include:

- Purchase of community burn barrels.
- What causes birds to have sores and be deformed?
- What is causing the sores and lumps on salmon?
- Take youth hunting with elders and teach Native language and traditional food gathering.
- Is the sewage lagoon contaminating our subsistence foods?
- Why are the fish in our area declining?
- Is our dump contaminating our drinking water?

In conclusion, the critical steps that are employed by ANSC to facilitate community based research include:

- Providing structure & organization
- Responding to needs
- Building trust
- Building capacity
- Providing assistance
- Providing funding
- Providing information

In the words of Bob Alyosius, Elder from Kalskag, Alaska:

“We Native people “know” what's going on. We see it every day. We know what the changes are and what the impacts of those changes are. We've seen the progress of change coming on so fast. Yet we are helpless because we are not listened to and not given the credit of knowledge. The scientific community is seldom looking at us as true scientists. We need to get the credit due us for letting the unknowing people know what is happening to Mother Earth.”

Belugas All The Way Down

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ABSTRACT. The conclusion of a variant of a well-known, perhaps apocryphal application of the infinite regress argument is the figure of a central problem in so-called “Inuit research”:

Is scientific research compatible with traditional knowledge?

Belugas all the way down is a figure of many characteristics of what is commonly called traditional knowledge: it is local, often orally transmitted, practical and empirical, redundant and changing, shared yet unevenly distributed, functional, and culturally embedded.

At the same time, *belugas all the way down* refers to circularities in attempts to define traditional knowledge, to the idealization and reification of traditional knowledge by science, and to some of the claims of science to respect and accommodate traditional knowledge.

The figure applies also to science itself, arguably a sophisticated and refined outgrowth of its own traditional knowledge, and to the Law of the Excluded Middle which is the basis of all binary oppositions, including traditional/scientific (knowledge).

This *aporia*, contextualized in a visit to a whaling camp and a discussion of some recent studies of the beluga, suggests that the answer to the question is *no* – at least until both science and traditional knowledge recognize that it is *belugas all the way down*.

FROM MY JOURNAL

(printed with the permission of my Inuvialuit friends)

8:00 p.m., July 2, 2004

I’m sitting in a cabin at a whaling camp on a small island in the Beaufort Sea, trying to *think Inuvialuit*. Twice today I climbed the hill behind my cabin to look for belugas. Nothing, though some of the rolling whitecaps nearly fooled me. *Thinking Inuvialuit* is the name I give to what my friends do as naturally as they breathe, but which I cannot do at all.

The wind has been up for the two days since I arrived early on Canada Day in my friend’s boat, along with his wife and five grandsons. It was, by my journal, about one in the morning. The sun was shining brightly in the northwest, but I was cold. It had been a five-hour boat-ride from Inuvik where I had waved goodbye to Penny standing on the community docks the previous evening. And, like I said, the wind was up – all the way down-river to the sea. I was shown my cabin, my friend’s wife lit a quick fire in the gas-drum wood-stove, I unrolled my sleeping bag on the bed, rolled myself into it, and fell asleep at once. The wind woke me about 4:00, banging against the plywood cabin, flapping the blue tarps that made it wind- and water-proof. I fell asleep again, at once.

Thinking Inuvialuit is “turtles all the way down.” Or, more properly, *thinking Inuvialuit* is “belugas all the way down.” My variation of the story goes like this, with apologies to Thomas King (2003: 1-2): An anthropologist at a conference on Inuit research had just concluded his paper on Aboriginal cosmology, and was immediately challenged by an older woman in the audience. “You didn’t discuss the one about the world resting on the back of a giant turtle – I mean, beluga,” she said: “How could you forget such an important story?” The speaker, who knew the story well enough but had *chosen* not to include it, replied, “Yes, ma’am, I am familiar with the legend you mention. But as a scientist, I must ask, ‘On what does the beluga rest?’” He smiled at his interlocutor. “Aha!” cried the woman. “You can’t catch me on that one – it’s belugas all the way down!”

I thought of this story on my second trip up the hill this afternoon. As I stared through my binoculars out over the five-kilometer-wide channel to a neighboring island, looking for belugas, I imagined this round earth balancing on the back of a giant beluga which rested on the back of another giant beluga which rested on the back ... *There are belugas out there*, I said to myself. *Just because I can’t see them, just because I have no hard evidence, that doesn’t mean they aren’t there.* After all, earlier today a friend of my friends had stopped by for coffee and had said belugas had been seen in the channel to the west of our island. *Think Inuvialuit*, I said to myself, sharply. *There are belugas out there.*

8:00 p.m., July 3, 2004

The wind died down last night about ten, and we went out by boat to fetch wood and water. Back for some of that driftwood – huge logs – on the mud beaches and along the banks of the upper Mackenzie. Water from a river that empties from a lake into the mouth of the Big River. It was midnight before we got back. My friends went to visit their friends in another set of cabins a little ways down the beach. I went to bed. Time is belugas all the way down, here.

The next morning over coffee I questioned my friend about the proposed Mackenzie gas pipeline. He pointed in the direction the belugas had been seen the previous morning and said, “There’s a significant reserve of natural gas out there. Near where the belugas calve.” Nearly five billion cubic meters, I think he said. Pipeline construction should start by 2007 and last about five years. The reserves themselves would last twenty-five years. Of course, the actual lease hadn’t yet been signed. There were complications related to land settlements (not involving the Inuvialuit but other groups) and self-government. By 2040 or thereabouts, the boom would likely be over. And how much would this benefit the Inuvialuit? “Nobody really knows,” he said. “By the way,” he added, “it’s going to be a hot one. Better take your mosquito spray

when we go out to get supplies from [that abandoned oil-camp].”

Between waiting for belugas and fetching supplies, I’ve been reading materials I brought along to use in this paper. This, from notes I made before I came to the Conference:

When I read a statement such as “Bringing Knowledge Home: Communicating Research Results to the Inuit,” I note the following readily apparent presuppositions:

- (1) the “knowledge” is not from or at “home”;
- (2) the “bearer” is also not from or at “home”;
- (3) someone not from “home” has gathered or created this “knowledge”;
- (4) “research results” are apparently equated with “knowledge”;
- (5) the “communicator” of these “research results” is the “bearer” of “knowledge”;
- (6) this “knowledge / research” will be communicated/brought by someone not from “home” to the Inuit who are at “home.”

In short, several well-known and much-discussed binaries and their associated hierarchies pervade the statement: us / them, research / knowledge, laboratory / home, speaker / listener, active / passive, and so on. Indeed, such binaries and hierarchies are normally part of the meaning of *ethnocentrism*. Given the above analysis, it would seem that ethnocentric presuppositions are *arguably* present within the statement.

About five, the neighbours motored past my friends’ camp, an average-sized thirteen-foot-long beluga lashed by the tail to the back of their boat,. Through my binoculars, I watched them beach it at their own camp and butcher it skillfully under the eye of the whale monitor. Great slabs of muktuk soon lay drying on a table. Strips of black whale meat were placed beside them. Two hours later, the neighbours towed the remains of the carcass out to sea. One beluga down.

THE TERMS, THE DEBATE

There is apparently one thing called *science* and another thing called *traditional knowledge* (TK). The latter is also called by some *indigenous knowledge* (IK), although others say *traditional* is not *indigenous*, and *indigenous* means *local* (Byers and Roberts, 1995: 35-36).

I don’t pretend to know what TK *really is*. My Inuvialuit friends tell me that whatever it is, it is not their invention, they simply know what they know, what they’ve been taught. So it may not be what I earlier

called *thinking Inuvialuit*. It seems, in other words, that I may *already* be engaged in science when I try to understand what TK might *definitively* mean. It seems that my search for a definition of TK might be belugas all the way down, too.

Nevertheless, the term is used as though it had a common meaning, and in an unlikely place (a working paper on East-West knowledge systems linkages) I did find a set of characteristics of TK that fit most of the usages I have seen – except that the source preferred to call it IK. In summary:

IK is a way of knowing that is local, orally transmitted, practical, empirical, redundant, changing, shared, distributed, functional, and culturally situated (Ellen and Harris, 1996: 5-7).

Such a characterization would seem to rule out the possibility of TK and scientific research ever meeting, chiefly because the binary opposites of many of these characteristics of TK describe science and scientific research as we understand them. As the Dene see it, TK is to science as oral is to written, experiential is to experimental, holistic to reductionist, intuitive to analytical, qualitative is to quantitative, diachronic to synchronic, and, above all, as cultural is to a-cultural (Johnson, 1992: 7-8).

A great deal more, of course, has been written about IK/TK. IK is a knowledge system inextricably and fully joined to sustainability, to community life, and to culture (Simon, 1995: 1). An elder has called it “a common understanding of what life is about” (quoted in Bielawski). My friends say that in the traditional view, the land (which includes the sea) and the animals and people in it share a bond, are somehow equal.

A discussion which illustrates the terms and the debate from the scientific perspective comes from Igor Krupnik (2002), who has worked a lifetime among the Siberian Yupik and Chukchi people of the Bering Strait area. Krupnik surveys “the 250-year record of interaction between Inuit knowledge and academic science” and concludes, as his thesis has stated, that all is well: “The record ... does not speak for any *critical* opposition between the Inuit and academic knowledge. Nor does it point to any *insurmountable* barriers in matching these two types of wisdom” (p.67, emphases added).

Things are not quite well, however. There are those two slippery words, *critical* and *insurmountable*. Krupnik draws three “critical contributions” from his survey. First, native control over documentation and dissemination of academic knowledge has not been an issue most of these two hundred and fifty years, though today *dissemination* is (p.68). Second, the gap between native knowledge and academic cultural studies is not growing but narrowing (p.69). Third, communication between scientists and local communities, traditionally a mutual give and take, is today experiencing an “emerging break” (p.69).

A slippage has occurred here. The first and third of Krupnik's three "critical contributions," presented as recent problems, are seen by his own account to be rooted in the long history he has surveyed. "Sure, a certain level of elitism exists on one side paired by a frequent anti-academism (anti-intellectualism) on the other" (pp.67-68); "Sure, arctic anthropology was an intellectual byproduct of the European (Euro-American) expansion to the North, but it should not and could not in any way be equated with colonial domination and 'Christian versus Native' stereotypes of the dominant society" (p.68).

Equally interesting in view of his second "critical contribution" are Krupnik's "strategies ... [for] ... addressing this critical situation" (p.69). First, "[a]dvancing 'academic patterns' in the documentation of Inuit knowledge may eventually bring it closer to the highly individualized academic scholarship" (p.69), which should "improve the recording, publication, and acknowledgement of expertise possessed by Inuit elders and whole communities" (p.70). Secondly, "[t]he expansion of the 'Inuit formats' in modern cultural studies" respects the ways of knowing characteristic of TK/IK (as outlined earlier in this paper) (p.70). Thirdly, new technologies of communication (the Internet) provide ways of "bridging native knowledge and academic science" and "open the field of Inuit studies to its most devoted constituency, the Inuit people" (p.71).

But this is belugas all the way down again: Who is "improving" the presentation of Inuit TK? Who is using "Inuit formats" in cultural studies? Whose "Inuit studies" are being opened by whom to the Inuit? Indeed, Krupnik's argument illustrates precisely the issue at stake: "If indigenous knowledge is inherently scattered and local in character, and gains its vitality from being deeply implicated in peoples' lives, then the attempt to essentialize, isolate, archive, and transfer such knowledge can only seem contradictory" (Agrawal, quoted in Ellen and Harris, 1996: 21). In other words, the gap between native knowledge and academic cultural studies may not be narrowing, even from the perspective of science, and the idealization / reification of TK by the academy may be the latest chapter in a long history of the academy's appropriation of TK.

BELUGAS IN THE BEAUFORT

It's time to look more closely at the beluga or *qilalugaq*. They have been hunted, as my friends put it, "forever." Recent published accounts, Inuvialuit and other, of this traditional activity are readily found, and I shall look briefly at four of them: Byers and Roberts (1995), Day (2002), Harwood and others (2002), and Hart and Amos (2004). My focus here is not on what is known or was discovered, nor am I concerned whether TK is superior or inferior to scientific knowledge as far as the facts are concerned. My interest is

rather in how the knowledge is gathered, presented, and disseminated.

The first document is Byers and Roberts's *Harpoons and Ulus* (1995), a collection of "the wisdom of the Inuvialuit regarding the beluga in the Mackenzie River estuary" (subtitle). The study was done for the communities of Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, and Inuvik, and was funded by the federal government. It is dedicated to the elders who passed away that year. Its contributors seem to be fully acknowledged in the front matter. The project methodology is detailed in an appendix; and maps, the questionnaire used, a glossary of Inuvialuktun whaling terms, etc. are given in further appendices.

The following excerpt will give a sense of how the knowledge gathered is presented:

Most hunters report having seen some form of social behavior within beluga pods. *Some* elders talk of a pod leader, usually the largest bull (*saniksuliq*), who directs the pod's movements. *Some* hunters observe this leader to be at the head of the pod, while *others* observe it to be in the centre of the group. No matter where in the pod the leader is, the rest of the group moves in the direction it chooses (Byers and Roberts, 1995: 5, emphases added).

Harpoons and Ulus is in many ways a model study. In addition to the careful acknowledgements described above, the Inuvialuit elder, Billy Day, is especially recognized for his guidance in developing the questionnaire, for his "thoughtful and constructive criticisms," and for his review of the final draft (i). As is noted pointedly in a "Preface" (i), the study aims both to preserve TK and to assist in the cooperative beluga management in which the Inuvialuit have long been involved. Indeed, the study is very close to what the Dene (Johnson) identify as "traditional-knowledge research," with two exceptions: the research is directed by outsiders, and copyright is vested outside the local community. This one is belugas *almost* all the way down.

A second paper is attributed to Elder Billy Day himself and published in a supplement to the journal *Arctic* (2002). It is impossible to tell whether the words of the paper are Day's own (one suspects not entirely, given the usual editing procedures of the professional journal). But the structure of the paper clearly exhibits features that Wendy Rodgers (1996) associates with "writing orature," features, in other words, of *oral literature*. In traditional story-telling fashion, the narrator introduces himself: "My name is Billy Day. I was born at Tom Cod Bay, along the Arctic coast, a few years ago. I was born in a schooner called the *Moose River*, which was owned by my dad and Taylor Pokiak" (p.1). After giving his and his father's and mother's and children's capsule histories, Day turns to whaling, but not before uttering an

implicit warning: "... our elders told us that the land and waters looked after them for centuries and would look after us for many more if we looked after our environment" (p.1). The ensuing description of whaling bears marks of careful editing – a thesis sentence is developed by clearly tagged topic sentences, but the oral note, though muted, can still be heard in Day's modest but firm conclusion on the need to protect the beluga all the way down, i.e., for future generations: "I *believe* we need some protected areas, at least on a seasonal basis. I *am not sure* whether permanent protected areas are the best choice ... But I *am sure* that we need to protect our resources" (p.3, emphases added).

A companion paper, actually, to Day's reflections as an elder is a paper jointly co-authored by Harwood, Norton, Day, and Hall and published in *Arctic* 55.1 (2002). This research paper is a statistical analysis of the data collected by the hunter-based beluga whale monitoring programs in the Mackenzie delta since 1973. Its factual findings agree in the main with those of the Byers and Roberts study: the number of whales harvested each year is decreasing (despite an increase in the local human population), the size of the whales captured remains constant, and the harvest is found to be sustainable.

The paper is of course dominated by the statistical talk of science, but it begins with an account of the history of whaling in the Beaufort and concludes with this paragraph:

"The hunter-based nature of this [whale-monitoring] program has provided a mechanism for the Inuvialuit to be active partners in the collection of biological data used to assess the well-being of the beluga stock on which they depend. ... [This and other beluga research projects] ... have elevated awareness and ownership of Beaufort Sea beluga management issues and initiatives at the level of the hunter, the user, and the community." (p.18).

A touch of condescension, perhaps, but just a touch – we may well wonder whether the Inuvialuit feel that "awareness and ownership" of issues related to beluga whaling have indeed been "elevated." How far down do the belugas go here?

This paper makes two direct in-text references to one of its authors by name: "Billy Day worked [as a whale monitor] at the same site [one of a list of whaling camps] for all but one year between 1977 and 1999" (p.11); "Billy Day considers this [lack of correlation between number of whales hunted and an increasing human population] to be the result of recent trends toward a reduction in the consumption of traditional foods ... such as the beluga" (p.17). As there are no works by Day listed in the bibliography, these two citations suggest that his role in the paper is radically different from the others. Since Day is not

trained in statistics, since his writing style (even if edited by others) is very different from the style of an academic paper, one may ask in what sense he is listed as one of the authors.

Finally, Hart and Amos's use of Inuvialuit oral history to study marine resources (2004). The information was requested by the Working Group of the Beaufort Sea Management Planning Initiative (BSMPI) to assist them in resource management in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. The oral histories are drawn from two recorded collections, COPE's Oral History Fonds (1960s and 1970s) and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate Fonds (1950-1970), both part of NWT Archives. About 2000 pages of transcripts of these recordings were reviewed, selected, edited, and arranged to illustrate what could be learned about marine resources and their use. The result, augmented with many archival photographs, was published by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (Inuvik). Beluga whaling constitutes the first major section (pp.25-44), most of which deals with Kitigaaryuit region of the Mackenzie estuary, and a subsection of which deals specifically with whaling elsewhere on the Beaufort (pp.33-36).

Learning about Marine Resources and their Use through Inuvialuit Oral History must be seen as well as read to savour its richness:

Long ago when I was a child, in the springtime at *Kitigaaryuk*, people would gather. I used to see lots of people when I started remembering. A lot of *qainnat* [three or more qayaqs] would gather together to go and wait for whale hunting ... While they waited, they would eat roasted food, waiting for the beluga whales and eating. When [the whales] came in [the] *qainnat* would form a line and very quietly start out. The leader in one *qayaq* ... [directed] the other *qainnat*. When they started, one *qayaq* in front would motion to them to keep the *qainnat* in line. He would scold them that leader, "Your food is important. Stay in line. This is your food for the winter" (Felix Nuyaviak in Hart and Amos p.27). [Below this, a photo of two Inuvialuit hunters in their distinctive high-prowed qayaqs. There are variant spelling of the several plurals of qayaq.]

The authors conclude their beluga section with a summary which, in style, is similar to the prose of Byers and Roberts: "It is clear that the people viewed the whales as being crucial to their survival through the winter, especially during the dark season when the people didn't hunt but gathered for festivities" (p.44). The book as a whole finishes with a list of suggestions for further research. Its appendices include extensive lists of the *Siglitun* words for marine resources and maps with traditional place-names for the study area. Looks like belugas all the way down to me – and geese and seals and ducks and polar bears ...

AH, MY BELOVED BINARIES!

“...we do love our dichotomies. Rich/poor, white/black, right/wrong, culture/nature, male/female, written/oral, civilized/barbaric, success/failure, individual/communal. We trust easy oppositions. We are suspicious of complexities, distrustful of contradictions, fearful of enigmas.” (King 2003: 25)

A binary opposition, like scientific / traditional applied to knowledge, is an instance of the Law of the Excluded Middle. A or not-A. *Tertium non datur*. There is no “third.” That’s what our “easy” opposition encodes, to answer a question posed by Ellen and Harris (1996: 33).

But does the Law of the Excluded Middle apply to science and traditional knowledge? The law does *not* hold universally, for example, as the undecidability problem of classical logic and the development of intuitionistic logic demonstrate (Moschovakis, 2004, *passim*). Apart from such support-in-principle, recent studies in the rhetoric of science (Gross, 1990, *passim*) have explored the extent to which scientific knowledge is “anchored in ... [its]... own particular socio-economic milieu” (Ellen and Harris, 1996: 32), a milieu which includes its seventeenth-century origins in European traditional knowledge (the peasant-farmer tradition) as well as the process of building consensus within the scientific community about everything from “facts” to “evidence” to “truth” (e.g., paradigm shifts).

The *figure* made by the prototypical binary (opposition) itself seems to call the logic of the binary into question. It consists of three parts: A, *not-A*, and *or* – so it is, in fact, a tertiary. In addition to the two parts, A and *not-A*, there is a *third*, namely, A / *not-A*. From a rhetorical perspective, a binary opposition holds two [apparently] contradictory worlds in one figure; the binary asserts a difference under a rubric of commonality. The binary is belugas all the way down.

I wish I could believe that the studies I discussed above represent the progress and the future of something that one day might be called “Inuit research,” for they do begin to break the stranglehold of binary thinking, they are more transparently belugas all the way down in a positive sense. But I fear that they are the exception not the rule.

The widely accepted “Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North” (ACUNS, 2003), as progressive as they are, contain a major hedge: the qualifier *should* appears in seventeen of its twenty points; the word *must* appears only in one (#4. “The research *must* respect the privacy and dignity of the people”) where it is followed by *are encouraged to* in a second sentence; and neither *must* nor *should* applies to another two points (#7, which deals with a research director’s accountability, and #14, which

notes the right of any community or individual to withdraw from research). If you think I'm being pedantically fussy, the authors of recent article discussing this set of guidelines carefully continue the hedge: "The revised principles *call for* community consultation at all stages of the research, including design and implementation and, *where possible*, the incorporation of local research needs into the research design and incorporation of *relevant* traditional knowledge into all stages of the research" (Korsmo and Graham, 2002, p.321, emphases added). To further underline my point, I note that the authors list and discuss six concerns of the academy about northern communities' possibly gaining control of research in the North (p.324) – and no concerns of the northern communities. Among these six academic concerns are issues of intellectual merit (is TK as good as science?), time (how will new researchers be able to publish enough to quickly obtain tenure?), definition of community, and problems of enforcement. One of the most controversial current issues, copyright and intellectual property, isn't even mentioned (see *Copyright Act*, 1985). The authors' conclusion, "... there are ethical reasons and practical means for respecting the wishes of indigenous communities and negotiating a collaborative relationship" (p.326), with which I agree, somehow begs the question.

CONCLUSIONS: ARE SCIENCE AND TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE COMPATIBLE?

Belugas all the way down figures many characteristics of what is commonly called traditional knowledge. At the same time, it refers to circularities in the attempt to define traditional knowledge, to the idealization and reification of traditional knowledge by science, and to some claims of science to respect and accommodate traditional knowledge. The figure applies also to science itself, arguably a rhetorical and highly refined outgrowth of European traditional (peasant) knowledge, and to all binary oppositions including traditional/scientific knowledge.

My meditation, an *aporia* contextualized in a visit to a whaling camp and a discussion of some recent studies of the beluga, suggests that the answer to the question is probably *no* – at least until both science and traditional knowledge embrace the extent to which *knowing* is *belugas all the way down*.

A Whaling Chant

Ah, ya ah e ya
 Big whale, big whale
 Stir up the sea with your tail
 E ya ah e ya
 Give us fair weather today
 So we arrive safe and sound on shore
 E ya ah e ya
 Tug – tug along hard
 E ya ah e ya
 Row – Row

I, Nuligak (1971)

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**Wordless Word (or) Go “Home” and Stay “Home”:
Quandaries when Conveying Content and Significance of Inupiaq Transformation of
Protestant Beliefs and Practices**

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ABSTRACT. Effective delivery of Inuit-based research conclusions is a challenge for fields other than science and technology. Ethnographers within the social sciences also struggle to convey significant and complex findings to the indigenous providers of the data. This paper uses a recent ethnographic study to probe the dilemma. Based in Anchorage, Alaska, this ethnography explored Inupiaq impress on immigrant Protestant practices and beliefs. Academically speaking, the findings were significant for the larger Protestant project. Potentially, the results could be used in ways that might yield economic benefits for the Inupiaq church that was studied. However, conveying the results—particularly the abstract, theological findings—has proven difficult. How does one bridge disparate communication content and modes? Furthermore, what is the researcher’s obligation to help the community realize the possible benefits? This paper shares the attempted strategies and ethical quandaries encountered. The paper also presents a potentially discomfiting solution that honors the “lived” communication more typical of the involved Inupiaq church.

INTRODUCTION

The title, “Wordless Word” reflects my initial focus on communication challenges. However, my alternative title, “Go ‘Home’ and Stay ‘Home,’” responds more specifically to the larger ethical issue of community benefit as an essential consequence of research. How do we researchers take knowledge back to the people? How do we insure that the benefits accrue to the “home” community? My proposed, unorthodox answer confounds the usual expectations of academic mentors and perhaps even researchers’ own initial ambitions entering the field.

When ethnographers come to a setting, they are (hopefully) already aware of an implicit obligation to benefit the indigenous, mentoring community. As Fernandez, *et al.* (2004) underscore, ethnographers like myself should enter with the intention to respect human dignity and to not treat people simply as means to an end. However, and perhaps rather typically, I assumed that these dignity concerns would be adequately addressed by set-up, methodology, pre-outlined compensation, and other time-limited strategies. Certainly no one indicated to me that a non-instrumental relationship to those who shared wisdom might mean an open-ended obligation that could include my continuing presence.

In short, when going “home,” there are two sets of challenges. The first involves challenges of successful communication, or more specifically, the challenges of vocabulary, conceptual content and mode of conveyance. The second set of challenges engages the larger ethical commitment. Two pieces of the

ethical puzzle I have encountered are: a) the researcher's obligation to facilitate or actualize unanticipated communal benefits arising from the study and b) the question of equivalent benefit.

SKETCH OF THE STUDY

Since the particulars of my study are not the primary focus of this paper, only a brief sketch is needed here. As a researcher in the field of religion, I use ethnographic methods (triangulation of archival research, observing participation, and interviewing) due to their sensitivity to constructed meaning. My area of interest is the missing narrative regarding Inupiaq-Protestant exchange, first on the Seward Peninsula of Alaska and now in Anchorage. Similar to literature from other locales, the Alaska-based literature elaborates the immigrant religion's impact on indigenous culture but, with few exceptions, leaves unspoken the reciprocal impress that Inupiaq culture had or has on Protestantism. The one-sidedness of the story fails to honor Native agency and ignores the on-going Protestant debt to the indigenous people.

My original study was based in Anchorage, Alaska. The Alaska Native Lutheran Church (ANLC) was one of my primary sites and is key to this discussion. The majority of congregants in this church are Inupiat originally from the Seward Peninsula. Though Anchorage is not on the Seward Peninsula, ANLC is classified as one of the Seward Peninsula mission churches by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA). I participated in worship services and all women's activities at ANLC for fifteen months.

Since summer 2002, I have been back in Anchorage attempting to offer back the fruits of the study. My experience suggests that both the communication and ethical hurdles may prompt an extended return to the mentoring community. Notably, a prolonged return receives little endorsement from ethnographic literature.

OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

The ethnographic literature does highlight problems encountered during research (*i.e.*, Becker, 1963; Rynkiewich & Spradley, eds. 1976; Daniels, 1983; Adler & Adler, 1989; Kleinman, 1991). Problems regarding write-up and publication have been documented (*i.e.*, Becker, 1964, Ellis 1995). As early as the 1970's, ethical issues related to effects of research on informants also received attention (*e.g.*, Sagarin, 1973). Articles from the 1980's are the first to consistently probe the emotions and problems that appear with return to the field after initial data collection is completed or the work has been published. Remarkably absent from even these discussions are strategies for giving back at the pace or in the preferred mode of the informing community. Some authors even suggest that authentic feedback and collaborative publication are

implausible and that the return “home” should be regarded as a gathering of closing data (Emerson and Pollner, 1988 as cited in Rochford, 1992).

Considering the sheer volume of work, ethnographic literature contains strikingly brief discussions regarding what happens after research is completed. Oakley (1981) and Stebbins (1991) stand as outstanding exceptions to the general trend. Similarly helpful is Thorne’s (1980) address of the “multi-stranded relationship.” Also countering the neglect of post-study discussion in another field (medicine) is the short essay by Fernandez *et al.* (2004) that exhorts the offer of results to all research participants; the authors briefly mention a critical ramification of their exhortation, namely increased funding for thorough feedback.

Sifting the literature for the specific ethical questions I face (namely actualization of unanticipated benefit and determination of equivalent benefit) I found very little that mirrored my dilemmas. There are some reports of unanticipated uses of research. However, these reports are most often negative assessments of informant or collegial behavior (e.g., Ellis, 1995); I did not find discussion of positive unanticipated benefits that necessitated researchers remaining in the mentoring community to ensure that benefits were realized.

Cohen (1976) and Thorne (1980) are among those who discuss “reciprocal benefit,” a topic which in turn raises the larger issue of equivalent benefit and how such benefit should be measured. Cohen’s and Thorne’s discussions perhaps unwittingly underscore a temptation to focus on volunteerism in the field as reciprocity, thereby diminishing a more encompassing address of clear equivalent benefit. While Cohen and Thorne were in the field, for example, they did reciprocate with activities that contributed to the community’s well-being. Equivalent benefit, however, seems to demand a post-study assessment. As useful as the activities were in which Cohen and Thorne engaged, did those activities convey benefits truly equal to the benefits accrued by the researchers? Would it be fair to critique these activities as being transient contributions?

Feminist ethnography has attempted to address some of the concerns. For example, feminist ethnographers emphasize collaboration and community verification of findings, thereby implicitly mandating feedback in their process. The feminist philosophical commitments and methodology also seem to anticipate the equivalent benefit issue. Indeed, the feminist canon contains important discussions of the power imbalance related to editing, articulated awareness of the potential worrisome social costs to informants, and explicit recognition of unequal benefits from study. Yet despite feminist candor regarding some potential problems, feminist writers generally do not offer lengthy descriptions or clear guidance on post-study decisions and relationships. Behar (1996), as an example, notes the potential residual sense of

loss and alienation. However, she stops with the eloquent observation, “We anthropologists ... leave behind our own trail of longings, desires, and unfulfilled expectations in those upon whom we descend. About that vulnerability, we are still barely able to speak (1996: 25).”

In overview, ethnographic literature seems to anticipate a clearly limited feedback period. Again some notable exceptions do exist in the literature such as Adler & Adler (1989) who anticipated a long-term relationship given their pre-existing membership in the group (which was not my situation), and Oakley (1981), Stebbins (1991) and Taylor (1991). Ethnographic literature generally also reflects only limited address of the feedback challenges and other human realities that linger after study in a community. Oakley’s (1981) embrace of the bonding phenomenon implicit in the ethnographic process is rare. Stebbins’ assessment of post-study realities, or what he terms “secondary involvements” is even more unusual. Stebbins (1991:255) notes that these “secondary involvements” are real, cumulative and will limit the number of ethnographic studies done in a professional career. More commonly, ethnographic articles and essays simply acknowledge that withdrawing from the field or returning to the field of study is potentially difficult. Ironically, in these discussions the “home” community often shifts from being depicted as a rich resource to being depicted as a problematic post-study relationship (*e.g.*, Harrell-Bond, 1976; Daniels, 1983; Taylor, 1991). Telling terms such as “over-rapport,” “going Native,” and “emotional entanglement” appear (Oakley, 1981; Ellis 1991); these terms connotatively challenge the credibility of research conclusions. I did not find studies that extolled a prolonged physical return “home” as a strategic and ethical response.

A final twist to my question became “Is reciprocity and equivalent benefit possible in some distant fashion apart from ‘home?’” I suspect there is widespread presumption among ethnographers (if not scholars in general) that the value of the information resulting from a study will be of general benefit in which the “home” community participates. I am not convinced that this adequately addresses either the issue of returning information “home” or the challenge of “equivalent benefit.” More satisfactory answers to “benefiting ‘home’ without being ‘home?’” are found in Taylor (1991), in Stebbins (1991) and in the lived example of Alaskan anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan (*e.g.*, 2000). Fienup-Riordan no longer lives on Nelson Island where her initial fieldwork was done. However, it is clear that she remains accessible to the Yupiit from whom she learned; she is willing to be the skilled and articulate interface for this Native group. I do not know if her work is motivated by a sense of reciprocity or by bonds of friendship. Admittedly her on-going relationships and collaborative efforts do bring her professional benefit, but Native regard for this researcher strongly hints that these relationships are not simply professional, instrumental collaborations. In Fienup-Riordan’s on-going and very long-term relationships, I perceive an ethical, collaborative response that encourages researchers to look beyond a “reporting back” that could be accomplished in a few weeks, a

few months or even a few years. Stebbins (1991) and Taylor (1991) demonstrate similar long-term connections. Taylor in particular notes both the continuing personal relationships as well as the later political interventions related to his research. Thus these three researchers (Fienup-Riordan, Stebbins, and Taylor) do provide a potentially valuable template for “staying ‘home’” through community-benefiting intellectual production done in other locales. Unfortunately, even these researchers have not detailed as clearly as I would wish their own decision-making processes and procedures regarding community authority to define equivalent benefit, as well as community authority to identify non-intellectual activity as the desired, equivalent contribution.

COMING “HOME”: CHALLENGES OF COMMUNICATION

When I first returned to the Anchorage congregation, no one expressed any interest in what I had produced. The group seemed glad I was back and I was immediately enlisted to resume some practical supports, not necessarily intellectual or study-related ones. Within weeks, I initiated contacts with women I had interviewed and the communication challenges ensued.

First was the challenge of vocabulary or words. Of all the challenges, this was the least salient given that few of my informants routinely use Inupiaq any longer. Regrettably I cannot yet speak Inupiaq and do not know what was lost as elders used English substitutes for Inupiaq terms. However, I do think the impact of my language disability was probably most pronounced in the intake, rather than feedback of information.

The other two communication challenges—content and mode—are closely related, even synergistic, and they hounded my feedback attempts almost immediately. What is the usual Inupiaq content? Probably of no surprise to those familiar with the Arctic, tangible, practical information and information about people were the types of knowledge, the content, I most frequently overheard during field research. What was happening, or how something needed to be done, were the usual foci of conversation. The Euro-American construction and debate of abstract concepts and generalizations were not the common mental play of my Inupiaq teachers. One memorable exchange illustrates. I asked a graduate-degreed Inupiaq peer what made a good pastor in the elders’ eyes. The woman erupted, “We don’t talk like that. We don’t talk like you do ... the elders just know.”

Appropriate for the usual practical or person-activity content, the usual communication mode was action accompanied by few if any words. (The usual mode inspired the “Wordless Word” title of this paper.) While teaching, women would attempt to articulate what they were doing; primarily though, they showed me and the instructive commentary was incomprehensible without the actions. For example, a typical beading

explanation would be: “You do like this (long silence) and then... (swift needle work, still more silence) ... around... (silence as needle moves and beads wrap) ... you’ll get it.”

In contrast, I was returning “home” with secondary analysis, theory-derived, that did not address how something should be done but why. I was also returning with discussions of abstract concepts versus the applied or person-based information that is the backbone of usual Inupiaq exchange.

The potential mode disparity was even worse. Religion scholars rarely rely on brief description and active demonstration when tackling our topics. I chuckled as I reviewed Becker (1963), a sensitive researcher for his time, who suggests multiple lectures or seminars for effective feedback. This mode would suit my content, but would not constitute effective transmission in the ANLC setting.

Abandoning Becker’s idea, I tried three different and slower strands of feedback. Those teacher-informants who liked to read, and often worked with government researchers, were given copies of the dissertation. I specifically directed them to the two chapters that relayed the Native voice (including their own anonymous words). I also noted the last chapter that made assertions about Inupiaq-informed Christianity. Two responses indicate why I feel insecure with these reviews. One elder said to me, “VERY interesting! I didn’t know that.” What does that mean? Was the original information incorrect (this response a subtle correction) or did the compilation lead to a new place she had not considered before? A second, well-educated teacher was giving the dissertation back to me as we were discussing a situation that had arisen at Synod level. I referenced a point I had made in the dissertation. She responded, “You said that in there?! Maybe I should take that back and read it again.” What had I just heard? Was my writing unclear? Or had the dissertation been politely accepted but simply skimmed so that the contents remained unknown?

The second strand was to give feedback to non-reading teacher-informants. To do this, I read to them the parts they inspired or had said. However, the endorsements here were also ambiguous. In one case I read the woman’s words to her and asked, “Is that kind of right?” “Yes,” she responded enthusiastically, “that’s exactly what they told us.” Then she launched into a long discussion of how the threat of the devil had been used in her childhood. However, the interview excerpt I had just read said nothing about the devil. I could not see any connection between what she was now telling me and what I had just read to her from her earlier interview. Baffled I considered the possibilities – was I so obtuse I was missing the link? Or was this the quiet correction that the initial piece was not right? Or was that first piece solid but this devil monologue an addition she thought important? Might she be confused or just reminiscing?

The final strand of feedback strategy was to seek official permission to publish from the mostly Inupiaq church Board. The Board was already aware that any proceeds generated from publication of the study would go to the study churches. I formally attended the Board meeting to reaffirm that commitment and to

summarize my findings. I also asked for their review. I explained that I wanted to be certain that nothing within the text would be problematic for any individual or for the larger cultural group. Each of the villages and perhaps most families of the Seward Peninsula Lutheran churches are represented on this Board in Anchorage; I knew I was offering opportunity for readers with very vested interests to review the work. I also volunteered to meet with individuals or any group that wanted to discuss anything in the text or related to the study. The Board passed the dissertation around and two months later gave their blessing for me to proceed with the book. No one ever requested follow-up conversation.

In only one instance have I been sure that I was understood. This spring, after a presentation on baptism in a mixed heritage setting, one of my younger well-educated informants pursued the discussion with me. In our private exchange, I talked about the ideas around baptism in the dissertation. She listened carefully and appeared both interested and pleased. The exchange confirmed my sense that my study's content may be best served by relaying findings in small portions at moments when something else makes clear the relevance of a specific part. This will not be a fast process.

Bracketing this one instance, I am forced to ask, "Have I adequately shared the findings?" Retrospectively I have come to believe that my efforts have been complicated by inadequate collaboration at the start of the study. Rather tellingly, when I first explained my proposed project to the Euro-American pastor at ANLC, she responded, "Those are not the concerns of our people." She went on to explain that housing, employment, alcohol addiction, and "nitty-gritty issues of survival" were most pressing. Despite her hesitation, however, the Native board at her church gave permission to study. I realize now, however, that permission, even encouragement, is not collaboration. I was not recruited by the community and the community did not identify what should be studied. If early collaboration had occurred, potentially the words used would have been community words, and the findings or content would have been of a meaningful nature to the Inupiaq group; the communication challenges would have been mitigated if not completely avoided. Likewise, a community-defined study might also have specified time frames, thus quieting the emerging ethical concerns. Consequently, I need to stress that my unorthodox suggestion—go "home" and stay "home" to facilitate slow, appropriate feedback—may be the best prescription, specifically for those awkward situations in which impetus and study focus came from the researcher and not the community.

In low moments, I have wondered if I should concede that the communication challenges have foiled effective feedback. With apologies, could I excuse myself from any further need to convey the findings? A question I ask myself, but perhaps relevant for all researchers is: should our feedback be evaluated on the

basis of our diligent efforts or on assurance of findings conveyed? Countering any thoughts of resigned retreat, however, have been developments around the set of ethical challenges.

EMERGENT ETHICAL CHALLENGES

When I returned “home,” the disparity of demonstrable benefit from the study was clear to me and perhaps to the congregation. The study gave me a degree and, in turn, a job. What was the equivalent benefit for the community? And who determines equivalent?

When I returned “home” the community was unambiguous regarding how I could be useful to the group. I was valuable as a reliable pianist and periodic transporter. Previously the church could only afford a pianist for Sunday worship; different pianists would be employed on a weekly rotation schedule. My presence meant a consistent pianist for worship as well as piano support for choir practice, funerals, weddings, and the larger public performance venues such as Spring Conference. Piano playing assists the singing and singing assists the memory and the experience of community. My return also implied the presence of another car in the small fleet of vehicles available to community members. If rides are not provided, many congregants must use the slow, undependable public bus system; a significant walk (often on dark, downtown streets) is also entailed given bus-stop locations. Despite very limited income, some families with small children periodically come to church in expensive taxicabs rather than attempting to use buses; it was not uncommon to hear of families staying home due to lack of transportation. In addition to providing access to worship, cars are also valuable for transporting elders and youth to sites for berry-picking and dip-netting. As a car owner in this community, one is very aware that cost-free and safe door-to-site transportation assists communal gathering and seasonal subsistence activity.

To authentically engage the issue of equivalent benefit, it would seem that the researcher must relinquish her right to be the sole choreographer of the exchange between researcher and community. The issue seems to press for explicit empowerment or recognition of the right of the community to define how the research and/or researcher can be of use. The community could decide that the compensation should be money. Most ethnographers avoid this potentially difficult scenario by specifying at the outset that money will not be exchanged for information given. [Jolles (1990) and I (Hanson, 2002) both specified that royalties from a study-generated book would go to the “home” communities. Realistically, however, academic ethnographies on religion are not commodities that generate large funds, so these financial benefits too are quite limited.] The community also might, as in my case, identify things other than intellectual production. Does the ethnographic ideal of equivalent community benefit as a consequence of study obligate the

researcher to non-intellectual contribution if the community so chooses? Where and when does the obligation end?

More recently, these questions have been overshadowed by another ethics piece, specifically the possibility of unanticipated benefit to the community that could accrue but might require researcher presence to actualize. In some vague way, I must have recognized that championing a marginalized voice implicitly critiques the dominant voice. However, with the academic pressures around dissertations and the considerable emotional and time-consuming efforts of field research, I did not spend much time pondering later political ramifications of my work. During the dissertation writing year, I had submitted a paper that used some of my ethnographic material to underscore class-ism in Lutheran funding. Still, the national academic forum had called for papers with this focus, so it did not seem radical to present these views. Furthermore, the mission funding issue that had sparked my critique was temporarily resolved just prior to the scheduled presentation; this timing also mitigated against a sense of self as activist. In retrospect, I was reluctant to think of myself as doing advocacy-based research, for I am ambivalent regarding such research. Such research seems to suggest a pre-existing agenda that could hinder or obscure the emergence of non-agenda findings and issues (Deloria, 1988: 80). Perhaps worries regarding the insidious charge of bias and discredited findings also contributed to my reluctance.

However, quite unexpectedly, at that national presentation I was approached by a member of the Denver Lutheran Synod committee on racism. She informed me that she had disseminated the preview of my paper to other members on the committee. Similarly, an Inupiaq congregant in Anchorage (who was also on the ELCA national multi-cultural task force) informed me that she had presented her copy of my dissertation to her national committee. I now fully realize that my study can be viewed and used as advocacy-based research.

My findings subtly interrogate how those in the dominant culture regard indigenous knowledge in relationship to the trans-local Protestant project. Of even more immediate and practical concern, the findings could bear on the reiterating funding issues for the Native Lutheran churches. Succinctly, the research conclusions tacitly urge that the Inupiaq culture and people be regarded as benefactors, not exceptional beneficiaries. The findings lay ground to argue for a re-classification and new funding category that would reflect the villages as resources not charity missions.

Members of the Native church are increasingly asking me about my book progress. The previously reluctant pastor has repeatedly said, "Your work is so important." Reflecting perhaps some general awareness of my topic or simply a sense of my basic stance, a young woman, not an informant in the study, recently invited me to be part of a newly-forming Native group. This family- and culture-based support

group wants to use both traditional and Christian spiritual resources. They want the rapprochement of these resources articulated to their elders, to their Christianity-averse peers (who have been inspired by thinkers such as Deloria, 1988: 118), and to the dominant culture. I suspect that my inclusion is in part hope that I can be a word smith or ambassador.

I have been “home” for more than two years. If I had followed the implied prescriptions found in most ethnographic literature, I would be somewhere else by now. My experience underscores the problem with usual timeframes for feedback. Authentic feedback, equivalent benefit, and researcher obligation to facilitate or actualize slowly emergent benefits, are challenges that could take many months, perhaps years to ethically and fully address.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I would reiterate the theme that emerged at the 14th Inuit Studies Conference: we need to continue to debate and discuss how researchers should bring knowledge “home” to the communities from which it was derived. I would add some further recommendations. As a clear priority, researchers, especially those using ethnographic methods, need to formalize and fully commit to our ethical precept that the mentoring community must benefit from study that utilizes the community. The mentoring community should not only provide voice for the data but must also have a respected, authoritative voice throughout the entire process, including the post-study season. Ethnographers, and perhaps others, need to be more intentional in our focus on the return of knowledge to the mentoring communities, both in our practice and in our literature. We need to face and document not only the communication challenges of vocabulary, content and mode, but also the ethical ones such as equivalent benefit and actualization of unanticipated benefit. Finally, we must seriously analyze extended time frames for returning knowledge and benefit to “home” and potentially give more support to “going ‘home’ and staying ‘home.’”

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**The Immoral Ethic of Conquest:
Inuit and Qallunaat Reactions to the High Arctic Murder Trial of 1923**

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ABSTRACT. In 1920 Nuqallaq, an Inuit leader in northern Baffin Island, shot and killed Robert Janes, an independent trader from Newfoundland, near Cape Crauford. A rival trader reported the killing to Canadian authorities and a police investigation ensued. In 1923 a court party traveled to Pond Inlet aboard the C.G.S. Arctic for the murder trial of Nuqallaq, Ululijarnaat and Aatitaq. On August 30, the jury acquitted Aatitaq but convicted the other two accused on the lesser charge of manslaughter. Nuqallaq was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in Stony Mountain penitentiary in Manitoba. Ululijarnaat was given a lesser sentence.

Reaction to the trial and the sentences was varied, and differed from Inuit to Qallunaat. While Qallunaat reaction from government officials was generally supportive, other white observers were critical of the process and its results. Inuit reaction showed confusion over both the purpose of the trial and the reasons for its outcome. This paper examines those reactions.

Key Words: Janes, Nuqallaq, High Arctic, Justice, Police, Murder

BACKGROUND

In 1920 Nuqallaq, an Inuit leader in northern Baffin Island, shot and killed Sakirmiaq - Robert Janes, a white man and independent trader from Newfoundland - on the sea ice near Cape Crauford on the northern tip of Brodeur Peninsula, Baffin Island. Janes had been in the district since 1916, trading from his post at Patricia River, thirty miles west of present-day Pond Inlet. Abandoned by his backer in St. John's and denied passage south in 1919 by rival trader, Henry Toke Munn (Kapitaikuluk) of the Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate, Janes had planned to return to the south by travelling by dogsled from Patricia River via Navy Board Inlet, Lancaster Sound, Admiralty Inlet, Igloolik and the west coast of Hudson Bay and from there to Winnipeg and Newfoundland. While leaving the district, he camped with a group of Inuit at Cape Crauford and argued with them over debts in furs that he claimed they owed him. Nuqallaq, natural leader of the group, had had a complex relationship with Janes. Early in the trader's stay in the district, the two had quarreled over a woman, a problem that had disappeared when Nuqallaq took another woman as his "wife". Janes had also had disputes with other Inuit over furs and debts. At Cape Crauford, when Janes began to threaten to shoot the Inuit and their dogs if the men did not turn their furs over to him, Inuit decided that Nuqallaq should kill him if he did not cease his threatening behaviour.

Nuqallaq was a leader of his people, an *angajuqqaq*, a camp boss. These leaders acquired their status "through their abilities as great hunters, or through a combination of ability and birth-right" (Aaju Peter in Aupilaarjuk, 1999). At Cape Crauford, Nuqallaq had initially tried to avoid Janes, then to placate him, even going so far as to act as intermediary between Janes and the other Inuit. When Janes's offensive behaviour continued, he tried to counsel the trader, informing him of the consequences of his deviant actions, as a camp leader would have done with an Inuit member of his own community, telling him, "You were talking about shooting the people just now. If you shoot the people somebody will shoot you." (Nuqallaq [Noo-kood-lah] in National Archives of Canada, RG18-F2-Vol. 3281, File HQ-681-G4, Supplement B, Statement of the Accused, July 19, 1922.) But when Janes resumed his aberrant behaviour, and when Nuqallaq and other men of the community knew with certainty that Janes was a threat to the survival of their camp, Nuqallaq knew that he must commit the terrible act that his role as leader demanded. There was no external authority to whom he could report Janes's behaviour, no police from whom to seek help or protection. Even then Nuqallaq wavered, telling his wife that he would like to simply flee the camp in the night. But he knew that he could not. He knew that his campmates relied on him to rid them of the threat in their midst.

Father Guy Mary-Roussilière, a priest who lived in Pond Inlet for over thirty years, recognized the killing as a necessary measure to maintain social control. He wrote in 1988, "... Janes' (sic) murder might be considered as a typical example of 'execution' in a primitive society such as the traditional Eskimo community. The community felt itself endangered by unreasonable conduct, accompanied by violent threats. The question was discussed and the sentence applied" (Atagutsiaq and Mary-Rousselière, 1988: 10).

The Inuit did not conceal the killing of Robert Janes. Rather, they reported it to a rival trader with an explanation of the reasons why Janes was killed. Henry Toke Munn reported the killing to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in the fall of 1920. A police officer was sent to Pond Inlet in 1921 to investigate. That officer, Staff-Sergeant A. H. Joy, sent his report to Ottawa in 1922, recommending that a trial for three accused be held the following year in Pond Inlet.

In 1923 a judge, crown prosecutor, defence attorney and court clerk traveled to Pond Inlet aboard the *CGS Arctic* for the murder trial of Nuqallaq, Aatitaq and Ululijarnaaq. On August 30 the jury – five members of the ship's crew plus the ship's wireless operator – returned its verdict, acquitting Aatitaq, but convicting Nuqallaq and Ululijarnaaq of the lesser charge of manslaughter, with a recommendation for leniency for Ululijarnaaq. The judge passed sentence immediately. Ululijarnaaq was given two years imprisonment with hard labour at the police guardroom in Pond Inlet. Nuqallaq was sentenced to ten years

imprisonment in Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba. This was the result of the first murder trial in what is today Nunavut.

Reaction to the trial and the sentences was varied, and differed from Inuit to Qallunaat. While Qallunaat reaction from government officials was generally supportive of the process and the verdict, other white observers were critical of the process and its results. Inuit reaction showed confusion over both the purpose of the trial and the reasons for its outcome. That confusion has continued over the years as the story has been handed down from generation to generation among the Inuit. This paper examines Inuit and White reactions, not to the killing itself, but to the trial and its outcome.

In what follows I have tried to analyze White reactions and Inuit reactions separately. In fact the two are not so easily separated. Therefore the section on White reactions should be understood as White reactions and the Inuit view of those reactions, while the section on Inuit reactions should be understood as the opposite, Inuit reactions and White observations on the Inuit reactions.

WHITE REACTIONS

J. D. Craig, government representative and formal commander of the 1923 expedition, observed the entire trial and thought that the examination of the witnesses proceeded rather slowly. This was only partly due to the requirement for interpretation, he thought, but also because "an Eskimo when questioned is more likely to give the kind of answer that he thinks is expected than to analyze his own thoughts on the subject and express what he really thinks" (Craig in Canada, 1927: 24).

Craig thought that the Inuit were struggling to find the answers that the judge expected, in other words, that the Inuit testimonies were less than truthful, this despite the fact that those testimonies were remarkably consistent and that the Inuit had made no attempt to conceal the events surrounding Janes's death. As Craig should have known, the oral testimonies given during the trial corroborated the detailed evidence gathered during Staff-Sergeant Joy's prolonged investigation.

What Craig was witnessing, and failed to understand, was the workings of an Inuit trait which generally characterised early dealings between Inuit and Qallunaat. The Inuit desire to please, to give the answer one thinks is expected, should be understood in the context of the Inuit concept of *ilira*. It is a concept fundamental to an understanding of early Inuit interactions with outsiders.

Ilira has been described as "a great fear or awe" which developed early in the relationship between Inuit and explorers, missionaries and traders, who controlled access to trade goods, more efficient technology and

(in the case of missionaries) prohibited the following of traditional beliefs and practices, all of which resulted in the erosion of Inuit self-reliance and self-confidence. An Inuit leader has written, "This relationship, and the feeling of *ilira* to which it gave rise, meant that whatever the *Qallunaat* suggested or wanted was likely to be done. *Qallunaat* could make the difference between success and disaster, sustenance or hunger, and Inuit responded to their desires and requests as if they were commands. In this cultural setting, a challenge to the authority of the *Qallunaat* or defiance of their requests was almost unthinkable" (Kuptana, 1993: 7).

The white men who had come to live permanently among the Inuit of northern Baffin Island in the early twentieth century, as the whalers before them, had forever changed the lifestyle of the Inuit, slowly at first, but inexorably, until the Inuit were eventually in thrall to merchants who controlled a supply of trade goods. These goods, often luxuries at first, soon became indispensable, and it was necessary to stay in favour with the white men who controlled their supply. While three rival traders were battling each other for the products of a small population of hunters, the Inuit were in the driver's seat; they could play one trader off against another and come out the winners. But with the death of Janes in 1920, a monopoly on trade passed temporarily into the hands of Henry Toke Munn. A year later competition returned, with the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company, an enterprise which the Inuit could see had far more resources than Munn. The arrival of Staff Sergeant Joy brought a new type of white man to Pond Inlet, one who doggedly questioned and wrote, and lived with the dominant traders. In 1922, the establishment of a permanent police detachment was another show of authority that was not lost on the Inuit. The new white traders who had arrived in 1921 had better trade goods and more of them; they operated in concert with the *paliisi* - the police - who were also in Pond Inlet to stay. This was a perfect set of circumstances to inspire the feeling of *ilira* in the Inuit of northern Baffin Island. It was imperative that the Inuit please these newcomers.

And so, in their unique way, the Inuit had told the truth about the death of Robert Janes, which happened also to be the story that they thought the judge wanted to hear.

Inspector Wilcox of the RCMP, who observed and commented on the proceedings, thought that the loss of status that surely befell Nuqallaq with the conviction was an appropriate part of his punishment, writing that "it is hardly possible that a native, with the prestige that Nuqallaq must have had with the other Eskimo at the time he killed Janes, could have been subjected to greater humiliation than to be led away directly under the eyes of not less than one hundred of his relatives and friends." (Wilcox in National Archives of Canada, RG18, F2, Vol. 3280, File HQ-681-G4, Part 4, Crime Report, September 1, 1923). He thought that the sentence passed would have a more beneficial effect than a sentence of death would have had.

Although Henry Toke Munn had played a central role in the events leading up to Janes's death and had been the first white man to interview Inuit after the killing, the usually loquacious trader made no mention of the trial when he wrote of his final meeting with the Inuit of Pond Inlet, less than a month after the trial took place. Munn had sold his enterprise to the Hudson's Bay Company, and arrived aboard their ship, the *Nascopie*, in Pond Inlet on September 16. He wrote that: "All the natives...came down to the beach to wave me farewell.... I was deeply touched by the real regard they all showed for me, and by their obvious and noisy grief when the time came for me to bid them farewell" (Munn, 1932: 281-2). He offered not a word on the drama that had seen its final act played out in Pond Inlet in August, events in which he had played such a central role. He left no printed comment on the appropriateness of the sentence handed Nuqallaq or on the reaction of the Inuit to it.

But he left a spoken comment that remained in the memories of a few Inuit elders. Agatha Tongak told in a 1974 interview that "the captain" from the *Nascopie* expressed his consternation at the treatment of Nuqallaq, asking why the people had allowed him to be taken away. He told the Inuit that he did not want them treated badly. She even reported – and this may be the result of a misunderstanding, for Munn did not speak Inuktitut well - that he said "if he could catch up with the ship with Nuqallaq on, he would bring him back" (Agatha Tongak, 1974b, English translation: 2). The *Nascopie* carried two men with the designation "captain" that year: Munn, a military captain, and the ship's captain, Thomas Smellie. There is no indication that Smellie, on this his first trip to the High Arctic, had close contact with the Inuit. The "captain" in question, whose remarks about Nuqallaq were remembered by the Inuit, can only have been *Kapitaikuluk*, Henry Toke Munn.

Another elder, Isapee Qanguq, recalled the incident in 1990, and described the reactions of a man whom he described as a "boss," but who can only have been Captain Munn. After Nuqallaq had been taken away, he recalled, another ship arrived at Pond Inlet and "it was said that their boss started to act irrationally at the white people that were there, that included the police and the Company manager...he was upset and mad at these white people for allowing an Inuk to be taken away by the people that had make the judgement, he was in a hurry so he could catch up to *Aati* [*Arctic*] so that he could get the Inuk back to his people... This happened when the Inuit did not know the ways of the white people and he was really upset that the Inuit should not have been treated the way they did... It was said that he was taking side with the Inuit and said that the Inuit knew what they were doing and the killing was done to defend the Inuit. He had also said... that as the Inuit did not know the ways of the white people so they should be left alone..." (Qanguq, 1990).

Later, in 1924, Munn began petitioning the government of Canada for Nuqallaq's early release from Stony Mountain Penitentiary because of his poor health. He suggested to the authorities that if Nuqallaq were to die in jail, the "moral value" of his punishment to his tribe would be lost; if he lived he would "certainly have an effective story to tell them of the punishment of the Government for crimes against white men." (National Archives of Canada, RG18, F2, Vol. 3280, File HQ681, G4, Pt. 4, Munn to Starnes, Feb 6, 1924).

The official view of the trial and its merits remained unchanged. In December 1924, O. S. Finnie, Director of the North West Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior, wrote to the RCMP Commissioner expressing his disfavour over the possibility of early release for Nuqallaq, which Munn was advocating. "[C]onviction and punishment of this man made a very strong impression on the mind of the natives and gave them a wholesome respect for Canadian law, and for those who administer it," Finnie wrote, adding, "The members of the police force who have been in the North... are quite outspoken in their opinion that it would be a serious mistake and would tend in a large measure to destroy this good impression, if Nuqallaq were given his liberty too soon." (National Archives of Canada, RG18, F2, Vol. 3281, File HQ-681, G4, Pt. 5. Finnie to RCMP Commissioner, December 4, 1924).

Others who had attended the trial did not agree that its results were justified. J. Dewey Soper, a naturalist aboard the *Arctic*, was a young man new to the north. But he was immediately sensitive to the customs of the Inuit. He observed the trial and felt the judgment on Nuqallaq overly harsh. "I thought that the Eskimos had no understanding of the nature of this trial. Of course, I couldn't speak any of their language yet, but I could see that they appeared confused, not in what they said but in their general demeanour. What they had to say was quite consistent. Nuqallaq had done what had to be done. I didn't think that he took any pleasure in it but he had killed Janes to protect his people. I didn't think there was anything else that the Eskimos could have done about Janes. The police took the approach that Nuqallaq had to be punished because he had killed a man, but I think that the sentence was too strong. I don't know what the Eskimos expected from the trial. They might have expected something worse, maybe even the death penalty. But what Nuqallaq got was too much" (Soper, 1978).

There is some indication that Captain Joseph-Elzéar Bernier himself disapproved of the sentences. He had commanded three sovereignty expeditions to the High Arctic and then worked as a private trader at Pond Inlet; in 1923 he returned as commander of the *CGS Arctic*. He was a man who had a genuine affection for the Inuit and a respect for their customs. Bernier is said to have been irate at the judge's attitude to the Inuit witnesses, and saddened by the sentence passed on Nuqallaq. At one point in the trial he

went back to the ship and went to his cabin where he remained for a long time. The Inuit believed that he did this out of sympathy for them, that he did not want to see the Inuit suffer. (Etuk, 1973; Atagutsiaq, 1977; Uujukuluk, 1981). Uujukuluk recalled in 1981 that “Kapitaikallak felt sorry for the Inuit. He’d visited our people many times over the years and he’d never had any trouble with us. He got upset at the way the Inuit were treated in the trial and he went back to the ship and stayed there for a long time. He didn’t want to see the Inuit mistreated” (Uujukuluk, 1981). Jimmy Etuk recounted that, after the verdict was given, “Kapitaikallak was really unhappy when he found out that Nuqallaq had to go south on the Arctic. But he didn’t have any choice. He had to take him because the judge said so” (Etuk, 1974).

Samuel Sainsbury, a prospector who had written to the police in 1921 with his observations on Inuit behaviour after he had heard of the death of Janes, wrote sympathetically in a newspaper article two months after the trial: "Evidence given, statements made, may be construed in a dozen different ways. Then above all is the Eskimo's ignorance. He has absolutely no conception of a trial. No word in their language describes it. Councils are held, it is true, but not to make laws.... A trial, a judge, a jury, is beyond their comprehension. Punishment is without meaning for them, for they fail to grasp what it is given for" (Sainsbury, 1923).

An international observer happened by chance to be present at the trial. He was Therkel Mathiassen, an archaeologist on the Fifth Thule Expedition, and he described the trial as “an enormously tedious process of which the Eskimos understood very little” (Mathiassen, 1926: 122).

What is more surprising are the critical words of a historian of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Morris Longstreth, who broke with what might be called the “official reaction” to the trial, and wrote with sarcasm of the events only a few years later. It was clear that "Nuqallaq had killed a white man. It is true, of course, that this white man invaded his land, brought strange customs, ignored the native cardinal principle of good nature, provoked natives, terrified them with threats to kill them and their dogs. But a white man had been killed and must be avenged. It is the natives' misfortune if they had not heard of the custom called the law. Nuqallaq must be punished. Otherwise, white traders might not feel safe to trade jack knives for foxes. The immoral ethic of conquest has been pleased to clothe itself in legal terms" (Longstreth, 1927: 337-8).

INUIT REACTIONS

Much has been written on Inuit concepts of law, and confusion has resulted from trying to understand these concepts within the context of the white man's system of criminal justice. The white man's law sees a criminal act as an offense against the state rather than an action against an individual. The state, in serving the interests of the public, seeks redress. Inuit, on the other hand, traditionally sought for order within the community and for means of dealing with non-conformity. The question has been succinctly framed and answered thus: "How did these... communities manage to survive when the peace of the camp... was felt to be threatened? In order to find the answer, we must realize that it does not involve the idea of justice. This is a highly abstract concept which the Eskimos do not think about, nor is the idea of punishment their primary aim. We should rather think of their aim in terms of getting rid of someone who is felt by the camp to have become a nuisance, whether he can help it or not" (van den Steenhoven, 1966: 91).

Inuit had been confused by the trial. No amount of explaining by Judge Rivet and his colleagues could have made them understand the deliberations they had been a party to. They misunderstood the role of the judge and that of the police. Two solitudes met in a courtroom at Pond Inlet, and each brought its own concepts and context. The interpretation provided could not hope to bridge the cultural gap.

Many Inuit did not understand what the trial was for. They could not comprehend that Nuqallaq and his colleagues were being tried for ridding the community of a threat to its survival.

The misunderstandings began even before the trial commenced. Agatha Tongak, half-sister to Nuqallaq, had been a child among a group of Inuit picked up at their camp and transported to Pond Inlet for the trial. In 1974 she wrote, "...we heard that all the people in Pond Inlet were nearly killed by the people on the ship because they were taking things from a deserted house. The ship hadn't come for years so the people were stealing from a white man's house and they nearly got killed for it." Her recollections show a misunderstanding of the reasons why at least one of the three accused was on trial: "Aatitaq was being questioned because he had been stealing from the empty house, Ululijarnaaq because he had assisted Nuqallaq, and Nuqallaq because he had shot Sakirmiaq..." She succinctly summed up the reason for Nuqallaq being on trial, however, making it very clear that Nuqallaq had defended the community, saying, "The Inuit were scared of Sakirmiaq because he had threatened to shoot them, and Nuqallaq had decided to shoot him before he could hurt anyone" (Agatha Tongak, 1974b, English translation: 1).

As noted earlier, some white observers thought that the Inuit gave evasive answers at the trial. At one point during the trial the judge became very angry at the Inuit, feeling that their answers were evasive. He

raised his voice and reprimanded them, causing the Inuit to think that the police would kill them all. Some Inuit accounts blame these problems on the interpreter, William Duval, an elderly man who had lived among the Inuit for forty-six years. In fact, these accounts credit Nuqallaq himself with saving the lives of the Inuit who, they believe would otherwise all have been killed. These accounts state that during the trial Nuqallaq grabbed Duval and reprimanded him for beginning to interpret a person's speech before the person was finished speaking, feeling that the whole story was not being told. Jimmy Etuk recalled that Nuqallaq told Duval quite forcefully that "you have to wait until a person has finished their talking before you speak. If you speak before the person has said all his thoughts, you are going to confuse the white people who are listening and they are not going to understand what happened." After this reprimand, Duval "interpreted properly" and "that is why the Inuit didn't all get killed by the police" (Etuk, 1974). These comments were corroborated in a 1994 interview done for Parks Canada, in which Qauriniq (Martha Akumalik) said that Nuqallaq scolded the interpreter for giving "contradictory information" and told him to "wait until that person has finished speaking, before you start interpreting what he had said." She concluded by saying, "Nobody then got killed" (Akumalik, 1994).

Some thought that the police, all white men, had come with such a show of strength because they wanted to avenge the death of a fellow white man. Indeed, a common thread in some Inuit reminiscences is that Nuqallaq was tried, not because he had killed a man, but because he had killed a white man.

Some Inuit believed that the police had intended to kill all of the Inuit but were dissuaded from doing so only by Gertrude Craig, wife of the expedition leader, who accompanied her husband. An elder told a story in 1989: "There was an officer of the ship that had arrived with his wife [and] went down to the ship and went back ashore with his wife. Once they landed his wife advised against any aggressive actions; she told this to the armed men. The man [her husband] had made attempts to talk them out of it but they would not listen to him so he went back for his wife who then talked them out of taking any aggressive actions" (Ujarasuk, 1989). Sam Arnakallak alluded to this in an interview in which he said that "one time they were saved by a woman" (Arnakallak, 1994).

Samuel Sainsbury, quoted earlier, intimated that Inuit would not grasp what the punishment was given for. And indeed, Inuit were confused as to why Nuqallaq was taken away. Some believed that his punishment had nothing to do with the killing of Janes. They knew that he had been a harsh husband to his first wife, Ullatitaq, who had committed suicide rather than continue to endure his beatings. And they knew that he occasionally beat his young wife, Ataguttiaq. Some believed that the reason why he alone was taken away for punishment was because of his mistreatment of his wife. Noah Piugaattuk said as much in an

interview in Igloolik in 1989; his comments show an almost childlike trust, an assumption that the white authorities would, after all, have understood that Janes had to be killed, and so the incarceration of Nuqallaq must have been for another reason. "The main reason why he was taken away," Piugaattuk said, "was due to the fact that he did not treat his wife properly.... One must understand that there was very little else the Inuit could have done but to terminate the white person, but [it was] because he was an abusive man towards his wife that he was arrested" (Piugaattuk, 1989). To some, this explains why Nuqallaq was taken away for punishment while Ululijarnaaq remained under loose arrest in the north.

Many Inuit reminiscences focus on the strange role of the accused, Ululijarnaaq. He is remembered to this day as a man of considerable determination and power, because of an event that happened during the trial. He had been under loose police guard. At one point he decided, apparently without permission, to take to his *qajaq* to demonstrate his abilities for the benefit of the court party. He had been born with badly deformed hands - he had no fingers on his left hand and only a thumb and forefinger on his right hand - but he was strong (Tongak, 1974b) (Inexplicably, Leslie Livingstone, medical officer on the *Arctic*, wrote on August 30, 1923, "This is to certify that I have examined the prisoner Ululijarnaaq, and have found no physical defects" (Livingstone in National Archives of Canada, RG18, F2, Vol. 3280, File HQ-681, G4, Pt. 4, August 30, 1923.)) An Inuit elder, Rosie Iqallijuq recounted his demonstration seventy-six years after the fact. When Ululijarnaaq took to his *qajaq*, he headed directly into the waves during a storm, shouting that he was going to hunt a walrus. He wanted the white people on ship and shore to watch him through their telescopes so that he could show them how capable the Inuit were. He even challenged the white people to go after a walrus as well. He struck a walrus with his harpoon and then finished it off with his killing lance, and towed it to land. Those on shore witnessed his bravery. The Inuit believed that his actions had impressed the white people, and that through this demonstration he had protected the community as a whole. He urged the white people to get on his *qajaq* and duplicate his prowess, because he thought them so domineering. Rosie Iqallijuq recalled, "None of them wanted to try. In fact, they were overwhelmed and showed sympathy... He was able to defend the people except for Nuqallaq.... He was the only one that was taken on board the ship for them to take to their land. If it was not for Ululijarnaaq all of them might have been taken on board the ship and taken back to the land of the white people...they almost got jailed but Ululijarnaaq was able to defend them" (Iqallijuq, 1996).

Nuqallaq's father, Umik, a self-proclaimed prophet who had declared himself God and, with the help of Nuqallaq, sought to bring his version of Christianity to Igloolik, completely misunderstood the reason for his son being taken away by the police. Following the trial, in January, he returned to the Igloolik area to tell

people there the fate of his son. Still in the grip of his religious fanaticism, he explained what he understood of the trial and the sentence. "Kanaajjat," he said, pronouncing Canadians as best he could, "no longer want people to do bad things. The son of God has been taken away to the land of the white people." (Kappianaq, 1997).

Rosie Iqallijuq said in 1991, "Umik soon experienced mental imbalance for he was trying hard to convert the people to Christianity; at the same time, his son committed a murder and was taken away to penitentiary. It was so pitiful to see him in this state. He would hurt himself and he just kept on talking and talking; he was trying to keep his physical abuse to himself and [be] very careful that he did not hurt other people...He talked so much when he was in that state. I remember the time he shook my in-laws hand[s].... It was at that time his son was arrested and taken away. He said as he shook hands with my father-in-law: 'The son of God has been taken home to the land of the white people. The police and the Canadians have discouraged anyone from doing wrongful acts.'" (Iqallijuq, 1991).

Therkel Mathiassen, the archaeologist, elaborated on Umik's reaction. He wrote that, after the trial, Umik began to say that his son had gone down to the white man's land to learn more about Jesus, and that in a few years he would return as a great prophet (Mathiassen, 1926: 123).

Peter Freuchen, another Dane participating in the Fifth Thule Expedition, already disliked both Umik and Nuqallaq. He thought Nuqallaq cowardly for his mistreatment of his young wife. Freuchen wrote that Umik [he called him Umiling] was very proud of his son's achievement in killing Janes, and insisted that his family's success was due to their conversion to Christianity. In Freuchen's eyes, the Inuit considered Nuqallaq's jail term a reward. Freuchen wrote, "He had been promised room and board for ten years in a great house... The house was kept warm in winter, there would be women to sew his clothes for him, and he would never have to go hunting for his food!" He added, "To the poor Eskimo, with his existence at the brink of death and starvation, this must indeed have seemed like a paradise." Freuchen's opinion must be taken with the knowledge that he was famous for exaggeration (Freuchen, 1953: 190).

Ataguttiaq, wife of Nuqallaq, was only twenty-one when her husband was taken to prison. In interviews conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s, she told me that she did not understand the purpose of the trial, or why her husband had been taken south. She admitted that he had on occasion been an abusive husband, but that he was a good provider. She had been young and frightened. The show of force that accompanied the southern court party, she thought, overwhelmed the Inuit. "We didn't know what to expect," she said. "Some of the people thought we would all be killed. At the beginning, a lot of people thought that my husband, Ululijarnaq and Aatitaq would definitely be killed. We all knew that there was good reason why

Janes had been killed and so we couldn't understand why they were being threatened. When the judge said that my husband had to go south to prison, of course I cried. I couldn't understand why he was being punished for helping the people" (Ataguttiaq, 1977).

The judge explained to the prisoners "the enormity of their crime and impressed upon them and upon the other natives present the fact that he considered the sentences very lenient and that any future occurrences of a similar kind would be dealt with much more severely" (Craig, in Canada, 1927: 24). In his report to Ottawa, J. D. Craig noted that "[t]he sentences were imposed after a strong address by the judge and were generally approved of as being most just and satisfactory" (Craig, in Canada, 1927: 24).

That afternoon, the police rounded up almost all the Inuit at the village for an address outside the police detachment by Judge Rivet. He explained again the purpose of the trial, and told them "what they had to expect from the representatives of the Government, that they could expect kindness and protection from the Police if they behaved well, but if they committed any crime they could expect to be punished." (Craig, in Canada, 1927: 24). Wilcox, in his Crime Report, states that, at the end of Rivet's address, the Inuit populace joined in three cheers for the Judge.

This is a humiliating scene. A writer, Shiela Burnford, saw the absurdity of it in 1973 when she wrote: "...a group of Eskimos, of whom it is probable that not one among them knew what they were cheering or why, but, polite to a man, repeating like dutiful parrots the strange phrase 'Hip Hip Hooray' to a stranger who promised them not only kindness and protection... but punishment if they did not forsake this foolish notion that their own laws had worked very nicely thank you for the last few thousand years, and step smartly into twentieth-century legal discipline - and, all, lucky people, for the privilege of continuing to live in their own country." (Burnford, 1973: 125).

LATER WHITE REACTIONS

The defence lawyer had defended the three Inuit accused weakly. One wonders what might have been the outcome had they had more aggressive and imaginative counsel. The following year another Inuk, Ikalukpiak, was tried for manslaughter on July 7th in Aklavik in the Mackenzie Delta for the killing of a fellow Inuk, Havoogak. The offence had occurred far to the east, about ninety miles inland from Tree River. The defence counsel, whom we know only by his surname McBride, offered a vigorous defence of Ikalukpiak that can perhaps be seen as a reaction to the weak defences offered of the accused in the Janes murder trial and other recent trials of Inuit for offences in the central and western Arctic. McBride began by

questioning whether Canada even had the jurisdictional authority to try his client; he told the court that Ikalukpiak "does not recognize the jurisdiction of this Court.... The accused does not consider himself to be a British subject and that the law of the white man does not extend to the tribe of one that does not know of their laws." McBride elaborated: "...he claims that even if he hurt the deceased Mavougach (sic), the white men have no right to interfere with him. It is his tribe who must hurt or do harm to him." McBride raised another objection, "that the area included in your Lordship's commission and also these territories do not extend to that part of the territories in which he resides and where the offence occurred." In requesting a change of venue to the area where the tribe of the accused was located, McBride also raised the subject of why the jury contained no Inuit: "If they [the Eskimos] are British subjects and your Lordship has not called any of the Eskimos here as jurymen, he, the accused, claims that he is in hostile territory as far as these Eskimos are concerned and, therefore, he claims a change of venue to where his tribe is located... And, that, in empanelling the jury, it should include some of his own tribesmen." In summing up his objections, McBride stated that his client did not "recognize the sovereignty of the Canadian Government and that the white man should not claim sovereignty over his land or his hunting ground. He knows no law but the law of his tribe." McBride and Ikalukpiak raised points that would not be heard again in Canada for another half century. The court overruled all of McBride's objections, and found Ikalukpiak guilty of manslaughter and sentenced him to five years imprisonment in Stony Mountain. (Rasing, 1994: 141-2).

In 1925 the Department of the Interior sent north copies of a poster to be displayed prominently at trading and police posts that Inuit might visit. It read, "Know Ye. The King of the Land commands you, saying: 'THOU SHALT DO NO MURDER.'" After some heavy verbiage about God and the King, the poster continued, "But if a man kills a man, the King sends his servants, the police, to take and kill the murderers. But ye do not kill the murderer, nor cause him to be killed. This only the King's servants, the police, ought to do. But when a man commits murder, at once tell the King's servants, the police, and he will take and bind the murderer and the ruler will judge him. Thus our God commands us so that you are to follow the King's command" (National Archives of Canada, RG85, Vol. 667, File 4069).

This text was translated into Inuktitut and printed in syllabics as well as in the alphabetic orthography used in western dialects of Inuktitut. One can only wonder what impression this text made on the Inuit reading it. Aside from its white ethnocentrism, it stated boldly and incorrectly that it was the role of the police to seize and kill any Inuit murderers.

One officer, the inspector of the Arctic Sub-District in Aklavik, on seeing this poster, objected to that very sentiment and wrote to Ottawa that a suspected murderer might resist arrest, feeling that his own life

was in jeopardy, and thereby endanger the lives of arresting police. He suggested a change in wording that removed this thought, but not the racism underlying the message as a whole:

"If a man kills a man, the King sends his servants, the Police, to take away the murderer, and bring him before one of the white chiefs, who will hear how the murder was done, and will punish the murderer, if he thinks he is a bad native" (National Archives of Canada, RG85, Vol. 667, File 4069).

CONCLUSION

White reaction to the trial and sentencing was mixed. Official government reaction supported the outcome, believing that Nuqallaq warranted the punishment received. However, other informed white observers have been critical of the trial itself, feeling it was unjust to subject the three Inuit accused to a trial based on precepts of justice completely foreign to them, and in some cases based on feelings that Janes deserved his fate. They were also critical of the outcome, believing that, even if the trial itself was warranted, the sentence meted out to Nuqallaq was too harsh.

Inuit reactions can be summarized as misunderstanding and confusion. Inuit misunderstood the reasons why three Inuit were brought to trial and why Nuqallaq was handed so harsh a sentence. The Inuit reaction could not have been otherwise, given their own customs for dealing with aberrant behaviour, their total lack of understanding of white concepts of justice, and their unfamiliarity with the procedures of a formal trial. Inuit confusion over the results of the trial has persisted to the present.

Because of his deteriorating health, Nuqallaq was given early release from Stony Mountain prison after serving almost two years of his sentence. He returned to Pond Inlet in 1925 and died of tuberculosis four months later.

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Multicultural Engagement for Learning and Understanding

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ABSTRACT. This paper first explains why the specific words were selected for the title, as there have been great changes in the way science is conducted in recent years. A short history is provided of key events over the past fifty years that have contributed significantly to the national and international efforts in northern investigations. An overview of the Inuit efforts to partner in health science research is presented, including some past examples of collaboration. The aspects to consider in promoting the current practice of community-based participatory research among partners are provided. A comparison is made between the evolution of co-management approaches for the joint administration of living resources, and the shifts that are occurring in how health research is being conducted. The recommendation is made such that the governmental institutions that work with health programs of the eight-nation Arctic Council, should orchestrate a coordination committee that brings together the residents, the providers, and the investigators, to address the health disparities and regional capacities to conduct coordinated circumpolar investigations. This forum is also proposed to forge links with other federal agency programs that are providing health-related research in the polar region.

Keywords: Inuit, health, community-based, participatory, co-management, engagement, research, Arctic

Who am I and why have I been asked to present this plenary talk?

I was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to a German/American family. An uncle wanted me to be Karl Wolfgang Hild but right after World War II my parents anglicized my name a bit. My father's family came to the US in the 1880s and worked in the beer breweries of Philadelphia. This may account for my predilection for the brew. My mother's family came to the colonies in 1731 and received land from William Penn. They were part of the Pennsylvania "Dutch" or really Deutsch – German community. Her father's family has stories of children with a Native American/Delaware woman, while her mother's side had members in the American Revolution, including one who spent the very hard winter with General Washington at Valley Forge.

As a young boy I found American Indian artifacts including a very fine rattle not far from our suburban Philadelphia home. In high school I had a teacher who was also an anthropology faculty member at Temple University. I was able to go on field trips with college students to Native American digs in the area. I was fascinated that in the area where I was going through a suburban upbringing that many years before young American Indian boys played in the same stream and may have climbed the really big oak down in the

woods. That my family was living where others had lived, albeit in a very different manner, intrigued me. After all it was the same place.

While in college at the Pennsylvania State University I lived the book “Never Cry Wolf” and learned that if I wanted to know how the Inuit live in the cold Arctic it was better to ask someone like Pete Sovalik than to determine how many lemmings and other things a wolf eats. Pete was the Head Caretaker of the Animal Colony at the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory in Barrow and he taught me so much about what it really means to live in the Arctic. He taught me to dance, Inupiaq style.

After graduating, I moved to Barrow, Alaska and participated in health research and health education including the collection and use of traditional knowledge. I prepared an Arctic survival manual for high school students. I worked with members of the Barrow Search and Rescue organization to better understand how they worked when going off in the worst of weather to find overdue hunters or travelers. I wanted to learn the skills of these people who could survive where others perished so easily. I was given the Inupiaq name of Talaak by the Nukapigak family of Barrow. I was honored. I saved the life of a young man through an under-sea ice, cold-water near drowning rescue. I was humbled by the response of the community that had already provided so much to me.

I currently am employed as the Associate Director of the Institute for Circumpolar Health Studies within the College of Health and Social Welfare at the University of Alaska Anchorage. I am the Principle Investigator for a National Institutes of Health, National Center for Minority Health and Health Disparities program called Alaska Native Science Research Partnerships for Health. Through work on the US delegation to the Arctic Council, I participated in the early days of the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme report, was the Telemedicine Project Coordinator, and currently I am working on a team preparing a report on the health impacts of climate change.

Why the title of Multicultural Engagement for Learning and Understanding?

“Multicultural” is the first word. This is not “cross-cultural,” being just an effort that goes from one to another. It is not “trans-cultural” in that there is only an exchange or a bridge from which both sides operate. It is not “intercultural” where the intent is a blending of perspectives. It is more than being based on just one world view so it is not one “cultural” perspective or another. The term “multicultural” was selected to provide the concept that this new paradigm will actively incorporate and work from multiple world views. It is not “either,” “or,” “and,” or “both,” but “all.”

“Engagement” is the second word. This is not about work done “on” Inuit by others. This is not about

work done “for” Inuit that may be perceived as providing someone an advantage. This is not work done “with” Inuit as the subjects or even as logistical collaborators. It is more than a short-term “partnership” just to get a project done. “Engagement” is used to denote a full commitment by all parties to build an enduring relationship. Each member wants to share their attributes with the other, while graciously receiving what is shared openly. The parties desire to gain from the relationship in a mutually satisfying manner.

“Learning” is the next key word. The intent is not to discuss “extracting information.” It is not just about “searching” for information. Nor is it about going through the process again by “researching” existing materials or attempting to find new facts. The process is not about “investigating” as there is more to the activities that are desired. “Learning” is used as it best reflects the gathering of knowledge collaboratively in a way that is based on cultural values and perspectives with all the participants gaining new insights that they can apply to their own lives. It is a progressive gathering of experiences to improve life.

“Understanding” is the final word. This is not just “data” or “information.” It is more than “knowledge” of facts. It is not merely the “application” of what is known in the form of published papers.

“Understanding” is the practical use of what has been learned so that everyone benefits from the effort. Understanding comes from the appropriate applications of what has been learned for a better life.

“Multicultural Engagement for Learning and Understanding” was used for the title. The intent clearly is that no one is being studied. No one is working alone. No one is extracting information from someone else. No one is just looking for publications or academic advancement. The title is an attempt to express that there is a cooperative collective effort to gather new insights through multiple world views for the benefit of everyone.

How did we get to this concept of Multicultural Engagement for Learning and Understanding?

In 1948 the US Congress passed appropriations for “Disease and Sanitation Investigations, Territory of Alaska.” In 1949 the Arctic Health Research Center (AHRC) was established in Anchorage, supported by the previous year’s appropriation. At about the same time there was the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory in Barrow and the Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory in Fairbanks, both with primary military defense objectives to studying life in the Arctic.

In 1954 the “Parran Report” by the University of Pittsburgh was released (Parran, et. al., 1954). It investigated the health disparities of Alaska Natives and documented the level of morbidity and mortality due to tuberculosis among a number of other diseases. The report laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Indian Health Service (IHS) under the Public Health Service Corps. With the initiation of the IHS,

Native Americans would receive their health care from an established agency that addressed federal beneficiaries. American Indians and Alaska Natives would finally be moved from national trust caretaker status under the Department of Interior to being federal beneficiaries (Fortuine, 1986).

In 1961 there was the Point Barrow Conference on Native Rights. The document drafted during that gathering is the Inupiat Paitot – Indigenous Rights (Lautaret, 1989). It called for greater roles for the Inupiat in land claims and migratory bird treaty negotiations. It requested that the Project Chariot nuclear device harbor excavation be stopped. It claimed rights for local control of access to food, education, housing, employment, transportation, health, and arts and crafts. It called for an Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association to build local economies. It also called for an Alaskan Inuit Organization.

In 1967 the Alaska Native Medical Center initiated the Health Science Information Service (HSIS) to provide regional hospital and clinic staff with access to the latest materials that were required for accreditation of their facilities. One statewide service could provide the most cost effective medical information support network. HSIS was moved into the Consortium Library of the Anchorage Community College and Alaska Methodist University that is now located within the University of Alaska Anchorage.

In 1967 the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) hosted, through the support of the Arctic Institute of North America, what was to become the first triennial International Congress on Circumpolar Health (IUCH, 2005). This was also the year when the AHRC moved onto UAF-offered land and into a new building. Unfortunately five years later in 1972, after the discovery of oil in Alaska, Congress ceased funding for the AHRC. The federally supported Centers for Disease Control picked up the work of the AHRC as the Arctic Investigation Laboratory in Anchorage, which was later named the Arctic Investigations Program.

In 1975 Public Law 93-638 was approved by the US Congress. Its official title is the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. This law allows for former programs for American Indians and Alaska Natives, that were provided under the Department of Interior, to be transferred or “compacted” to Tribes for self-governance. This is based on the special relationship set forward by the Supreme Court in the 1830s between the US government and Tribes.

In 1977 the First Inuit Circumpolar Conference was held in Barrow (ICC, 2005). The idea from 1961 of an Alaskan Inuit Organization was expanded to the homelands of the Inuit within four nations. The ICC was established as a representative, international, non-governmental organization that later became recognized by the United Nations. An early ICC resolution echoed the call from 1961 in having the entire Arctic as a nuclear free zone. Also in 1977 the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada produced a

report on ethics. In 1977 UNICEF reported that the most successful programs in addressing children's health were those that were locally based in the community and had solid grass-roots support (UNICEF-WHO, 1977).

In 1984 the US Congress passed the Arctic Research Policy Act and established the Interagency Arctic Research Policy Committee (IARPC) and the Presidentially appointed US Arctic Research Commission (USARC). That same year the National Academy of Sciences' Polar Research Board with the American Public Health Association produced the National Arctic Health Science Policy (APHA, 1984). That policy stated that there should be community and individual approval of all health research. In addition it stated that the results of such investigations be returned in a timely and appropriate manner to the study community.

In 1986 the International Union for Circumpolar Health was formed with four adhering bodies: American Society for Circumpolar Health, Canadian Society for Circumpolar Health, Nordic Council for Arctic Medical Research, and the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Medical Sciences. Some of the names and structures have changed over the years and there is a fifth adhering body in the Greenlandic Society for Circumpolar Health (IUCH, 2005).

Also in 1986 the ICC passed a resolution calling for one-third of the (USARC) budget to be designated for social sciences research. The ICC also developed its Arctic Policy which included "Draft Principles of Northern Scientific Research" that included: the establishment of ethical codes of conduct; a call for the inclusion of Inuit knowledge in investigations; and a call for community involvement in research design as well as discussion of research findings with communities.

In 1987, as a graduate student at the University of Alaska Anchorage School of Engineering, I completed a project assessing the role of the institution in addressing the 1984 Arctic Research Policy Act (Hild, 1987). That work led to a proposal from the University to the State of Alaska. In 1988 the State Legislature called for the establishment of the Institute for Circumpolar Health Studies, to be located at UAA. It is charged to address many of the health aspects of the 1984 act as well as work toward international cooperation, information networking, research and training (ICHS,2005).

In 1991 the eight-nation Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) formed in Finland with four working groups to conduct the work. Its structure was at three levels. The full-members were the eight Arctic nations. They also provided for three Permanent Participant groups for the Indigenous Peoples of the north. There are also Observers who may request to participate in the activities. Also in 1991 the Indigenous Peoples' Council for Marine Mammals (IPCoMM) was formed within the Rural Alaska Community Action

Program to bring a Native voice to the reauthorization of the US Marine Mammal Protection Act (RurAL CAP, 1994).

In 1993 the National Science Foundation held a meeting on the effects of contaminants in the Far North, and requested presentations from Alaska Natives (NSF, 1994). The individuals who were invited to attend did not feel comfortable with the structure of the gathering and what they were being requested to do. They met separately in the evening and prepared a statement on their role in research. This statement became the outline for the formation of the Alaska Native Science Commission.

In 1994 the US Marine Mammal Protection Act was amended. IPCoMM was successful in insisting on the use of traditional knowledge in the management of the various species. When the amendments were completed they included that management would be conducted through co-management. An umbrella agreement was negotiated among the Alaska Native groups and the federal agencies, and then individual co-management agreements were established (RurAL CAP, 1995).

In 2003 the Canadian Center for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment worked with the World Health Organization to produce "Indigenous Peoples & Participatory Health Research: Planning & Management / Preparing Research Agreements" (WHO, 2003). This booklet outlines the process for multicultural engagement for learning and understanding. Within the University of Alaska, two National Institutes of Health awards were secured in the early days of the decade. These two programs provide, as part of the research design, a process and the required budget to take the time to work with communities on the planning of new research, and for fostering partnerships for subsequent activities. The Center for Alaska Native Health Research is focusing on the health issues of obesity, diabetes, and heart disease. The Alaska Native Science Research Partnerships for Health is focusing on traditional value transmission as a means to reduce teen substance abuse and suicide.

How is Multicultural Engagement for Learning and Understanding being used?

There are a growing number of partners for engagement. The international efforts of the AEPS were modified in 1996 to become the Arctic Council. They expanded their Permanent Participants to one less than member states, which is to seven at this time. The ICC has played a very instrumental role in both being an excellent participant under the AEPS and working to assure similar levels of representation from other similar bodies. These may be either federations of indigenous peoples within one nation, or international organizations. The current six approved Permanent Participants are:

Aleut International Association (bi-national)

Arctic Athabaskan Council (bi-national)

Gwich'in Council International (bi-national)

Inuit Circumpolar Conference (four nations)

Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) (federation)

Saami Council (four nations)

Another international body that has a regional governmental focus is the Northern Forum. Their network offers a number of opportunities to become involved in investigations and policy development at the level of state or territorial governments.

The ICC continues to play a key role internationally with the above mentioned groups, as well as at the United Nations as a Non-governmental Organization.

The triennial International Congress for Circumpolar Health under the IUCH offers opportunities to network with partners. National endeavors, such as the Canadian Northern Contaminants Program, have made significant efforts to work in close cooperation with Inuit communities. McGill University's CINE and UAA's ICHS are but two academic based entities that have for decades worked to foster collaborative research partnerships with the Inuit.

In 1993 the Alaska Federation of Natives has adopted and put forward Guidelines for Research that include the hiring and training of Native people to assist in the research (AFN, 2005). It states that "The best scientific and ethical standards are obtained when Alaska Natives are directly involved in research conducted in our communities and in studies where the findings have direct impact on Native populations."

The 1984 Arctic Research Policy Act did not contain such direction, only that the USARC "recommend methods for improving efficient sharing and dissemination of data and information on the Arctic among interested public and private institutions." The APHA document did have some particular suggestions for community participation in health research. However, under the leadership of the National Science Foundation the IARPC in the mid-1990s did adopt and put forward the Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic (NSF, 2005). Key aspects that have been built upon include researchers informing the community of their planned research, information should be taken back to the community in ways that they can readily utilize the material, and researchers must respect local cultural values and incorporate the training of young people.

The following chart compares the AFN to NSF endeavors. While the language is very different between these, the underlying intent is quite similar and builds from the 1984 APHA document as well as the 1961 Inupiat Paitot.

Principles for Research Conduct

IARPC/NSF Arctic Research Principles	Alaska Federation of Natives Guidelines for Research
<i>1. Inform and advise community of research</i>	
Inform appropriate community authorities of planned research on lands, waters, or territories used by or occupied by them.	Advise Native people who are to be affected by the study.
<i>2. Involve community members in research study</i>	
Consult with and include communities in project planning and implementation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Include Native viewpoints in the final study. -Hire and train Native people to assist in the study. -Fund the support of a Native Research Committee to assess and monitor the research project.
<i>3. Respect culture/use local languages</i>	
Respect and incorporate local cultural traditions, languages, and values.	Use Native languages whenever English is the second language.
<i>4. Obtain informed consent</i>	
Research directly involving northern people should not proceed without their clear and informed consent.	Obtain informed consent of the appropriate governing body.
<i>5. Protect sacred property</i>	
Sacred sites and cultural materials/property cannot be disturbed or removed without community and/or individual consent.	Protect the sacred knowledge and cultural/intellectual property of Native people.
<i>6. Ensure confidentiality</i>	
In cases where individuals or groups provide information of a confidential nature, their anonymity must be guaranteed in both the original use of data and in its deposition for future use.	Guarantee confidentiality of surveys and sensitive material.
<i>7. Provide research materials to local community</i>	
Copies of research reports, data descriptions, and other relevant materials should be provided to the local community.	Provide copies of the study to the local people.
<i>8. Communicate study results back to the community</i>	
Efforts must be made to communicate results that are responsive to local concerns.	Inform the Native Research Committee in a summary and in non technical language of the major findings of the study.

Source: <http://www.nsf.gov/od/opp/arctic/conduct.jsp>

Source: <http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/afnguide.html>

While many of the above mentioned efforts are moving toward engagement, most are led by researchers who desire to work in Inuit communities or on issues they see as important in the north. The efforts, while well intentioned, still fall short of the engagement that is envisioned in community-based participatory research.

The latest structures that have appeared in Alaska move one step closer to the intention. The Aleutian / Pribilof Islands Association (A/PIA) called a technical meeting of experts on Arctic contaminants to help them write their own grant on the benefits of subsistence foods. This Tribal body won their own National Institutes of Health (NIH) award from the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences on Environmental Justice. They then contracted with the University of Alaska Anchorage and other organizations to conduct the work to answer the community's questions.

The Alaska Native Tribal Health Consortium (ANTHC) has received funds to establish the Office of Alaska Native Health Research. It has a number of programs that are developed by ANTHC staff and targeted at health disparities of Alaska Natives. The movement is toward Alaska Natives conducting Alaska Native health research.

To complement these community-based activities, the University of Alaska Anchorage secured an award from the NIH National Center for Minority Health and Health Disparities, to establish the Alaska Native Science Research Partnerships for Health (ANSRPH). The University made the application with two partners, the Copper River Native Association and the Alaska Native Health Board Epidemiology Center. This collaborative partnership is targeting the training of Alaska Natives in conducting health research. It is not designed just for matriculating students but to provide technical training for individuals working in their communities so that they can become engaged in learning and understanding.

Well-trained young people taking positions of leadership and responsibility in their own communities will contribute more than any other single factor to ensuring a satisfactory future for the north Alaskan Eskimo (Chance, 1966 p 34).

If there is to be any noticeable change in the direction of [declining health] in village life then there must be marked change in the demands made of the people to be other than what they are. Is it not time for the white, dominant society to take some of the blows of introspection about our directions and demands? Can we of the white community not look at ourselves with a critical eye to the values we impose or imply? Have we enough inherent security to allow Native solutions to

Native problems, or must we insist on our solutions to what we think are their problems? Increasing weight and responsibility should be put on those of us in the white community to expand our values to include a sincere appreciation for the beauty and the ethnic diversity which the Natives of Alaska have devised and maintained (Davis, 1973).

These two challenges from a quarter of a century ago are being faced. Young Inuit are becoming trained and taking leadership positions. The non-Native community is recognizing that it is critically important to foster Inuit solutions to Inuit problems. The non-Native community can play an important role in training and supporting those who take on this responsibility among the Inuit.

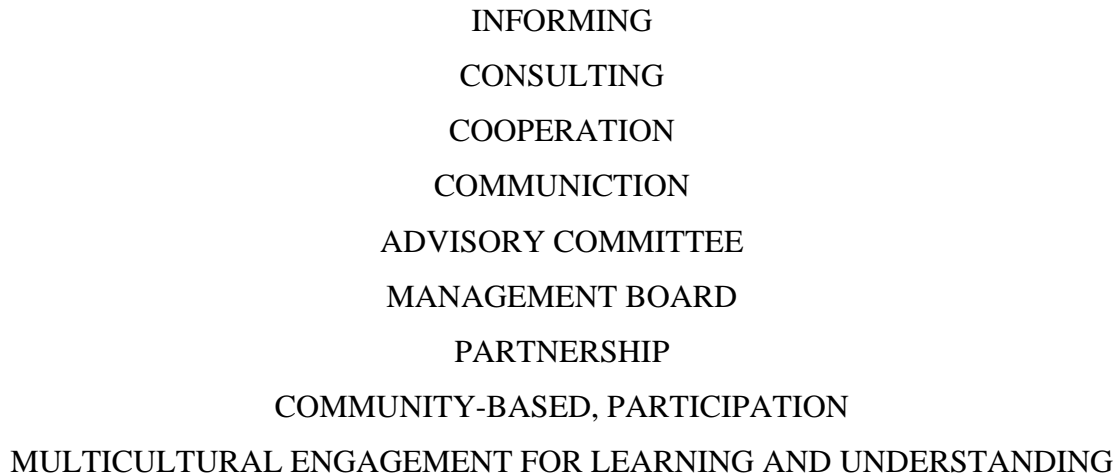
There is still a concern that these efforts to work within the federal agency and academic structures are only interfacing with the western European framework. There needs to be a means to assure that there is an open environment for multicultural engagement. The anticipation is that the Inuit who become so engaged will bring their cultural framework with them to this new receptive environment of multicultural learning.

What is Multicultural Engagement for Learning and Understanding?

In the area of natural resource management the term co-management has been used for the past few decades (Berkes, et. al., 1991). There has been an evolving gradient or a spectrum of levels of co-management. Early in the efforts to expand research from being solely driven and organized by investigators, a community might be merely “informed” of the intended work. Later there was some “consultation” for better entry into the community and for gaining input that may or may not have been utilized. “Cooperation” was the next step in this process of bringing the community into the investigative world by having some input into the management of the process. Then a dialogue was established for “communicating” with the community in the discussion of plans of action. Later “advisory committees” were established to allow for a joint forum for a more formal and higher level of exchange with the researchers.. The establishment of a “management board” for local decision making regarding the implementation of plans was next. “Partnerships” of equals were established with communities, to offer them a more significant role in conducting the research and in the application of its findings (Berkes, 1994).

Health research and many other scientific investigations are building upon this living resource management process that utilizes local and traditional knowledge for greater understanding of any anthropogenic interventions. Within health research there is now “community-based, participatory” research that provides for the initiation of the activity to come from the Inuit and to incorporate their world view and

objectives. With that community foundation there can now be Multicultural Engagement for Learning and Understanding.



The focus on minority health research training is moving along the lines of Chance (1966) but is generally not quite to the level that Davis (1973) requests. There is a need to allow communities to take actions to address their concerns in their own ways. The A/PIA project takes a step in that direction but still must do so in the framework provided by the funding agency. As Native regions and corporations secure their own sources of funds they can and have begun to conduct their own investigations and programs based on community values and interests.

Any public health approach that fails to come to terms with the role of dependence in the etiology of many of the pathologies now rampant in village Alaska is doomed to failure from the start. As the most thoughtful and observant health care professionals themselves have noted, the pathologies under consideration here will not finally subside until northern communities are given effective control over their own destinies, including the right to veto projects involving the development of natural resources which they believe would be unduly disruptive to their way of life. Efforts to address the problem of health in village Alaska that do not acknowledge this basic fact can only be regarded as hypocritical (Young, 1992 p. 77).

Engagement in Learning and Understanding

It takes TIME. Individuals may have “love at first sight,” but most relationships are built over time. An engagement is a commitment to build a life together that will eventually become a marriage or a complete blending. Engagements for learning take time. They take building trust. They take knowing the partners well

and appreciating their actions for the good of the team. They also need to get started. There may be some partnerships that grow into engagements. There are likely engagements that will be called off due to irreconcilable differences. No matter the outcome, the goal will not be achieved if the effort is not made.

It takes an effort to be engaged. It is not a passive relationship but a working endeavor to move toward improvement. It requires an active participation that includes listening attentively. It requires collaboration from all parties. It often builds from existing relationships. Successful relationships do not just happen. All parties have to have a common goal and work together toward it. It may mean sacrifices for all involved, but if the intent is solid the goal will be achieved.

These conditions are all true no matter if you are coming from the government, a local health interest group, an academic institution or an indigenous peoples' group. No one gets off easy in an engagement. You either work at it to make it successful or it fails. With multicultural relationships it takes flexibility and understanding, willingness to back off when things get too hot, and a desire to support each other to move forward.

A recommendation at this time is that governmental institutes that work with health programs of the eight-nation Arctic Council, should orchestrate a forum that brings together the residents, the providers, and the investigators to address the health disparities as well as the local and regional capacities to conduct on-going coordinated circumpolar investigations. This is not too different from having a dance. Everyone is invited and people will participate in the songs they know. There can be laughter and lots of fun. There can be lots of learning that takes place about style, rhythm, movements and appropriate behavior. No matter if it is Inuit drumming, Greenlandic squares, a waltz, jitterbug, the twist, or a tango, everyone can enjoy and gain an understanding of the dance of life.

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The Arctic Science and Technology Information System (ASTIS): Communicating Research Results to Canadian Inuit

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ABSTRACT. The Arctic Science and Technology Information System (ASTIS) is a database that describes publications and research projects about northern Canada. ASTIS is funded through contracts and donations, and can be searched for free from the Arctic Institute of North America's website. Although our coverage of research projects in the three territories (Yukon, N.W.T. and Nunavut) is close to comprehensive, our coverage of publications about the Canadian North is not. ASTIS has three projects that will improve our coverage of the parts of northern Canada where Inuit live: the Nunavut Environmental Database, the Nunavik Bibliography, and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region Database. Through ASTIS, people from all over the world can gain access to publications that describe northern environments and northern Canada's people: their cultural, social, economic and political conditions and aspirations. Inuit can use ASTIS to obtain information about northern research done by others, and to inform Inuit and others about research and publications funded or produced by Inuit.

INTRODUCTION

The Arctic Science and Technology Information System (ASTIS), a project of the Arctic Institute of North America at the University of Calgary, began operation in 1978. ASTIS is an abstracting and indexing service that describes publications and research projects about northern Canada. The ASTIS database currently contains 56,000 records and is available for free from a bilingual (English and French) website at www.aina.ucalgary.ca/astis. The website lets you search the ASTIS database by keyword, author, subject and geographic codes, year, etc. People who are not already familiar with ASTIS, or who are interested in learning more about this database, can find below a description of the types of records in ASTIS, the scope of our subject and geographic coverage, and the nature of our funding and contracts - which, to a considerable extent, determines what publications are indexed and added to the database. Following this description are questions that we hope to discuss with our audience as we strive to ensure that ASTIS meets the needs of Inuit, northern organizations, and northern researchers.

TYPES OF RECORDS IN ASTIS

Approximately 13,000 of the 56,000 records in ASTIS describe field research projects conducted in Canada's three northern territories during the past 30 years. These records begin with the words "RESEARCH PROJECT" to distinguish them from citations to publications.

COVERAGE OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

Research project descriptions are prepared using information collected by the organizations that licence northern field research. It is the cooperation of these nine organizations that makes our research project coverage possible. The Canadian Polar Commission uses research project statistics from ASTIS as one of its indicators of the level and direction of research effort in northern Canada. But these research project descriptions do not tell the full story about research in the North because we have no mechanism for learning about research that has not been screened by one of the organizations that licence northern field research. Improved communication and cooperation between ASTIS and Northern community and Native organizations enables ASTIS to better serve the information needs of these groups, to make our database more comprehensive, and to make information about northern research and publications more available to the public.

COVERAGE OF PUBLICATIONS

ASTIS includes journal articles, conference papers, theses and books, but we emphasize "gray literature": reports from government agencies, industry, indigenous peoples' organizations, and universities. These reports are often not printed in great quantities, nor are they widely distributed. Obtaining copies of such publications for the AINA library and abstracting and indexing them for ASTIS preserves access to information that could otherwise be quickly lost.

ASTIS does not have any long-term, "no-strings attached" money to purchase publications, to abstract and index them, and to get them added to the AINA library. Such activities, when outside the context of specific contracts, are difficult to afford and schedule. Nevertheless, Inuit organizations interested in having their publications listed in the ASTIS database, and willing to supply us with copies of their publications, have our assurance that we will search for the funding to add their publications to the database. We can also

check publication lists provided to us by Inuit organizations to see which of their publications are in ASTIS, and to identify those that have yet to be added.

ASTIS has recently installed a publications server, to make full-text PDF files available on the Web. The server currently hosts 400 publications, about 100 of which were published by the Arctic Institute and the rest by ASTIS contract clients. The number of publications on this server will increase rapidly in the coming years. There are currently 740 records in the ASTIS database that have links to full-text publications that are available for free on the Web. (A much larger number of the publications described in ASTIS are available on the Web on a subscription basis, but we do not provide a link unless a publication is available to all of our users.)

SUBJECT AND GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE

ASTIS covers all subjects, including the earth sciences, the life sciences, engineering and technology, renewable and non-renewable resources, co-management, politics and government, economic and social conditions, land use, indigenous peoples, archaeology, history, art and literature.

ASTIS covers all of Canada north of the southern limit of discontinuous permafrost, as well as adjacent marine areas. Our coverage therefore includes the northern parts of seven of the provinces, the three territories (Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut), part of the Arctic Ocean, the Canadian part of the Beaufort Sea, the waters within the arctic archipelago, the Canadian half of Baffin Bay - Davis Strait, Hudson and James Bays, and part of the Labrador Sea. In practice, our coverage of the three territories is more complete than our coverage of the northern parts of the provinces. ASTIS also contains a small amount of information about non-Canadian polar regions.

SEARCHING THE DATABASE

The ASTIS website provides both Simple Search and Advanced Search pages. The Simple Search page allows free-text searching of words in titles and abstracts, author searching using truncation, and drop-down lists for searching record-type (publications or research projects), subject and geographic codes, and year. The Advanced Search page allows full Boolean searching of a much larger number of fields.

The searching and documentation pages of the ASTIS website are available in both English and French. The French side of the website uses French field names, French logical operators and French error

messages. When records are displayed, field tags and the contents of some fields are displayed in the language that the user has chosen to search in. When searching in French, for example, French abstracts are displayed if available.

While viewing an ASTIS record you can click on personal and corporate author names, subject codes, subject terms, geographic codes and geographic terms to search for other records that have the same name, code or term. Although our software has the capability to make the ASTIS subject and geographic thesauri available for browsing on the Web, we have not yet had the time to implement that feature.

SUBSET DATABASES

ASTIS began to develop subset databases in 1998. Potential ASTIS contract clients are interested in supporting bibliographic projects when the results can be made available for searching from separate websites. Our software makes it very easy to make a subset of the ASTIS database available from its own website as if it were a separate database.

Contract clients agree to support subset databases about particular geographic regions, subjects or projects by providing funding and by helping ASTIS to identify relevant publications. When creating a new subset database for a client, ASTIS provides existing records for free, and charges only for the creation of new records and for the construction of the website. As the ASTIS database grows, ASTIS is able to provide more records for free to new subset databases, thus improving the economics for clients. One of the major benefits to ASTIS of working on such projects is the opportunity to work with clients to identify and index publications that we would otherwise be unaware of. Improving the coverage of subsets of ASTIS makes the whole ASTIS database more comprehensive.

Subset databases are "views" of the ASTIS database, not copies, so records changed or added in the main database are accessible automatically and immediately in subset databases if they meet the criteria that have been specified for those databases. The subset websites can be unilingual or bilingual, can have simple or complex search capabilities and can be designed to stand alone or to look like part of another website.

The following sections describe those ASTIS subset databases that may be of interest to Inuit. Only one of these subset databases provides comprehensive coverage of its defined scope. The others are incomplete to a greater or lesser degree, but are growing rapidly. Remember that all of the records in all of these subset databases are available in ASTIS, so if you are searching our main database you are benefiting from the work that went into creating the subset databases.

Nunavut Environmental Database

The Nunavut Environmental Database, available from the Nunavut Planning Commission's website at www.npc.nunavut.ca, describes 18,500 publications and recent research projects about Nunavut. The pages of the Nunavut Environmental Database website are designed to look like part of the Nunavut Planning Commission's website, although they are being generated by the ASTIS server. The search interface has been kept very simple. One interesting feature of this website is that the library symbols in Nunavut Environmental Database records are translated into library names that are then presented as hyperlinks to library websites.

Nunavik Bibliography

The Nunavik Bibliography is a cooperative long-term project to build a comprehensive bibliographic database about Nunavik. The database is available from a bilingual website, with both Simple and Advanced Search pages, at www.aina.ucalgary.ca/nunavik. The database covers Nunavik (Quebec north of 55°), the nearby Nunavut islands including the Belcher Islands, Labrador north of 56°, and adjacent marine areas. The aim is to capture all publications, both current and historical, in any language, and in all fields of knowledge. The Nunavik Bibliography is a joint project of Makivik Corporation (including the Nunavik Research Centre), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (the Office of the Chief Federal Negotiator for Nunavik and the Departmental Library), the Canadian Circumpolar Institute at the University of Alberta, Centre d'études nordiques at Laval University, and ASTIS. Additional partners are welcome. At present, the Nunavik Bibliography describes 2900 publications. Although far from comprehensive, it was made available at this early stage to improve the dissemination of information about Nunavik. The collaborators in this project are seeking partnerships with other groups in Canada with the objective of making the bibliography as comprehensive as possible. To obtain more information, or to provide comments, please contact Elaine Maloney (elaine.maloney@ualberta.ca).

Inuvialuit Settlement Region Database

The Inuvialuit Settlement Region Database is being created by ASTIS and the Joint Secretariat of the Inuvialuit Renewable Resource Committees, with financial support from Shell Canada. It will describe

between 7000 and 9000 publications and research projects about the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, including the Canadian Beaufort Sea, and will be available in June 2005.

NCP Publications Database

The NCP Publications Database is a subset of ASTIS that describes over 1100 publications that have resulted from Canada's Northern Contaminants Program (NCP). The NCP was established in 1991 to reduce and, wherever possible, eliminate contaminants in traditionally harvested foods, while providing information that assists informed decision-making by individuals and communities in their food use. The NCP Publications Database is funded by the NCP and is made available from a bilingual website at www.aina.ucalgary.ca/ncp. NCP publications are being identified with the help of NCP researchers and are being added to the NCP Publications Database in priority order. Please see the Contents page of the NCP Publications Database website for details of our progress. Because of the subject scope of this database it was possible to use a large number of drop-down lists on the search page, including lists for contaminants, animals and communities.

Hydrocarbon Impacts Database

The Hydrocarbon Impacts (HI) database is available from a bilingual website, with both Simple and Advanced Search pages, at www.aina.ucalgary.ca/hi. HI was created with financial support from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and contains 5500 records describing publications and research projects about the environmental impacts, socio-economic effects and regulation of oil and gas exploration, development and transportation in northern Canada. A Key Publications page provides an overview of significant environmental, socio-economic and regulatory publications, including a chronology of past development proposals and a list of publications that contain useful background information.

Arctic Contents Page

The *Arctic* Contents page of the Arctic Institute of North America's website is different from all of the other ASTIS subset databases, in that it is only "searchable" by journal issue. It provides access to abstracts of all 2300 articles that have appeared in the Institute's peer-reviewed journal *Arctic*. Issues are marked with a PDF icon when all of their articles are made available as PDF files, three years after publication.

Mining and the Aquatic Environment

The Mining and the Aquatic Environment website at www.aina.ucalgary.ca/mae allows users to search an ASTIS subset of more than 470 records. This website, prepared for the Water Resources Division of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, lists publications about the effect of hard rock mining on the fresh-water and marine environments of Canada's three northern territories.

AES NWT Water Bibliography

The AES NWT Water Bibliography at www.aina.ucalgary.ca/aes is the only ASTIS subset database that is completely comprehensive. It allows users to search 218 publications reporting the results of research carried out between 1991 and 1997, under the Northwest Territories Action on Water Component of the Arctic Environmental Strategy, on all aspects of fresh water in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS TO CONSIDER TODAY

The 14th Inuit Studies Conference gave ASTIS a unique opportunity to discuss directly with Inuit and northern researchers the role of ASTIS in communicating research results to Canadian Inuit. We invite you to discuss the following questions and to share your suggestions for ways in which we can facilitate the communication of research results to your communities.

- Can ASTIS be more relevant and useful to Northern Canadians?
- Can ASTIS do a better job of communicating the results of Arctic research to Inuit?
- Is there a role for ASTIS to play in better serving northern governments, schools, public health providers, research organizations, and management and decision-making bodies, or linking with their databases and information systems?
- Would you or your organization be interested in making your publications available to ASTIS for addition to our database and to the AINA library?
- Do significant information gaps exist in ASTIS such that efforts to secure funding to fill these gaps should be made? What direction or advice would you give us in our quest to secure funding to index and

abstract the kinds of information that will better serve the needs of our Inuit users, and make our database more relevant to Northern Canadians?

- Would researchers involved in large-scale Arctic research projects be in favour of providing one copy of each of the resulting publications to ASTIS for indexing and for addition to the AINA library? Would researchers consider this to be of benefit in disseminating their research results to northerners or the research community?

Just as traditional knowledge must be collected and preserved while the elders, the holders of that knowledge, are still with us, so attention must be given to the preservation of the printed word. The act of printing or putting on paper a message or story "fixes" the content of the message. One Inuit author puts it this way: "paper stays put". But paper can also fly away unless care is taken to collect and preserve the paper copy.

**Interlude at Winter Cove: Mid-19th Century
Copper Inuit - European Intersocietal Interaction,
Walker Bay, Victoria Island**

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ABSTRACT. This paper discusses ongoing archaeological and sociocultural investigations into the nature and effects of Copper Inuit-European intersocietal interaction during the first half of the nineteenth century. More specifically, the long-term direct contact episode in 1851-1852 between northern Copper Inuit groups and the officers and crew of the Royal Navy vessel H.M.S. *Enterprise* in the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas of Victoria Island, Northwest Territories, is examined. Archaeological surveys were initiated in 2003 in the Winter Cove area, Walker Bay, which focused on an assessment of intersocietal interaction. This ongoing collaborative project seeks to systematically examine possible changes in Copper Inuit material culture, intra- and inter-group material trade systems and social relations resulting from direct and indirect contact with elements of the Royal Navy. Preliminary results of field surveys, in conjunction with sociocultural investigations in the Hamlet of Holman, museum investigations, and, a review of relevant ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature, suggest that Northern Copper Inuit groups interacting with the crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise* in the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas in 1851-1852 acquired significant amounts of exotic materials and manufactured items. Many of these items were modified and seem to have been introduced into the material culture of these groups and “filtered” into intra- and intergroup trade systems of the Minto Inlet area and beyond, thereby contributing to possible changes in Copper Inuit material culture and traditional social interaction.

INTRODUCTION

It has been demonstrated that it is important to fully understand the effects of the penetration of European societies and economic systems on indigenous societies (e.g. Trigger 1985; Sahlins 1987; Wallerstein 1989). Similarly, studies examining the possible impact of European explorers as agents of imperial and economic systems on indigenous societies are integral to the broader understanding of intersocietal interaction (e.g. Savelle 1985, 1987; Denning 1980; Pálsson 2004). This paper discusses continuing archaeological and sociocultural investigations into the nature and effects of Copper Inuit - European intersocietal interaction during the first half of the nineteenth century. More specifically, the long-term direct contact episode in 1851-1852 between northern Copper Inuit groups and the officers and crew of the Royal Navy vessel H.M.S. *Enterprise* in the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas of Victoria Island, Northwest Territories, Canada, is examined. These investigations are part of a broader collaborative research framework which incorporates archaeological survey, ethnographic studies, the review and interpretation of relevant ethnohistorical sources, and museum research. The entire research project is informed by a perspective that does not view the impact of European imperial and economic power as

represented by explorers as an entirely transformative process in which all changes within an indigenous society emanate solely from the influences of external forces. Rather, indigenous societies such as the Copper Inuit are seen to possess the complex sociocultural capabilities through which to mediate and harness all interaction for the welfare and “creative transformation” of the cultural order (e.g. Ortner 1999).

OVERVIEW: THE COPPER INUIT AND THE NATURE OF 19TH CENTURY CONTACT AND INTERSOCIETAL INTERACTION

The Historic Copper Inuit are the westernmost of the groups living within the traditional ranges of the central Canadian Inuit (Figure 1.), (e.g. Stefansson 1913, 1914, 1919, 1922; Jenness 1922, 1946, 1991; Rasmussen 1932; Damas 1969, 1971, 1984a, 1984b, 1988; Condon 1996). The geographical area traditionally inhabited by the Copper Inuit extended from what is now southern Banks Island, eastward through western, southern and southeastern Victoria Island, along Dolphin and Union Strait and the southern Coronation Gulf littoral and thence, south, to Great Bear and Contwoyto Lakes and their respective environs (Damas 1984a; Riewe 1986; Stevenson 1993; Condon 1996).

Interaction between Copper Inuit and Europeans was initiated in 1771 when Samuel Hearne, an agent of the Hudson’s Bay Company, reached the mouth of the Coppermine River at its joining with Coronation Gulf (Hearne 1958; Stefansson 1914:3; Jenness 1921:541; Smith and Burch 1979:82; Morrison 1987:4). A half-century would pass before contact was reinitiated in 1821, six years after Great Britain’s penultimate victory over the forces of Napoleonic France in 1815, when the territory of the Copper Inuit came into the orbit of several Royal Navy and Hudson’s Bay Company expeditions (e.g. Franklin 1823:85).

These expeditions were primarily employed in operations either directly related to, or ancillary (such as search operations for the last Franklin Expedition) to attempts ordered by the Parliament of Great Britain and the British Admiralty to chart and traverse the Northwest Passage through what is now the Canadian Arctic, from Baffin Bay in the east to the Beaufort Sea in the west (e.g. Neatby 1958, 1970, 1984; Fleming 1998; Delgado 1999; Savours 1999). Great Britain’s growing interest in this exploratory endeavour was based on long-standing historical interests, the pressing need to find employment for much of its large, wartime Navy, and burgeoning nationalistic impulses (e.g. Fitzhugh and Olin 1993). Perhaps more importantly, the exploration of the Northwest Passage (or, to be more precise, finding one route among several ice-filled Northwest passages that exist within the myriad islands that form the Arctic archipelago), was a direct manifestation of Great Britain’s growing confidence as an imperial and economic power on the world stage (e.g. Hobsbawm 1968; Savours 1990:33).



Figure 1. “Esquimaux Woman of Prince Albert’s Land in Dancing Cap,” Ca. 1851- 1852. Artist: Edward Adams. Adams served as Assistant Surgeon (and Naturalist), aboard HMS *Enterprise*, 1850-1855. This black and white drawing of a Northern Copper Inuit woman in a loon dancing hat was executed by Adams during the wintering of HMS *Enterprise*, at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island. SPRI 83/11/29. [Licensed with permission of the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge].

EXPEDITIONS

During the years 1821-1853, six expeditions entered and conducted exploratory investigations within traditional Copper Inuit territory. The first, A Royal Navy effort under the command of John Franklin, traversed and mapped an area of the continental coastline by birchbark canoe from the outfall of

Coppermine river into Coronation Gulf to Point Turnagain on the Kent Peninsula (Franklin 1823; e.g. Neatby 1970; Hood 1975; Richardson 1984; Back 1994). Franklin and his ill-equipped party were then forced to retreat as cold weather approached. The expedition subsequently came perilously close to total disaster; as it was, eleven men perished. Forewarned and equipped with shallow-draft wooden boats, Franklin then led a second Royal Navy expedition in 1825-1827. After establishing a base on Great Bear Lake, the expedition descended the Mackenzie River to its estuary, where Franklin led a western division charting the coastline to Return Island off the coast of Alaska. Dr. John Richardson, commanding an Eastern Division in the boats *Dolphin* and *Union*, journeyed through Copper Inuit areas to the Coppermine River. At that point, the *Dolphin* and *Union* and a cache of supplies were abandoned and Richardson's party made its way to winter quarters on Great Bear Lake (Franklin 1826).

In the mid-1830s, Peter Warren Dease and Thomas Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company spent three highly successful seasons engaged in cartographic work, much of it within Copper Inuit territory (Dease and Simpson 1839; Simpson 1843; MacLaren 1994; Dease 2002). In 1839 alone, favorable ice conditions enabled Dease and Simpson's party to coast the continental shoreline in their boats *Castor* and *Pollux* from the Coppermine River east to the Boothia Peninsula, and thence return with a brief investigation of the Cambridge Bay area of Victoria Island *en route*. On arrival at the Coppermine River, this expedition also cached one of their boats and supplies and then returned to their base of operations on Great Bear Lake.

After the disappearance of Sir John Franklin's last expedition in 1848, several search expeditions, coordinated by both the Admiralty and the Hudson's Bay Company, entered Copper Inuit territory looking for Franklin and his ships, HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror* (e.g. Neatby 1970). In 1848, a party commanded by Dr. John Richardson and Dr. John Rae, searched by boat from the mouth of the Mackenzie River eastward into the Coronation Gulf area. At Cape Krusenstern, ice conditions forced this group to abandon its boats and stores, and their investigations continued by land to the Coppermine River and thence through the Dismal Lakes area back to their base on Great Bear Lake (Richardson 1851a; Richardson 1851b). After wintering, Rae returned alone to the Coronation Gulf area in 1849 and, although ice conditions again precluded a planned journey by boat, he did conduct a reconnaissance from the Coppermine River to Cape Krusenstern (Rae 1953). Ever the indefatigable traveler, Rae would return to Copper Inuit territory yet again on the elusive search for Franklin, examining much of the southern and southwestern shoreline of Victoria Island in 1851 (e.g. Rae 1953). Finally, between the years 1850-1853, two Royal Navy vessels, HMS *Investigator* and HMS *Enterprise*, tasked by the Admiralty with search and cartographic duties, became the first ships to initiate investigations in Copper Inuit territory. The activities of both ships, and especially the

ultimate abandonment of *Investigator* in Mercy Bay, northern Banks Island, in 1853, and the two seasons *Enterprise* wintered among Copper Inuit groups - at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, northwestern Victoria Island in 1851-52, and, at Cambridge Bay, southeastern Victoria Island in 1852-1853 - may have had significant effects on traditional Copper Inuit culture (e.g. M'Clure 1857; Collinson 1889).

The nature and extent of interaction between Copper Inuit groups and the above expeditions varied. Fundamentally, and more broadly, the contact episodes outlined above can be defined as those involving; 1) indirect contact (including post-abandonment utilization of expedition materials), 2) short-term direct contact, and, 3) long-term direct contact (e.g. Savelle 1985). As one might suspect, within the Copper Inuit-European contact continuum during the first half of the nineteenth-century, there are instances of contact of a transitory nature, while in others, contact of a more extensive or longer duration is evident, and in many of these cases evidence suggests that the effects of these encounters possibly influenced Copper Inuit cultural change (e.g. Hickey 1984; Johnson 2004).

Indirect contact between Copper Inuit and expeditions often led to an infusion of exotic and manufactured materials such as woods, metals and glass, entering well established Copper Inuit trade systems (e.g. Stefansson 1914; Morrison 1987, 1991). These materials possessed great utilitarian value for the Inuit, especially in the fabrication of tools and weapons. This process occurred in two ways. First, when expedition personnel encountered unoccupied Copper Inuit habitation or food harvesting sites, such as fishing, caribou and basking seal hunting camps and cache sites, often times expedition members would deposit materials such as "ironwork" (files, hatchets, awls, knives, axes, chisels etc.), needles, beads, kettles. etc., with the expectation these articles would be found and utilized by Inuit (e.g. Franklin 1823:199, 226, 240, 245-247; Simpson 1843:305, 384; Richardson 1851a:300, 309-310). Implicit in the rationale motivating these actions was the need to promote reciprocity. Gift giving was ordered by the British Admiralty and the Hudson's Bay Company to illustrate the expedition's peaceful intentions, and to facilitate future cooperation in many forms, including obtaining geographical intelligence, food procurement, and assistance in ethnological and natural history studies (e.g. Herschel 1849; Idiens 1993). Secondly, indirect contact also occurred through post-abandonment utilization of abandoned expedition materials by Inuit. These exotic materials ranged from wooden boats spars, tools and ship's stores, to a plethora of manufactured and personal items. Most notably, given the relative paucity of wood within Copper Inuit territory, it is clear that the Inuit obtained large amounts of valuable, exotic wood (as well as ironwork and other items), from the two boats abandoned by Richardson in 1826, one of Dease and Simpson's boats in 1839, and Richardson and Rae's boats in 1848 (e.g. Dease and Simpson 1839:326, 326; Simpson 1843: 262-263, 272-273; Richardson 1851a:40-42; Richardson 1851b:124). More significantly, in the case of the

abandonment of HMS *Investigator* at Mercy Bay, northern Banks Island, in 1854, oral testimony, ethnographic studies, and archaeological investigations point to long-term post-abandonment utilization of materials from the ship and an associated storage depot by Copper Inuit (e.g. Stefansson 1913, 1914, 1919; Jenness 1921, 1922, 1946; Hickey 1981, 1984; Condon 1996).

Short-term direct contact occurred when expeditions encountered Copper Inuit either individually, in family and kin-oriented groups or in larger aggregations. Within the period under discussion, these meetings could be brief and transitory, sometimes lasting only hours, although, it may be said, the encounters were often fruitful - materially and otherwise - in a number of ways for both Copper Inuit and expedition members, especially when the services of an interpreter were at hand (e.g. Miertsching 1967). Lastly, long-term direct contact occurred through regular interaction between Copper Inuit and the wintering expedition of HMS *Enterprise* over the course of many months at both Winter Cove, Walker Bay, in 1851-1852, and at Cambridge Bay, 1852-1853. These examples of long-term direct contact fostered various forms of reciprocity, idea exchange, and a high degree of inter-cultural interaction as well as engendering a large infusion of exotic materials into Copper Inuit trade systems (Collinson 1889; Skead 1849-1852; e.g. Mackinnon 1985).

THE COPPER INUIT AND THE RELUCTANT CONSORTS – HMS *INVESTIGATOR* AND HMS *ENTERPRISE*

Of all the expeditions engaged in exploratory endeavors in Copper Inuit territory, none had a greater impact on probable changes in Copper Inuit culture than the eventful voyages of HMS *Investigator* and HMS *Enterprise*. Under orders from the Admiralty to act in consort in a search and cartographic mission in the western Arctic, the ships departed England in 1850, but were separated in the Pacific *en route* to the Bering Strait. Captain Robert M'Clure, who commanded the *Investigator*, essentially ignored orders for a planned rendezvous in Alaska with *Enterprise*, (which was commanded by the expedition's senior officer, Captain Richard Collinson), and sailed eastward through the Beaufort Sea and into Prince of Wales Strait (e.g. O'Byrne 1849:218; Neatby 1958; Holland 1982). Encountering impenetrable ice opposite Barrow Strait, M'Clure and the *Investigator* wintered in a precarious position at the Princess Royal Islands. From this position, M'Clure dispatched sledging parties in the spring, including a southern party commanded by Lieutenant Haswell, which made contact in late May of 1851 with a group of Copper Inuit on the north coast of Prince Albert Sound (M'Clure 1853, 1857). This encounter - the first between the Copper Inuit of Victoria Island and Europeans - was followed in early June of 1851 by another, also in the Prince Albert Sound area, during which M'Clure and *Investigator's* interpreter, Johann August Miertsching, noted the

complete absence of materials of European manufacture within Inuit tool kits and other material possessions (M'Clure 1857:185-186; Armstrong 1857:338-341; Collinson 1889:172; Miertsching 1967:114-117; Condon 1996:22-28). After being freed from the ice in the summer of 1851, the *Investigator* sailed a torturous, ice-filled passage around the west and north coasts of Banks Island before finding succor of a kind in Mercy Bay. Here, the *Investigator* spent nearly two-years trapped in the ice before being abandoned; the exhausted ship's officers and crew ultimately reaching other search units of the Royal Navy situated near Melville Island, and later, in the Barrow Strait (e.g. M'Clure 1853,1857; Barr 1999; Delgado 1999:130-133).

It seems clear that Northern Copper Inuit groups such as the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* of Minto Inlet, and the *Kanghiryuarmiut*, of Prince Albert Sound were profoundly affected by the *Investigator*'s presence, more especially by their long-term post-abandonment utilization of exotic materials from the ship and depot left by *Investigator*'s crew at Mercy Bay. Vilhjalmur Stefansson's Inuit informants confirmed the "mining" of the ship and depot had taken place, possibly from 1855 to 1890 (Stefansson 1914). How large was the depot and what was left on board *Investigator*? An examination of the "*List of Provisions, Slops, Stores, & c.*" landed by the crew and remaining on board, (and a similar list compiled later by a visiting sledge party from H.M.S. *Resolute* commanded by Frederick J. Krabbé), reveals a cornucopia of metals, wood and other materials including ships' boats, masts, spars, tools, etc. (Great Britain Parliament, 1854-1855:996-998). One is able to further comprehend the size of the depot through the words of Krabbé, who reported: "I saw the ship [*Investigator*] from Point Back, and when within four or five miles could plainly see with the naked eye the stacked spars on the beach, but the cairn I could not see so quickly; the former, however, will always be efficient marks for the depôt." (GBP 1854-1855:998-999). Further, Hickey's studies also confirm significant material evidence of Copper Inuit *in situ* modification of metals and woods at the depot site and at habitation sites along the route leading to and from the depot at Mercy Bay (Hickey 1981, 1984:22). Similarly, Stefansson's informants reported that metals and soft woods were the most desirable items available at Mercy Bay. Hard woods (such as the oak used to make barrel staves), were rarely used (Stefansson 1914; Condon 1996:30). This fact is - interestingly - confirmed by later visitors who found (and often utilized) barrel staves from the depot up to the mid-20th century (Manning 1953:190).

HMS *Enterprise* entered the Arctic in 1851, essentially following in *Investigator*'s wake. The more cautious Collinson attempted, unsuccessfully, to locate *Investigator*, finding only a depot of supplies placed by M'Clure at the Princess Royal Islands, and numerous "Marks" and cairns containing "communications" left by its supposed consort, situated on prominent headlands along and near Prince of Wales Strait (e.g. Collinson 1855, 1889; Skead 1849-1852). By late summer of 1851, Collinson sailed *Enterprise* into a

protected winter anchorage at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island. The first long-term direct interaction between groups of Northern Copper Inuit and Europeans occurred in this location over the course of the next ten months (e.g. Collinson 1855, 1889; Skead 1849-1852). This critical encounter is discussed at length below. *Enterprise* extracted itself from the ice on July 3, 1852, and Collinson and his crew then searched south and east before finding a haven for the winter of 1852-1853 at Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island. Here too, a period of often intense long-term direct interaction ensued with Copper Inuit of southeastern Victoria Island, and other groups from the Coronation Gulf area. Collinson departed Cambridge Bay in August, 1853, wintered for the final time at Camden Bay, Alaska, in 1853-1854, and then sailed home to England (Collinson 1855, 1889; Holland 1982).

NORTHERN COPPER INUIT - EUROPEAN INTERSOCIETAL INTERACTION, WINTER COVE, WALKER BAY, VICTORIA ISLAND

Collinson and his crew established “Winter Quarters” at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island in September of 1851 (Figure 2.). Soon after, contact was initiated with the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut*, a northern Copper Inuit group whose traditional territory included the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas (Stefansson 1913:278-279; Jenness 1922:41-42). Collinson also met other groups from the *Kanghiryuarmiut*, including the Inuit who had met crew members of H.M.S. *Investigator* earlier that year at Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island (GBP 1854-1855: 992-994; Collinson 1889:172). For two months, September 17th - November 18th, the Inuit were nearly always present, fishing through the ice in lakes situated on the isthmus or *itivyaaq*, a traditional crossing place between Walker Bay and Boot and Minto Inlets to the south (Figure 3.), bartering fish and caribou for goods and materials, teaching the crew to use sleds and sled dogs, and visiting the ship. However, by November 7th, it was apparent that the caribou were leaving the area and the cached food stocks of Inuit were low, as crew members were only able to acquire small amounts of caribou. On November 18th the sun disappeared for the winter months, and on November 22nd Collinson recorded that “both the natives and deer [caribou] appear to have left us” (Collinson 1889:173).



Figure 2. "Winter Quarters, 1852." Artist: Edward Adams. A view of the icebound HMS *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria island. [Licensed with permission of the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge].



Figure 3. "Esquimaux of Prince Albert's Land - Winter Dress," Ca. 1851-52. Artist: Edward Adams. As one of the two Surgeon-Naturalists serving aboard HMS *Enterprise* during 1850-1855, Adams was responsible for ethnographic studies as well as natural history collections. Adams seems to have executed this black and white drawing of Northern Copper Inuit engaged in ice fishing on one of the inland lakes near Winter Cove, Walker Bay. SPRI 83/11/32 [Licensed with permission of the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge].

This turn-of-events is not surprising, considering that the ideal ice conditions for breathing hole sealing for these groups occurs at this critical juncture in their annual subsistence cycle, when Inuit groups move out onto the sea ice. In this case, they may have moved far enough, and with enough regularized group movement, to make regular communication with the ship impossible (Collinson 1855:199, 1889:221; Jenness 1922:110-120; Damas 1984b:398). Certainly, the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* were sealing in one of the richest ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) habitats in the Canadian Arctic (T. Smith 1987:13). In any case, with their knowledge of seasonal ice movements, these Inuit groups knew that the *Enterprise* and all that she held, would still be icebound in the spring “when they abandoned the snowhouse villages on the sea ice and moved to land” (Damas 1984b:398).

Regular social interaction resumed in June and continued until July 3, 1852, when *Enterprise* was able leave Winter Cove. However, before leaving, the Inuit asked for and received all of the expedition’s iron hoop, empty preserved meat tins, old clothes and more (Collinson 1889:221; Holland 1982; Pálsson 2001:159). Given the size of the known tin can middens left by Royal Navy expeditions in the Canadian Arctic, it can be surmised that the Inuit groups in the Winter Cove area were the recipients of large amounts of tin (e.g., Hett 1978:15-16; Phillips 1985).

The wintering of HMS *Enterprise* at Winter Cove (and, later, at Cambridge Bay), were the first (and last) examples of direct long-term intersocietal interaction between Europeans and the Copper Inuit in the 19th century. After August of 1853, a period of approximately fifty-years would elapse before contact and interaction, of a more extensive nature, that is, between the Copper Inuit and the commercial whaling industry and later, the fur trade, would be reestablished (Jenness 1922:30; Bockstoce 1975:298-299, 1977:108).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

In order to more fully examine the possible impact of mid-19th century direct long-term contact episodes on northern Copper Inuit groups, archaeological investigations were initiated between July 30th and August 15th, 2003, in the Winter Cove area, Walker Bay, (Lat. 71 37’ 00’’ N, Long. 11 75’ 200’’ W), Victoria Island, Northwest Territories (Johnson 2003). These investigations were accompanied by sociocultural investigations in the Hamlet of Holman, Victoria Island. The project’s research plan was supported by information obtained from ongoing investigations within museum collections, and through ethnographical and ethnohistorical data. The archaeological and sociocultural investigations represented the initial field season in a proposed two-year project, and focused, primarily, on an assessment of contact and

intersocietal interaction between northern Copper Inuit groups and the Royal Navy vessel H.M.S. *Enterprise* in northwestern Victoria Island. Specifically, the project seeks to systematically examine possible changes in northern Copper Inuit material culture, intra- and intergroup material trade systems and social relations resulting from direct and indirect contact with elements of the Royal Navy in the Walker Bay, Boot Inlet and Minto Inlet areas.

The fieldwork stage of the project was initiated in the Hamlet of Holman starting on July 30th, where several important interviews were conducted with informants according to Human Subject Research Protocols. Additionally and simultaneously, plans were put into effect to finalize transportation to Walker Bay, equipment was organized and packed, and research and field assistants provided with detailed information concerning the goals and procedures of the project. Transportation of project personnel, equipment and supplies to and from Walker Bay was done by boat, and it is safe to say that these journeys were the most important (and exhilarating) logistical components of the project. The two boats used during field season were driven and piloted by Jack Kataoyak and Donald Inuktalik, both residents of the Hamlet of Holman. Their skill and consummate knowledge of the “land,” sea routes, ice and wind conditions were abundantly evident throughout the journey from Holman northward on Amundsen Gulf, across Minto Inlet, around the Mount Phayre headland, into Walker Bay and east to Winter Cove (and return).

The project basecamp was ultimately established on a relatively sheltered shingle beach on the western side of Winter Cove. From this location, walking surveys by the author and research assistants were undertaken from August 5th to August 15th. The field surveys were conducted in the immediate Winter Cove area - including Flagstaff Hill - and at several inland lakes south and southeast of Winter Cove on the Isthmus (*itivyaaq*) connecting Walker Bay with Boot and Minto Inlets. A total of approximately thirty sites, comprising historic Copper Inuit tent rings and caches, Royal Navy habitation, burial, cache and survey features as well as several mid-20th century habitation and survey features associated with the 1940-41 “wintering” of the R.C.M.P. Schooner *St. Roch* in Winter Cove, were recorded.

The nature and amount of data collected varied according to project research plans, though random sampling was conducted at each site, and all features were recorded in detail. The items recovered from sites also varied, although 19th century manufactured metals, glass, and wood predominated. In some cases, evidence of modification of manufactured materials such as tin and glass into projectile points and uniface cutting implements was present. All recovered items are now undergoing professional conservation

procedures, and will ultimately be deposited in the collections of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

Preliminary results of the 2003 field surveys and related research at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, and elsewhere, suggest that Northern Copper Inuit groups interacting with the officers and crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise* in the Winter Cove, Walker Bay area, in 1851-1852 acquired significant amounts of manufactured items and bulk materials. The surveys conducted to date provide ample evidence of materials from H.M.S. *Enterprise* in numerous Copper Inuit tent rings throughout the Winter Cove area, and across the isthmus which served traditionally as a travel route to Minto Inlet and, as an important seasonal hunting and fishing area. Many of the materials recovered or recorded *in situ* (some of which have been identified as remnants of what were originally period Royal Navy tin cans, glass bottles, and wooden barrels), were modified into tools and/or other implements by Copper Inuit, and seem to have been introduced into the material culture and trade systems of these groups.

Several other sites were recorded, examined in a preliminary sense, and noted for future holistic examination and interpretation. In particular, a ridge line area located on the southern periphery of Winter Cove yielded a large concentration of Copper Inuit cultural sites, including multiple stone tent rings. These sites, which are directly situated at a point overlooking the winter anchorage of HMS *Enterprise*, exhibited clear material evidence that the area was utilized by Inuit in the modification of exotic materials and the fabrication of items such as tin projectile points (Johnson 2003).

CONCLUSION

By utilizing the preliminary research results of all components this project, and through the incorporation of the findings of related archaeological studies by Hickey (1981,1984) in the Mercy Bay area of Northern Banks Island, and McGhee (1972), in the Prince Albert Sound area of Victoria Island, the probable effects of contact in all forms between northern Copper Inuit and Europeans during the 19th century emerge in sharper focus. It can be suggested that direct long-term Copper Inuit contact with H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, and the long-term post abandonment utilization of large amounts of exotic materials from H.M.S. *Investigator* and its depot at Mercy Bay, Banks Island, up to the 1890s (and possibly beyond), contributed to the infusion of significant amounts of exotic materials into Copper Inuit trade systems. These items were then “filtered” into intra- and intergroup trade systems of the Walker Bay, Minto Inlet, and Prince Albert Sound areas (and beyond), thereby possibly contributing to changes in Copper Inuit material culture, seasonality, and social relations. The Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmiut in

particular seemed to have gained an ascendant position within Copper Inuit trade systems due to their physical proximity to tons of Royal Navy stores and materials which they “mined” at Mercy Bay, and also, as the recipients of a significant amount of exotic materials due to their interaction with H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove in 1851-1852.

This study outlines the importance of the continued examination of indirect and direct forms of contact and the Copper Inuit response to, and mediation of, the impact of European exploration. From the Copper Inuit perspective, the locations in which encounters occurred with European explorers are, for a great many reasons, of extreme cultural significance. Given this importance, Winter Cove is, in a sense, a cultural laboratory as well. This is the locus of “the encounter,” where, “...explorers bring their context with them, in the cultural cocoon of their boat...” Clearly, it is also the place where the “...locals remain in their own context...” (Denig 1980). Similarly, at Winter Cove the researcher can discern some of the physical features (“Flagstaff”, cairns, observatory, etc.) of a “spatial vocabulary” of the agents of European imperial and economic systems (L. Smith 2002:52-53). Ultimately, Winter Cove is a place where, utilizing different directions in qualitative and quantitative methodology, one can, perhaps, develop a greater understanding of the serious cultural interplay in contact episodes.

POSTSCRIPT: ONGOING FIELDWORK AND RESEARCH

Preliminary results of archaeological surveys conducted during a second field season in July-August, 2004, and completed after this paper was presented, continue to strongly suggest that the Copper Inuit of the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas of Victoria Island received (and sometimes modified) exotic materials acquired through interaction with the officers and crew of HMS *Enterprise* at Winter Cove in 1851-1852. Spatial movement of these materials is also confirmed through survey. Meanwhile, the continuing review of pertinent ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources, diaries, manuscripts and museum investigations points toward a degree of intersocietal interaction, reciprocity, and cultural interchange between the officers and crew of *Enterprise*, and Copper Inuit throughout much of 1851-1852 not heretofore examined. When finalized, it is hoped that this collaborative project will provide a more comprehensive view of possible changes in Copper Inuit material culture as a result of this encounter, and the effects these changes may have had on intra- and intergroup material trade systems, seasonality and social relations.

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Captured Words: Inuit Creative Voice in English for the Twenty-First Century

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ABSTRACT. Inuit orature was the means by which Arctic people presented their creative voice until contact with the Europeans. With the arrival of the people from the South, the stories and songs of Arctic people from what is now Greenland, west through Canada to Alaska, were transcribed into the language of the settlers. What has been labeled by some as the earliest representation of Inuit literature, was the European-centred "Greenland Ode" which appeared in Gentleman's Magazine in 1745. Although it had European subject matter, it was the first attempt by non-Inuit to capture Inuit literary creation in written form. Later Rink's Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo (1875), Boas' The Central Eskimo (1888), and then Jenness' and Rasmussen's works of the 1920s all provided European and ultimately English language voice for Inuit expression.

In subsequent years, anthologies of Inuit literature such as Edmund Carpenter's Anerca (1959), Robin Gedalof's Paper Stays Put (1980), and John Robert Colombo's Poems of the Inuit (1981) collected traditional works gathered and translated by earlier anthropologists as well as added the voice of modern Inuit writers. These provided English-language readers from many countries with an opportunity to share in the songs and tales, the poetry and prose, of Inuit.

As the end of the twentieth century approached, individual works were published by authors such as Michael Kusugak, Markoosie, Anthony Thrasher, and Alooook Ipellie, giving readers an opportunity to experience the work of a number of individual Inuit writers. In addition, more generic texts dealing with aboriginal writers in general also contained the work of Inuit. Thus Inuit and non-Inuit readers who read English have had expanded access to Inuit creative work.

This paper is intended to provide a thorough representation of the Inuit creative voice which has been captured in the canon of Inuit literature from the earliest times to the beginning of the twenty-first century. It should provide an overview of the English language texts published during this period along with other texts which have been translated into English. It will present, too, critical commentary on and evaluation of the major works included within a thorough bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

Inuit orature was the means by which Arctic people presented their creative voice until contact with Europeans. With the arrival of the people from the South, the stories and songs of Arctic people who resided in what is now Greenland, west through what became northern Canada's Nunavut and Northwest Territories, into today's Alaska, were transcribed into the language of the settlers. The first attempt to capture Inuit voice in written form was the "Greenland Ode" which appeared in Gentleman's Magazine in 1745. Inspired

by European subject matter (Danish king's son's birthday), it nonetheless marks the initial attempt of Europeans to capture Inuit creative voice. Later Rink's Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo (1875) and Boas' The Central Eskimo (1888), and then Jenness (1922) and Rasmussen's works of the 1920s (1927 and 1929) all provided European and ultimately English language voice for Inuit expression. In subsequent years, more documented and translated material appeared in the form of anthologies or collections as well as individual works by Inuk authors.

From this background and after months of research, I developed a paper dealing with the teaching of Inuit orature and literature at Canadian post-secondary institutions. In 2002 at University of Alaska in Anchorage, I presented this threshold study of what specific Inuit literature was being taught at Canadian universities and colleges. This quantitative analysis examined thirty universities and ten, two-year colleges across Canada. Of fifty-two institutions (forty-two universities and ten colleges) contacted, extending from Nunavut to Southern Ontario and from Newfoundland to Yukon, forty responded providing a truly pan-Canadian perspective.

Only Nunavut Arctic College offered specific classes in Inuit literature. This college located in Iqaluit, offered Inuit Literature I and II as part of the Nunavut Teacher Education Programme. Texts used were entirely Inuit anthologies or separate works, not general Canadian or Aboriginal texts.

Ten of twenty universities and three of nine colleges which offered Native Literature classes, included the work of Inuit authors. These thirteen institutions most often used an Aboriginal anthology supplemented by individual works.

Thirty of thirty universities presented Canadian literature classes, yet among them only nine provided Inuit literature as part of the curriculum while only one of seven colleges with Canadian Literature classes had Inuit Literature as part of the curriculum. These ten institutions made use of Aboriginal anthologies (six) or Canadian anthologies (three) along with individual works or Inuit collections.

What this preliminary study demonstrated was that despite there being only one institution among the forty universities and colleges responding that offered classes specifically in Inuit Literature, a full twenty-six of forty universities and colleges offered at least some Inuk authors in their Aboriginal or Canadian literature survey classes.

In the most recent comprehensive census breakdown from 2001, the population of Canada was listed as 29,639,030. Those who identified themselves as being Aboriginal numbered 976,305, representing approximately 3% of the Canadian population at that time. Inuit numbers were 45,070 or 5% of the Aboriginal peoples and only .002% of the population as a whole. Nevertheless, 22,560 Inuit are present out

of a total Nunavut Territory population of 26,665; 9,535 Inuit reside in Quebec, 4,560 in Newfoundland and Labrador, and 3,910 in Northwest Territories.

Although the total population of Inuit within what is now Canada is small, the unique culture and its importance to the Arctic regions of Canada give it a significance far beyond mere numbers. An indication of this reality is exhibited by how much Inuit literature is taught within the Aboriginal Literature and Canadian Literature survey classes at Canada's post-secondary institutions.

From a cultural perspective, how does the voice of Inuit compare with that of other Aboriginal peoples or other residents of Canada? What follows is a glimpse of what Canadian texts are available in English for those seeking to read Inuit literature. This will be illustrated through an examination of representation of Inuit works within Canadian anthologies, Aboriginal anthologies, anthologies of only Inuit Literature, and finally within individual authors' single or collected works.

DISCUSSION

Canadian Anthologies

According to J. R. (Tim) Struthers writing in the 2002 Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 31-35), early anthologies of English Canadian writing date back to the 19th century publication of E.H. Dewart's Selections from Canadian Poets (1864; reprinted 1973) and W. D. Lighthall's Songs of the Great Dominion (1889; reprinted 1971). These anthologies along with others such as the first Oxford Book of Canadian Verse (1913), Lorne Pierce's Our Canadian Literature: Representative Prose and Verse (1922), A Book of Canadian Prose and Verse (Edmund Kemper Broadus and Eleanor Hammond Broadus, 1923) and later collections such as Desmond Pacey's A Book of Canadian Stories (1947; revised 4th edition 1964), and Klinck and Watters Canadian Anthology first published in 1955 did not include creative work by Aboriginal authors. Indeed, during the 1960s and 1970s when there was a renaissance in English Canadian literature, popular anthologies such as the re-issued Klinck and Watters book (1966 and 1974) continued to ignore the voice of almost all Aboriginal peoples including Inuit. Of eighty-five authors contained in the 1966 edition of Canadian Anthology (Klinck, Carl F. and Reginald E. Watters. Toronto: W.J. Gage), there were no Aboriginal authors. The A.J.M. Smith-edited, 1960 edition of the Oxford Book of Canadian Verse had not one First Nations, Métis, or Inuk author among ninety-seven represented. Later collections such as Desmond Pacey's Selections from Major Canadian Writers (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974), Giose Rimanelli and Roberto Ruberto's Modern Canadian

Stories (Ryerson, 1966; 1969), Alec Lucas' Great Canadian Short Stories (New York: Dell, 1971), Robert Weaver and William Toye's Oxford Anthology of Canadian Literature (Toronto: 1973), Douglas Daymond and Leslie Monkman's Literature in Canada (Toronto: Gage, 1978), Jack David and Robert Lecker's Canadian Poetry (Toronto: General Publishing, 1982), John Metcalf and Leon Rooke's New Press Anthology (Toronto: General Publishing, 1984; 1985) and others of similar type have given no voice to Canadian Aboriginal authors.

In the year 2004, there are numerous anthologies of literature in English which propose to collect poetry, fiction, drama, and non-fiction which represent the creative voice of a multi-cultural, multi-regional Canada. Although there are a number of reputable anthologies which are published in Canada, some such as Elements of Literature published by Oxford University Press and The Broadview Anthology of Poetry also published in Ontario, contain British, Commonwealth, Irish, and American works as well as Canadian poetry and prose. However, anthologies which contain exclusively Canadian authors have continued to provide post-secondary institutions within Canada with representative works by mainly mainstream authors.

A totally Canadian anthology, Russell Brown and Donna Bennett's An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English, first appeared in two volumes in 1982 and 1983 and was updated as an abridged single volume in 1990 with only one Métis author (Pauline Johnson) but not one Inuk author among over seventy individuals. However, the 2002 edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), contains the work of five Aboriginal authors, but none from an Inuk author. Some other anthologies such as Edith Fowke's Folklore in Canada (1976) includes two Inuit entries. W.H. New's Canadian Short Fiction (1986) has two Inuit myths of fifty-three presented.

A geographically centred collection such as Tim Borlase's Songs of Labrador (1993) has Inuit work along with that of Innu (Montagnais) and others, including non-Aboriginal people. Another geographically-centred anthology, this one dealing with drama, is Sherrill Grace's Staging the North: Twelve Canadian Plays (Grace et al., 1999) of which two are by Inuit.

In short, of the dozens of Canadian anthologies of English-language literature, very few appear to recognize Aboriginal Literature with Inuk authors being almost completely ignored.

To be fair, many post-secondary classes such as a Canadian Literature survey, may use several texts, including specific Aboriginal texts in addition to a main pan-Canadian anthology.

Aboriginal Anthologies

During the 1980s more Canadian publishers began to present the work of First Nations and Métis

authors. Today, an impressive list of Aboriginal collections is in print. One of the best is Robin McGrath's Native Literature in Canada: Study Guide for English 308 (2000) at Athabasca University in northern Alberta which includes a number of Inuit works from a credible Inuit Literature scholar. Fourteen Inuit works are part of Daniel David Moses and Terry Goldie's extremely popular An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English (1992, updated in 1998). Research in 2002 indicated that this text, more than any other, has been used at Canadian universities and colleges to expose students to Inuk authors.

W.H. New's Native Writers and Canadian Writing (1990) includes representative Inuit works from traditional tales to contemporary work by Ipellie. Fred Ahenekeew's Voices of the First Nations (Ahenekeew et al., 1995) has one Inuk work, while A. Grove Day's The Sky Clears; Poetry of the American Indians (1951) has eight Inuit works. Another U.S. published work, edited by Susan Feldmann, The Storytelling Stone: Traditional Native America Myths and Tales (1965) has three Inuit tales out of fifty-two. In another United States-published collection, Spider Woman's Web: Traditional Native American Tales About Women's Power, only the Sedna tale is Inuit out of twenty-five included. James Houston's Songs of the Dream People: Chants and Images from the Indians and Eskimos of North America (1972) has twenty-one Inuit songs for readers to share. Only one entry is Inuit within Linda Jaine and Drew Hayden Taylor's Voices: Being Native in Canada (1992). Two selections out of nineteen are Inuit within Agnes Grant's Our Bit of Truth: An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature (1990). A contemporary text, Jeannette Armstrong and Lally Grauer's Native Poetry in Canada: A Contemporary Anthology (Peterborough: Broadview, 2001), has not one Inuk author among the twenty-nine represented Aboriginal writers. An American text of regional nature, Howard Norman's Northern Tales: Stories from the Native Peoples of the Arctic and Subarctic Regions (1990) has a strong representation of Inuit work, thirty-six of ninety-six.

Inuit Literature Anthologies

Robin McGrath's Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition (1984) provided a thorough examination of the body of Inuit literature to date. There are a number of critical texts dealing with bibliographic and biographic aspects of Inuit Literature such as Robin Gedalof's Annotated Bibliography of Canadian Inuit Literature (1979), Kathryn Kernohan's Eskimo Poetry (1972), and John Moss' Echoing Silence: Essays on Arctic Narrative (1997). Penny Petrone's very thorough historical overview of Inuit voice, Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English (1988; 1992) includes actual examples of Inuk authors.

Edward Field translated Eskimo Songs and Stories Collected by Knud Rasmussen on the Fifth Thule Expedition (1973), and Thomas Johnston's Eskimo Music By Region: A Circumpolar Study (1976) includes song lyrics and music. Other collected works were published in the latter decades of the twentieth century such as Mark Kalluak's How Kabloonat Became and Other Inuit Legends (1974); Leoni Kappi's Inuit Legends (1977); I Breathe a New Song: Poems of the Eskimo by Richard Lewis (1971); John Robert Colombo's Poems of the Inuit (1981), a collection of eighty Inuit poems and songs; Tom Lowenstein's translation of Rasmussen's Eskimo Poems from Canada and Greenland (1973); Tales from the Igloo translated by Maurice Metayer (1972); Lawrence Millman's A Kayak Full of Ghosts (1987); and More Tales from the Igloo by Agnes Nanogak (1986). Robin Gedalof's Paper Stays Put: A Collection of Inuit Writing (1980), well illustrated by Alootook Ipellie, contains numerous stories and tales along with biographical work and a poem. Edmund Carpenter's Anerca (1959) is another popular collection, this one containing songs and tales. A specialized collection of 126 Inuit songs is Beverley Cavanagh's Music of the Netsilik Eskimo (1982). Quebec Inuit are represented in Zebadee Nungak's Eskimo Stories (1988) and his Inuit Stories of 1992.

Thus, there are a number of different collections of Inuit poetry and prose from which English-language readers can experience Inuit creative voice.

Inuit Authors' Works Published Individually

Beyond collections, there are also numerous individual Inuk authors whose work has been individually published. One of the most significant was Alootook Ipellie's ground-breaking collection of short fiction, Arctic Dreams and Nightmares (1993) which was the first individual Inuk author's collection in the genre. Another first was Markoosie's novel, Harpoon of the Hunter (2000) which was the first novel written by an Inuk author. There have been a number of autobiographical works from Labrador by Abraham (1880) as reported to J. Garth Taylor in "An Eskimo Abroad" and the 1894 Sketch of Labrador Life by a Labrador Woman. Later authors such as Nuligak created I, Nuligak (1975) and similar works by Peter Pitsulak (People from Our Side, 1975), Armand Tagoona (Shadows, 1975) and Anthony Thrasher's Skid Row Eskimo (1976). Other works in the genre include Minnie Aodla Freeman's Life Among the Qallunaat (1978), and Alice French's My Name is Masak (1976) and The Restless Nomad (1992). John Igloliorte describes, in words and drawings, his life as a boy in Nain, Labrador in An Inuk Boy Becomes a Hunter (1994). Other young adult and children's works include the stories of Michael Kusugak, My Arctic 1,2,3

(1996), A Promise is a Promise (1988), etc.

Thus despite a dearth of individual short story or poetry collections by individual Inuk authors, there are a number of non-fiction and children's works which enable English readers to have access to the Inuit creative voice.

CONCLUSION

The Inuit creative voice has been captured in the publication of numerous individual English language works by Inuk authors. Availability of Inuit collections from past anthropological expeditions and later adaptations of these as well as new anthologies make the Inuit words accessible for English readers within Canada. However, there appear to be significantly fewer Inuit works in individual collections by individual Inuk authors or within many Aboriginal collections and general Canadian Literature collections. It is within these latter volumes that there should be representative works from Inuit creativity if they are, indeed, to be taken as truly pan-Canadian or pan-Aboriginal collections.

Canada's Arctic and the daily human activity within it should be the subject of creative artists in the North. Canadian scholars endeavouring to appreciate the voice of Canada's Inuk authors should have access to their work via representative Inuit Literature texts.

INUIT POPULATION WITHIN CANADA (Source: 2001 Census, Statistics Canada):

TOTAL POPULATION:	ABORIGINAL POPULATION:	INUIT POPULATION:
29,639,030	976,305	45,070
100%	3%	.002%

INUIT POPULATION WITHIN CANADIAN ABORIGINAL POPULATION:

ABORIGINAL POPULATION:	INUIT POPULATION:
976,305	45,070
100%	5%

MOST FREQUENTLY USED TEXTS TO TEACH INUK AUTHORS:

GENERAL CANADIAN TEXTS:

<u>Editor:</u>	<u>Title:</u>	<u># of Institutions using This Text:</u>
Campbell (2000)	<u>Sketches of Labrador</u>	2
Grace et al. (1999)	<u>Staging The North</u>	2
New (1986)	<u>Canadian Short Fiction</u>	2

ABORIGINAL ANTHOLOGIES:

Moses & Goldie (1998)	<u>Canadian Native Literature in English</u>	16
McGrath (2000)	<u>Native Literature in Canada:</u> <u>Study Guide for English 308</u>	1

INUIT ANTHOLOGIES:

Petrone (1992)	<u>Northern Voices</u>	8
Gedalof (1980)	<u>Paper Stays Put</u>	5
Colombo (1981)	<u>Poems of Inuit</u>	3
Millman (1987)	<u>Kayak Full of Dreams</u>	3

INDIVIDUAL WORKS BY INUK AUTHORS:

Ipellie(1993)	<u>Arctic Dreams and Nightmares</u>	8
French (1976)	<u>My Name is Masak</u>	3
Freeman (1978)	<u>Life Among the Qallunaat</u>	3

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Culturally Sensitive Counselling With Inuit: An Example of Practical Application of Research

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ABSTRACT. Inuit communities wish to learn modern counselling skills but also to preserve traditional practices. The original research, a PhD dissertation, presented the results of a comprehensive comparative study of Inuit helping values and strategies and Western counselling. One purpose of doing the research had been that it be of practical use to Inuit communities. The relevant portions of the academic study were therefore written up into a manual of basic counselling skills, easily translatable into Inuktitut, and incorporating traditional practice as explained by Elders, as well as contemporary examples from Inuit communities. Academic research can thus go back to communities in a form that is relevant, accessible and useful. This paper first summarizes the results of the research, and then describes the methods used to enable practical application in Inuit communities.

INTRODUCTION

In teaching in a social work/counselling program at Nunavut Arctic College, it had become clear that information was needed about traditional counselling strategies and the fit between traditional helping and modern counselling. Inuit traditional worldview has been a pragmatic and empirical one: elders repeatedly speak of looking for better ways, experimenting with new things. As Elisapee Ootoova explains, even taboos were the result of experiment and practicality: “They would look for different ways to help. They would think: ‘Maybe we should do this and refrain from doing that.’ That is how the *pittailiniq* [taboos] were created” (Laugrand and Therrien, 2001: 126). Inuit want to provide effective services by including the best methods from both cultures: the Bathurst Mandate (Government of Nunavut, 2000) which outlines the principles on which Nunavut Government is founded, specifies that action towards healthy communities be “based on the best of both modern knowledge and traditional ways.” The purpose of the research on which this presentation is based (Korhonen, 2002) was to identify the traditional ways and the best modern knowledge, in order to understand if and how the two could be used together to provide effective helping.

Grounded theory was used to analyze extensive interviews with 26 elders who had contributed to a comprehensive series on traditional knowledge (Oosten and Laugrand, 1999, 2000; Oosten, Laugrand and

Rasing, 1999; Briggs, 2000; D'Anglure, 2001; Laugrand and Therrien, 2001). While the interviews covered a wide range of topics, the analysis centred on identifying the essential values and strategies underlying helping in traditional Inuit culture. Five younger Inuit, all with experience of counselling and knowledge of traditional life, were also interviewed as to what had been helpful and unhelpful in their experiences.

A similar analysis was used to identify the essential values and elements of effective Western counselling (both conventional and multicultural), using texts by primary and secondary theorists as well as counsellor-training texts.

Finally, Inuit and Western findings were compared.

RESEARCH RESULTS

All helping practices are based on a foundation of worldview, beliefs about human nature, and values. Analysis showed that Inuit were traditionally pragmatic, adaptive, future-oriented and dynamic, with knowledge and action assessed as to their usefulness to survival and daily life, and new ideas and technology adapted or adopted if they had the potential to make life more liveable. Knowledge was built on an empirical, rational/cognitive foundation: one observed, experimented, reflected on experience and the experience of others, and drew one's own conclusions. "I can only speak for myself. I can only know what I have experienced myself," the elders say. Individuals were seen as individuals, and personal context and personal responsibility were seen as important. Non-interference with and non-judgment of others were basic principles, except in cases where an individual was a serious threat to others. Positive decisions and actions were the result of careful thought and analysis, especially assessment of consequences. That which could not be changed was to be accepted – a change of thoughts and attitude and expectations was necessary, in order to change negative emotions and behaviours.

From those foundations arose helping practices, and what emerged in the analysis and comparison of helping values and strategies was that the traditional helping approach and modern counselling indeed fit together well. Both share the same basic values, relationship factors, process components and range of intervention options.

Values of both are based on respect for the individual's context and circumstances, on each person's right to confidentiality, and on each person's right to make their own decisions and take responsibility for their own lives. The elders stressed that each person is different; that a person should not be judged; that a person is given advice but can choose what he or she will do, taking responsibility for his or her own life; and that positive change is possible. These are also the values underlying modern counselling.

Both traditionally and in modern counselling, the crucial element in effective helping is the relationship between the helper and the person seeking help. And in both, this relationship is built on the individual's perception that the helper welcomes them, is able and willing to help, can be trusted, and accepts them as they are.

Both traditional and modern helping have a similar process, which involves gathering sufficient information for understanding of circumstances, feelings, and perceptions; ways of demonstrating understanding; the setting of desired and realistic goals according to the client's needs; and ideas that may enable the client to reach the goals.

In both traditional and modern counselling, the directives and suggestions – which elders call advice – are oriented to that goal attainment. Helpers should explain why a strategy might be useful or positive, but clients are given the opportunity to decide if such ideas make sense in their own context and if they are willing to follow through.

Interventions both traditionally and today are chosen from a range of options...affective, behavioural, and cognitive, depending on client needs. Both traditional and modern counselling recognizes that mind, body and emotions are interrelated...changes in one area have effects on the others.

Traditionally, thoughts were seen to be most powerful, and clear thinking was valued. Thinking/analysing/reasoning and cognitive strategies were of primary importance. Modern counselling research has found cognitive and cognitive-behavioural interventions are perhaps the most effective, and has developed a wide range of cognitive & cognitive-behavioural strategies. These seem a particularly appropriate fit with the traditional emphasis on analysis and the power of thoughts.

Observations and practice were important elements of learning in Inuit society. Modern counselling has a variety of structured behavioural and cognitive-behavioural strategies. Suggestions for new behaviour, clear demonstrations, and opportunities for practice fit well with cultural tradition.

Inuit traditional life was future-oriented and problem-solving oriented. As noted, Inuit believed it was necessary to understand and accept that some things cannot be changed. The past is one element that is unchangeable. Modern approaches that provide problem-solving strategies which will lead to change in the present and future may be more useful than past-oriented approaches.

Expression of feelings was considered crucial traditionally: if you allow negative feelings to build up, elders say, they become overwhelming and lead to more problems. Modern affective strategies oriented to feelings, esteem, etc. thus fit with past practice. 'Talk therapy' such as sharing one's experiences and feelings in healing circles, is already in extensive use in Inuit communities.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION

The research identified components of effective counselling both old and new, and demonstrated that traditional and modern indeed fit together well. But although the academic study was submitted to the Nunavut Research Centre and to the Department of Health and Social Services, it was of little practical use to community members or those working in the field. The ultimate intent of the research was to present the findings to communities in a way that could be applied in practice.

To that end, the Ajunnginiq Centre of the National Aboriginal Health Organization has prepared a basic counselling manual to be distributed to Inuit communities. The manual incorporates traditional practices, building on them with specific related modern knowledge and strategies.

The manual is introduced with a summary of both traditional and modern helping values and strategies. The requirements of each stage of the helping process are then outlined – building a relationship, gathering information, setting goals, action towards goals, and evaluation and follow-up. Each section includes an explanation of traditional practice, supported by quotes from the Elders. Relevant strategies drawn from the wide range of modern counselling approaches are then explained, supplemented by examples relevant to and drawn from Inuit experience.

The section on interviewing and information-gathering, for example, begins with:

The Elders say that it was very important to understand what was happening and why it was happening. Good advice that would lead to positive change could only be given if the situation was clearly understood. As Akisu Joamie, in discussing the counselling of offenders, says, “Of course in each case we have to clearly understand the facts and circumstances in order to be effective” (Oosten et al., 1999: 52).

The importance of this clear understanding is then discussed, including the fact that good questions also help the client understand his or her situation better. This point is again emphasized with a quote from an Elder: *Lucassie Nutaraaluk explains why it is important to ask direct focused questions: “As soon as I started being very blunt and asked focused questions, the person started responding to me...It made him rational, made him calm down and think about what he was doing” (Oosten et al., 1999: 158).*

The manual then goes on to explain the different types of questioning that have been specifically identified in modern counselling – open and closed questions, for example – with explanations and examples of their advantages and disadvantages.

Each section thus combines the knowledge and understanding of the past with knowledge and new skills developed in the present.

Language is an important issue. English is the second language in most Inuit communities, and people also have varying levels of use and comprehension. Professional jargon can be meaningless even to English speakers. Plain English is therefore used throughout the manual and all other information we send to communities. The intent is that as well as providing a manual in plain English, which will facilitate understanding of concepts, it is hoped that an Inuktitut version will also be possible. But translators cannot be expected to have professional knowledge of a topic: accurate translation therefore depends on an English version in which concepts are clearly explained in clear language. This also means that attention must be paid to the use of idioms. “Down in the dumps,” for example, is an emotion phrase in English. But it cannot be assumed that an Inuktitut-speaker would understand its meaning. Idiomatic language can lead to meaningless and confusing literal translations.

A plain-language glossary of counselling terms will also be developed. Although the manual itself refrains from using professional jargon, counsellors in communities need to understand such terms, for they will encounter them in other resource materials. “Empathy,” for example, is a standard counselling term, yet even the average English speaker may not accurately understand its meaning. The glossary will therefore provide explanations of common terms encountered in counselling materials. The manual also includes an annotated reference section of such counselling resources, including websites, videos and printed materials.

We feel it is necessary to keep in mind that there are essentially two main audiences for the results of counselling research. One audience is the formal or informal counsellor – those people who want and need to learn a variety of concepts and skills in order to do their work effectively. Although academics and researchers may focus on the oral tradition of Inuit, it is a fact that few of us can learn and retain large or detailed amounts of material just by hearing and limited discussion. Access to knowledge in writing makes it possible to check information repeatedly, go back to certain sections, reflect on what one reads. Inuit too want access to learning materials – a study by Pauktuutit on the needs of Inuit counsellors emphasized the need for resources that would help workers expand their skills and knowledge. That is the purpose of a written skills manual to which counsellors can refer as needed.

The second audience is the community at large – those people who have a general and less focused interest. The Ajuunginiq Centre is in the process of developing a series of radio ‘soap operas’ centering on coping skills. In these short radio plays, we will be able to incorporate examples of traditional values and practice, as well as general information about more effective emotions, thoughts and behaviours. The action strategies used in counselling can be learned outside the counselling relationship and used in families, with

friends, on the job. Information about such basic problem-solving and interpersonal skills can most effectively be shared with the widest audience through radio.

The north is increasingly wired to the Internet, with government-employed counsellors having access although home computers are yet unavailable to many. The Ajunnginiq Centre has a website through which we are able to disseminate information related to all areas of health. Again, a series of plain-language brief guidelines of helpful communication skills and other coping strategies, tied to traditional values and practices, will be developed for the website.

Similar skill and information guidelines will be developed as plain-English and Inuktitut pamphlets, for distribution in communities.

The Government of Nunavut's Standing Committee on Culture, Education and Health stated that, "Members want to see mental health workers incorporating both ... a good knowledge of Inuit language and culture, with a specialized knowledge of mental health skills" (Nutarak, 2002: 14). This counselling manual and its offshoots are one effort towards that goal, bringing research back to the community in a form that is useful and accessible.

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**“Whatever Floats Your Boat”:
The University of Alaska Museum’s Nunamiut Eskimo Kayak Project**

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ABSTRACT. Over the summer of 2003, the University of Alaska Museum of the North and the Simon Paneak Memorial Museum co-sponsored a project to re-cover the world’s only Nunamiut (Inland Eskimo) kayak. This paper describes the history of the kayak, considers the justification for the repair, and shows how the collaborative effort between the museums and the community of Anaktuvuk Pass resulted in a project that benefited both the Native community from which it came, as well as thousands of future visitors to the Museum.

Keywords: Nunamiut; Inland Eskimo; Kayak; Conservation; Museum-Community Collaboration

SETTING AND HISTORY OF THE PROJECT

In this paper, we present the history and implications of a collaborative project involving Alaska Natives, museum personnel, and private industry, to restore a kayak made by Nunamiut Eskimos, a little-known Inupiaq-speaking group who have occupied the central Brooks Range for almost three centuries. The Nunamiut are now settled permanently at Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska, a village of some 300 located approximately 402 kilometers (250 miles) northwest of Fairbanks (Orth 1971 [1967]:74).

The roots of the Nunamiut kayak project reach back to 1944, when six Nunamiut families gathered to carry out the last known kayak-based caribou hunt at Little Chandler Lake northwest of the present-day village. The Nunamiut had used firearms for decades by this time, but because of American involvement in WW II, they feared that ammunition might be rationed, which might impact their ability to sustain themselves over the winter. To save ammunition, the families decided to hunt the fall caribou as their ancestors had done, attacking the herd as the caribou crossed the lake, where they could hunt them with bows and arrows from caribou-skin-covered kayaks (Spearman n.d.:23-24). (Fig. 1)

¹ Roosevelt Paneak died unexpectedly on March 9, 2005. This article is dedicated to his memory and to the invaluable contribution he made to the Museum and the people of Anaktuvuk Pass.



Figure 1. Two men from a geological survey party hold one of the original kayaks from the 1944 caribou hunt at Little Chandler Lake. Credit: George Gryc. Photo courtesy of the Simon Paneak Memorial Museum.

Others family members participated on land. Rock *inuksuks* (rocks piled up to resemble a human being) were set up in a “drive line” (Spearman n.d.:34) to force the caribou into the lake. As the herd entered Chandler Valley, the hunters allowed the early and lead herds to pass, as was their custom, then took action. Those on shore stood in position along the inuksuk line, while the hunters took to their boats. The people along the drive line acted as a “human wall,” forcing the caribou toward the water by waving strips of dried grizzly-bear intestine, which made a crackling noise. Once the herd was waterborne, the kayakers thrust their spears at the swimming animals, following them to the far shore of the lake. When it was over, the Nunamiut had obtained ample meat and skins, without expending a single bullet (Spearman n.d.:53). Unfortunately, there is no good estimate of the number of caribou taken. “Lots” was the term most frequently used in interviews held years later (Spearman n.d.:46-47).

THE MUSEUM’S KAYAK

In 1971, the University of Alaska Museum, recognizing that many traditional Alaska Native skills were threatened with extinction, commissioned a Nunamiut-style kayak from Simon Paneak, a respected Nunamiut leader and father of Roosevelt Paneak, living in Anaktuvuk Pass. After consultation with Paneak, Canadian white spruce for this purpose was purchased in Fairbanks and delivered to Paneak in the village. The following spring, he began assembling the wooden frame (University of Alaska Museum of the North

1972). Using local willow to supplement the spruce, he lashed the wooden ribs and stringers together with babiche (rawhide; *quniguq*), using wooden pegs and splints for fine-tuning. It took Susie Paneak, Simon's wife, and Ellen Hugo twenty-seven hours to sew and waterproof the caribou-skin cover (Zimmerly 1986:70). On November 13, 1972, a Naval Arctic Research Laboratory plane delivered the finished kayak to the museum in Fairbanks (University of Alaska Museum of the North 1972). The completed craft measures 5.85 meters (19' 2.5") and has forty-five ribs (12 from local willow) positioned visibly inside the cockpit and seven stringers made from the milled spruce. The watercraft weighs a mere thirteen kg (29 lbs). (Fig. 2).



Figure 2. Simon Paneak stands next to completed kayak frame in 1972, Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska. Credit: Lewis Binford.

THE KAYAK IN THE COLLECTIONS:

Once added to the collection, the Nunamiut kayak developed problems almost immediately. At that time, the Museum was located in a building built in the mid-1930s. Its original heating system had never been updated. On its November arrival, the kayak was placed in the steam-heated building with low relative humidity. The tightly-sewn cover was made of “green” (freshly taken and prepared) skins (University of Alaska Museum of the North 1972). Almost immediately, it began to dry out and shrink on the wooden frame. To slow the deterioration, the kayak was removed to a room with environmental controls, in the new Elmer Rasmuson Library, known thereafter as the “Kayak Room.” There the boat remained until 1986, when it was loaned to the Alaska State Museum for an exhibition. Upon its return in 1988, it was installed in the permanent gallery of the new University of Alaska Museum building. Alas, no amount of environmental

control could rectify the damage. The skin cover was ripped all over, and several seams had been deliberately cut to lessen the tension on the frame. (Fig. 3) Most of the bent-spruce ribs had cracked; two protruded through the skin covering. In 1998, the kayak's dilapidated condition led Simon Paneak Memorial Museum (SPMM) curator Grant Spearman to suggest re-covering it and documenting the process for the future. The idea lay dormant until 2002, when UAM Ethnology curator Molly Lee, met Roosevelt Paneak, son of Simon and Susie, and invited him to visit the museum to see the kayak. Roosevelt agreed to head up the restoration project, and with about \$25,000 in funds and in-kind contributions obtained by the Ethnology department from public and private sources, the Anaktuvuk Pass Kayak Recovering Project was launched.

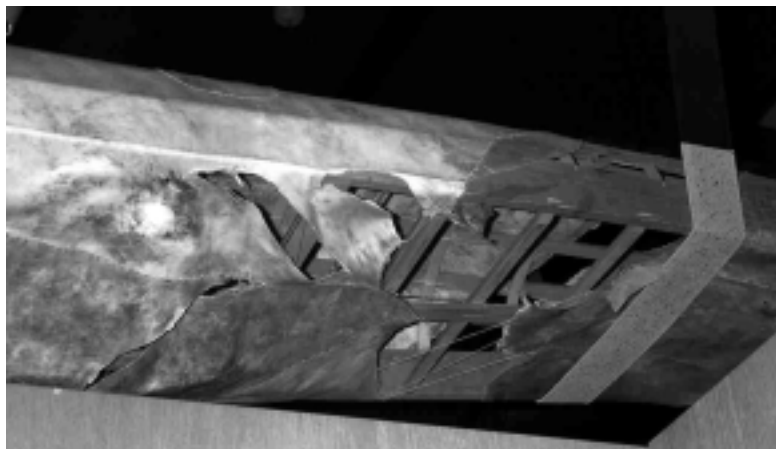


Figure 3. Damage is evident on the displayed kayak at the University of Alaska Museum of the North.
Credit: Angela Linn.

CONCLUSION

Initially, museum personnel met the kayak project with dismay. Removing a unique object from our climate-controlled building and sending it to a rural village to be handled, violated all the standard practices they had been trained to enforce. Once the project became a reality, it was necessary to re-examine both practices and the ethnographic significance of the object, weighing them against the costs and benefits of its repair.

On the minus side, the Museum's kayak is the *only* Nunamiut-style kayak in existence and represents a rarely used hunting technique vital to communicating the Nunamiut story. Secondly, Simon Paneak was a well-known, much revered Nunamiut tradition-bearer, and our collection includes more than fifty objects made by him. Thirdly, the names of the skin sewers, Susie Paneak and Ellen Hugo, who made the kayak were known, which further added to its value. We also knew it would soon be impossible to find

seamstresses to do the waterproof stitching, or knowledgeable men who could repair the frame. Thanks to Roosevelt's guidance, we were able to identify people who could do both.

The turning point in the decision-making process of whether to return the kayak to Anaktuvuk Pass came when we realized that the 1971 kayak was in fact a replica that had never been used in an ethnographic setting. Repairing the damage on, and providing additional documentation for, a replica, we concluded, would only heighten its value. Once the decision was made, the kayak was shortly on its way.

In conclusion, the kayak re-covering project has been an unusual opportunity for the museum to share with an Alaska Native community the regaining of its heritage, and the chance to observe and record the repair of a completely unique artifact, which is once more like new. We hope that this collaborative project is only the first of many to involve Alaska Native communities interested in museum projects to document collections, develop exhibitions, and participate in a bi-cultural approach to conservation techniques. (Fig. 4)



Figure 4. Roosevelt Paneak taking the re-covered kayak out for a test on Eleanor Lake, Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska. Credit: James Barker.

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Aajiiqatigiingniq:

Lessons Learned from Nunavut's Language of Instruction Research Project

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ABSTRACT. This paper presents a case study of the language research project commissioned by Education Nunavut in 2000 and the subsequent process for sharing the findings and implementing the recommendations. The study will present the information in relation to goals identified in the Bathurst Mandate and in relation to the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit as understood by the Curriculum & School Services Division of the Department of Education.

The research was conducted extensively across Nunavut by a team of Inuit researchers under the guidance of Dr. Ian Martin. Three reports resulted with specific recommendations for the Language of Instruction (LOI) models to meet the goal of fully functional bilingual Nunavut students. Research information is being disseminated back to communities through a consultation process developed by the Education Nunavut. Consultation feedback gathered from the stakeholder groups will be used to develop a long-term strategic approach to LOI for Nunavut schools and to language policy for the Department of Education.

INTRODUCTION

“Everyone should sit down and try and organize a better system whereby Inuktitut could be taught or used as a working language, not solely as a class. And who is teaching Inuktitut must be good in it.”

Government of the Northwest Territories: Learning Tradition & Change, 1982: 28.

The creation of Nunavut was a response to a long and hard struggle for a land claim for the Inuit of the eastern NWT. The Government of Nunavut was established against a backdrop of specific expectations for change and a well-articulated vision for the future for Nunavummiut. In *Pinasuaqtavut: That Which We've Set Out to Do* (Government of Nunavut, 1999), key amongst the messages for this new government is “We are a fully functioning bilingual society in English and Inuktitut ...” and the objectives identified to achieve that goal include:

- Develop made-in-Nunavut language legislation to foster the use of Inuktitut in the workplace and the public and private sectors;
- Promote Inuktitut as the working language of government;
- Land and language skills and respectful pride in our cultures and languages are fundamental for adults and children;

- Children should be able to receive instruction in their first language;
- Support and improve the teaching and learning of Inuktitut in all its forms, and the teaching of language generally, in our schools.

This response of the government is a document that outlines goals and priorities, based on principles that guide the work, for achievement within a 20-year period. To this end, the Department of Education recognized the need to ensure that strong, rigorous and vibrant Inuit language programs (IL1) would be delivered alongside strong English language programs (EL2) within a curriculum that entrenched Inuit worldview. The recognition of strong IL1 programming is fundamental, for:

Language must be recognized as one of the most significant human resources; it functions in a multitude of ways to affirm, contradict, negotiate, challenge, transform, and empower particular cultural and ideological beliefs and practices. Language constitutes one of the most powerful media for transmitting our personal histories and social realities, as well as for thinking and shaping the world (Cole & Scribner, 1974).... The complexity of language and its relationship not only to how students produce knowledge but also to how language shapes their world represents a major pedagogical concern for all educational settings. (Darder, 1991: 101-102)

Research was commissioned to assist with defining a model for this approach to Language of Instruction in schools (LOI) and to make recommendations that could inform new legislation, policies and planning processes around the goals of bilingualism. Although Inuit language has been identified as one of the most vibrant indigenous languages in Canada (Norris, 1998), rapid erosion of Inuit language and the functional loss of language in several communities has occurred within a generation (Dorais and Sammons, 1985; Tagalik, 1998; Aylward, Kuliktana & Metok, 1996). This research speaks to the urgency for strategic and comprehensive language planning for Nunavut. Perhaps most poignant are the words of a young Inuk research informant:

The young Inuit...To them, Inuktitut is like a precious heirloom. Inuktitut is like a precious inheritance that the children receive from their ancestors, and put in their back pockets, to keep it for some day when they will need it. But you know, if you put something away in your back pocket, and never take it out, one day when you go to look for it, you'll realize it's not there. You've lost it... (Tulloch, 2004)

Recognizing that “each community has its own unique linguistic and cultural composition, and consequently its own unique educational needs” (Hakuta & Gould, 1987: 43), the research needed to explore the different needs and contexts of Nunavut communities. The commissioning of three interlocking research projects was an attempt to address the comprehensive nature of this goal. Research was commissioned into the models and best practices of bilingualism, and was conducted by David Corson. Another study, to consider a small sample of the specific Nunavut community contexts, was carried out by Ian Martin with a view to recommending possible plans to ensure strong bilingualism for Nunavut communities, schools and the curriculum that would be required to support this. *Aajiiqatigiingniq* (Martin, 2000), released in December, was one product of this research process conducted in the first year after the creation of Nunavut. Inherent in the intent was that this collective body of research would inform comprehensive and strategic language planning to address the goals for language revitalization entrenched in *Pinasuaqtavut* (Government of Nunavut, 1999).

Tulloch provides a very helpful definition of language planning:

Language planning is the development, implementation and evaluation of a medium to long-term coherent strategy, which aims to maintain or alter language, either the language itself or the status and use of the language. That is to say, language planning involves a series of actions, from evaluating the current situation and setting goals, to developing a plan, implementing programs or policies and finally evaluating the efficacy of the work. Isolated, one-time efforts and certainly conflicting and incongruous actions would not be considered language planning. Language planning can target any aspect of language in community, from the development of modern vocabulary, to the passing of language laws, to building awareness of language loss in the community.

(Tulloch, 2004: 29)

The *Aajiiqatigiingniq* project (Martin, 2000) lived up to its name (“consensual decision-making”). It could have been conducted in no other way, given the fact that the lead researcher and writer was new to Nunavut. He saw his function very centrally as synthesizing knowledge which experienced Inuit educators had developed from their intimate understanding of community dynamics and to bring this knowledge into a dialogue with the academic literature on language revitalization situations elsewhere in the circumpolar and aboriginal worlds.

The Terms of Reference (TOR) specified that the project was to “outline the possible directions that the new Government of Nunavut might take with regards to language of instruction policy.” The TOR stated

that under the NWT system, Inuit students had extremely low graduation rates and a general lack of academic achievement. There had been a long debate between “those who feel that lack of academic achievement is language-based and that more English instruction is needed”, and “those who believe that Inuit will succeed when the school system truly reflects the culture and environment in which it exists”.

The TOR also identified seven serious problems with the current system, inherited from the NWT:

- limited quality and quantity of materials and resources, curricula and programmes to allow Inuit language to serve as a language of instruction in the higher grades
- insufficient teacher training and lack of trained staff
- debate over ideological orientation toward Inuktitut and English
- lack of research into language-and-dialect issues in Inuit language
- lack of leadership and language planning
- continuing problem with the skill level of school administration
- low level of community awareness of language issues

These problems were enumerated for the project group, largely without comment. At first, it wasn't clear whether the steering committee – mostly experienced Inuit educators – were frankly describing the box of constraints within which the system found itself, or whether they were issuing a challenge to the project. As the project evolved, it became clear that the language of instruction issue, in order to be addressed fully and in keeping with the goals of *Pinasuaqtavut* (Government of Nunavut, 1999), would need to take on board each of the infrastructure problems.

Next, the TOR enumerated eight questions for the study to try to address:

- What issues surround the language of instruction?
- What resources need to be improved within the administration, teacher selection and training, curricula, funding, resources and programmes to address Inuktitut and English as languages of instruction?
- What Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun language programmes exist in each region? What delivery model is used? Is it seen as effective? What on-going evaluation strategies are in place?
- What should the major priorities be in improving and addressing the bilingual programmes?
- What questions and concerns do parents, students, staff and education councils have on the teaching of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun?
- How can the issue of language of instruction be separated from the issue of achieving excellence in our school system?

- What role can the greater community play in language awareness instruction and cultural promotion, over and above what is done in the K-12 system?
- What could the role of elders be in protecting, preserving and promoting Inuit culture and language?

This list of problems and questions shaped the design and scope of the project.

The project preliminaries involved:

- Meeting with the project steering committee representing the Department of Education to discuss the project's terms of reference.
- Identifying Inuit communities and community researchers. One researcher was identified for each of the Kitikmeot and Kivalliq regions (with two communities identified for each). For the Qiqiktani (Baffin) region, five communities were identified, with a resident of each community proposed. All community researchers were known to the Department as experienced educators with a deep concern for language issues.
- Preparing an inventory of Departmental resources for the literature survey.
- Planning time-lines of project deliverables.

The core research project was developed in three phases:

Phase I (Feb.-Mar., 2000) Developing research instruments –

The lead researcher, community researchers and members of steering committee had a 2-3 day meeting in Iqaluit where questionnaires for (a) all high school students in the project communities, and (b) parents of students in elementary and high schools (every 4th name on community parent lists.) were developed.

Phase II (Apr.-Jul., 2000) Community research conducted-

Each community researcher spent a week in the community, administering and collecting questionnaires, conducting interviews, and preparing a summary analytical statement of the community dynamics with respect to language and bilingualism issues. Categories of persons interviewed in each community included: elders, DEA, school principal and teachers (both Inuit and Qallunaaq or non-Inuit), hamlet leaders, representatives of Inuit Associations, representatives of Departments of Education and Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (CLEY).

Phase III (Aug. 2000) Community analysis-

A 2-day meeting of community researchers, with the lead researcher, took place in Iqaluit. Participants presented their community analysis, according to ten key themes which had served as the common thread throughout the Phase II community interviews:

- general community perceptions and concerns
- general diagnosis of the health of Inuit language in each community
- past and present situation of Inuit language programming in the schools
- what needs improving in language teaching
- leadership and responsibility for language promotion
- community commitment to language promotion
- informing the public about language and education issues
- keeping youth in school: a goal of LOI planning
- bilingualism issues
- the role of Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ, Inuit traditional knowledge)

Between Phase I and II, the literature survey was enriched with materials supplied by all stakeholders. A basic list had been provided by the Steering Committee, but many more materials surfaced. Most notable was a powerful document from the Kivalliq region (Zozula and Ford, 1985) which proposed a model of bilingualism (the *qulliq* model), which was added to a body of relevant literature on language revitalization. This led to a decision to move beyond the TOR requirement of an annotated bibliography to a complete volume on materials of direct relevance to the project. This volume, entitled *Sources and Issues*, was published as a second volume of the *Aajiiqatigiingniq* (Martin, 2000) study in a form which could serve both as a reference companion for the research study and as a course book for a possible future course in language policy and language planning in Nunavut.

It should also be mentioned that some care was given to respecting Nunavut's dialectal diversity in the preparation of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was written in English and first translated into the Rankin Inlet dialect of Inuktitut for use in the two Kivalliq communities, and into Inuinnaqtun (ICI orthography) for use in Kugluktuk. The Kivalliq version was localized by the Baffin community researchers for each of their communities: Clyde River, Pangnirtung, Iqaluit, Kimmirut and Sanikiluaq.

Between Phase II and III, the questionnaires were coded and analyzed with the technical support of York University's Institute of Social Research, and some preliminary results were available for the Phase III meeting.

The high school questionnaires (N = 256) produced data of considerable importance in assessing young people's language use at home and in the community, their self-assessed proficiency in both literacy and oral skills, their vision of the future importance of the four official languages of Nunavut, their image of the future application of Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun in a variety of domains both traditional and contemporary, their opinion of the possibility of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun as an LOI, and their views on IQ in the schools.

The parent questionnaire (N = 158) asked about home language use, their views on the importance of fluency and literacy of the four languages both today and in the future, their satisfaction with Inuit and English language programmes in the school, their suggestions for improvements, the strength of their belief in the importance of Inuit language promotion, their views on the possible link between stronger Inuit language programmes and students' remaining longer in school, their beliefs on the importance of IQ as part of their children's education, and their views on the role of Inuit educators in the system.

The only exception to the rule that Inuit researchers were responsible for data-gathering was in the case of Iqaluit, where the group expressed the preference that the Qallunaaq lead researcher do the job. This turned out to be extremely useful, both for team-building and as a way to build a framework of understanding by the Qallunaaq researcher of the whole research operation. In Iqaluit, the researcher met with teacher groups and principals in each of the schools, with a key representative of the Nunavut Social Development Council (as it was called then), with the head of the Iqaluit DEA, with elders (accompanied by an interpreter), and - perhaps the most revealing experience of all - with the students of Inukshuk High School, who also completed the questionnaire and who eloquently and poignantly voiced their frustration at the existing system.

Therefore, there were five sources of data obtained: (1) the literature survey, (2) extensive minuted discussions with the project steering committee, (3) quantitative results from questionnaires administered in seven communities, (4) qualitative data from over 50 individual interviews conducted principally by Inuit community researchers, (5) qualitative written responses to open-ended questionnaire questions provided by high school students, parents and, later, by Inuit educators taking an upgrading course in Arviat. These various sources, despite the differing flavour of each, collectively provided a picture of the whole-system ecology and the readiness of the system to enter into a period of planned transformation needed to achieve the *Pinasuaqtavut* (Government of Nunavut, 1999) objectives.

The main findings of the *Aajiiqatigiingniq* study were the following:

1. In Nunavut, the goal of making Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun a principal language of instruction throughout the education system is widely supported. A strong, rigorous and vibrant Inuit language programme should exist alongside strong English as a second language programmes. The current early-exit transitional model, whereby Inuktitut ceases to be a language of instruction after the early elementary grades is seriously flawed.
2. Despite the apparent vitality of Inuktitut, it is still in a vulnerable state, especially in most larger communities (especially Iqaluit). An analysis of the correlation between ability in English and Inuktitut among high school participants in the study, there is a general pattern of subtractive bilingualism, whereby loss of Inuktitut is strongly correlated with increasing knowledge of English. Thus, the evidence would indicate that the present education system does not support the goals of *Pinasuaqtavut* (Government of Nunavut, 1999), which envision levels of strong (additive) bilingualism among Nunavut high school graduates by 2020.
3. A 20-year plan should be put in place to transform the present system into one which can deliver a high-quality, strong, bilingual curriculum throughout the grades. The key component of such a plan is bringing on stream a new generation of Inuit teachers capable of teaching content subjects in Inuktitut (i.e. using Inuktitut as a language of instruction) at the senior elementary school, middle and high school levels. Curriculum development, language assessment instruments, IQ educational philosophy, and the production of resource materials for all levels of literacy development in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun are all part of a coordinated strategy of infrastructure building to support Inuit language as a full-service LOI.
4. A bilingual education strategy would need to be based upon consensual decision-making and consultation with communities. Due to community-specific language ecologies, such as in the Kitikmeot region where Inuit language is seriously endangered, and in Iqaluit with a substantial Qallunaaq minority and a strong presence of English, communities need to be involved in a meaningful way to design the most suitable bilingual education model for their community. There must be in-depth community consultation and an information campaign about bilingual education to raise awareness and provide answers to parents, students and other concerned community members.

Three of the models to consider would be:

- A. Early Inuit language immersion. Such a model could be considered in Inuinaqtun or even Netsilingmiutut communities in Kitikmeot, where there has been the greatest degree of Inuit language erosion. For many students of Inuinaqtun, this will be immersion in their second language, and the roles of English and Inuinaqtun as languages to be acquired and languages of instruction will need to be planned carefully, as will the roles of community members, including fluent elders, to increase the areas in which it will be normal to practice one's Inuinaqtun.
 - B. The *Oulliq* model. This model would be most attractive to communities in which Inuktitut is flourishing, such as in the smaller and mid-size Baffin and Kivalliq communities. Here, Inuktitut as LOI is developed throughout the grades, with a gradual increase in English as a second language. Both languages would be available as LOIs in high school.
 - C. Dual Language model. In communities with both Inuit and Qallunaaq students whose parents desire them to learn each other's language, a "two-way bilingual immersion" option could be considered, strengthening each group's first language while providing some opportunities for peer interaction in both languages. Care would need to be taken to ensure that English doesn't crowd out Inuktitut in such an experimental programme which could offer an intercultural community-building alternative to the notion of ethnically-separated schools or streams (such as the French primary school in Iqaluit).
5. The report supported a number of language initiatives whose positive impact upon the language of instruction issue were obvious:
- A. The GN should, as it develops its Nunavut Education Act, ensure that the Act mandates and supports the stated commitment to a strong bilingual education system. (In 2005, The Department of Education commissioned Manitok Thompson, a former Minister of Education, to conduct consultations on the text of an Education Bill which, unfortunately, does not appear to differ greatly from an earlier Bill which was rejected in 2001, largely due to its absence of such a commitment. The Bill has already generated criticism from Inuit Associations for "weak sections on Inuktitut and Inuinaqtun language and culture" [Nunatsiaq News, Nov. 25, 2005].)
 - B. The Nunavut Official Languages Act should create a body such as an Inuit Language Commission, to oversee the promotion and development of Inuktitut/ Inuinaqtun in all its forms. In this regard, it should commission research on the topics of dialect maintenance and standard-with-dialect development in the production of pedagogical material. (The Department of Culture, Language,

Elders and Youth is presently developing such an Act and a companion piece of legislation, an Inuktitut Protection Act.)

- C. There should be an Inuit Educators Association established, to promote the professional interests of Inuit teachers, and to serve as a source of ongoing professional development of all bilingual teachers working in the transformed system.

Phase III of the project took place in Iqaluit in early August, 2000, at which time a proposal was made to the Department to support all the community researchers to attend an important indigenous language conference in Toronto: *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*. They did not go as presenters, but as a result of their experience in the project, they felt that they could have, and no doubt some will do so in the future. Especially important was an extraordinary meeting of the more than 80 Inuit educators in attendance, from Russia, Alaska, NWT, Nunavut, Nunavik, Labrador and Greenland, sharing experiences, and a common vision for strengthening Inuit language throughout the circumpolar region from Greenland to Chukotka.

The final document was handed over to the Department in the fall of 2000, and was translated and made available to the project steering committee and other stakeholders. At the same time, a parallel study by David Corson, *Qulliq Quvvariartlugu: Policy Options for Bilingual Education in the Territory of Nunavut* (Corson, 2000) was submitted. This paper drew upon David's extensive knowledge of language revitalization programmes among the Maori, the Sami and elsewhere, and, on the basis of his own survey of key individuals throughout Nunavut, supported the creation of a strong bilingual policy throughout the grades.

EDUCATION NUNAVUT'S RESPONSE TO THE RESEARCH

Once these reports were received, the comprehensive and inclusive nature of the reports made it readily apparent that other key partners needed to be involved in the review and implementation planning for the response to research. The Departments of Education and Culture, Language, Elders & Youth came together with Nunavut Tunngavik to form an implementation committee to move this work forward. Clearly, the LOI strategy needed to be entrenched in policy and also needed to be widely publicized so that information could be shared at all levels, and to gain the necessary public support to make this approach a reality at the community level. In order to respond effectively to the extensive recommendations coming from the research, clearly defined roles and active responsibilities of this committee were required, and the

resources so that this implementation work could proceed without interruption. It also needed to be recognized that although the GN has a key responsibility in the area of promoting and ensuring Inuktitut language vitality, it is not the sole stakeholder in this work. It is unclear how involved this implementation committee continues to be. However, there was a considerable period of time between the delivery of the research reports to the Department of Education in December, 2000 and the Department's official release of the Bilingual Education Strategy in November, 2004, and one assumes that the efforts to engage stakeholders in the development of the strategy and in the identification of resources were taking place. When the LOI reports themselves were released publicly in November, 2003, Nunatsiaq News was quick to point out that there remained only a month left in the first stage of the *Aajiiqatigiingniq* 20-year plan. This delay would require some redesign of the original plan by the implementation committee and, potentially, some redefinition of roles and responsibilities for the key stakeholders.

When, in November 2004, the Bilingual Education Strategy was tabled in the Legislative Assembly by the Minister of Education, the framework for the strategy included language legislation, community-based language planning, Inuit language across the curriculum, development of curriculum and resources, and language accountability. Training of Inuit educators for a strongly bilingual education system extending into secondary school, perhaps the most crucial element in the Strategy, was not part of the framework, since it was felt that this should wait for a review of the NTEP programme.

The language legislation process was initiated by the first Language Commissioner for Nunavut, Eva Arreak, through proposals for a made-in-Nunavut Official Languages Act and a companion piece of legislation, an Inuktitut Preservation Act (both these Acts are, at the time of writing, under review by the Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth), and through discussions and recommendations with regards to Inuit language standardization. In the First Annual Report of the Language Commissioner of Nunavut (Office of the Language Commissioner of Nunavut, 2002), Arreak stressed that in order to ensure Inuktitut language vitality, Nunavut, as a community, would have to address the issues of language motivation in the various social contexts. Inuit must choose to use Inuktitut in their daily lives. Research would indicate that this motivational factor is eroding across Nunavut and especially amongst GN workers and youth (Dorais and Sammons, 1985; Tulloch, 2004).

As well, community-based strategic language planning has been initiated for the Inuinnaqtun-speaking communities (Kugluktuk and Cambridge Bay), and for the Inuktitut-speaking communities, through a survey conducted with all District Education Authorities. The goal is to launch broad public awareness campaigns around issues of language acquisition and retention in order to build public knowledge

and gain buy-in for the need for comprehensive planning. It is expected that every community will develop a long-term language implementation plan that will involve a variety of approaches and work across the community (Government of Nunavut, 2004a).

Language across the curriculum speaks to the importance being given to comprehensive and strategic investment approaches for language enhancement, a life-long learning process that starts in the home and in early childhood, and extends to adult learning opportunities, and the recognition of the important role of the elders in assuring the future of Inuit language in Nunavut (Corson, 2000; Martin, 2000).

The question remaining to be answered is how this planning will be coordinated across departments and divisions within departments and beyond the GN to the community level. If we return to the definition of language planning that Tulloch (2004) provides, the need for a coherent plan is significant in the Nunavut context. Tulloch also says “that language planning is a sustained activity.... Planning, once undertaken, is an ongoing process”. (2004: 40) This is the challenge for the GN, but also for partners such as NTI and the Office of the Language Commissioner.

The *Aajiiqatigiingniq* research identified the recruitment and training of Inuit educators as a key factor in the success of any implementation plan (Martin, 2000: 58-60). As part of this approach, a comprehensive review of Aboriginal Teacher Education Programs is being carried out, as well as a review of the effectiveness of the existing Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP). It is expected that recommendations for an improved and more comprehensive model will result from these reviews. At the same time, the Department of Education, in collaboration with the Federation of Nunavut Teachers, is considering improvements to in-service and professional development through the revision of the certification process for both new educators and educational leadership candidates. Also being explored is a possible made-in/for-Nunavut master’s level degree program in language and linguistics. There is already a university granting Nunavut specific certificate in the area of student support and inclusive education.

In order to support the *Qulliq* model for LOI, curriculum and resources also need to be available to Nunavut educators. These need to be grounded in cultural competencies (IQ) as well as setting the standards for achievement to meet both the aspirations identified in *Pinasuaqtavut* (Government of Nunavut, 1999; 2004b) and the post secondary requirements for southern institutions. The very new curriculum approach being designed for Nunavut requires different pedagogical support and a collaborative effort that recognizes a community of teacher/learners in the life-long continuum (Government of Nunavut, 2005).

A different system requires a different accountability framework. As language ability improves across Nunavut, proficiency guidelines will change and more rigorous expectations will result. Language programming will need to be closely monitored and evaluated in on-going ways to describe the effective catalysts for improved results and the areas where more interventions are required for strength and success. A new branch of the Curriculum & School Services Division is being established to provide school support and accountability around these goals.

In *Pinasuaqtavut 2004-2009* (Government of Nunavut, 2004b), the GN identifies accomplishments in this area as the establishment of a 10-year curriculum and resource strategy, the completed Language of Instruction studies, and the hosting of Inuktitut terminology workshops. It identifies as future objectives:

- Develop a Language of Instruction Strategy for Nunavut schools and provide the resources required for effective implementation;
- Strengthen the teaching and learning of Inuktitut in schools and in the public service so that it can become the language of work by 2020;
- Work for a public education system that focuses on graduating bilingual youth who are equipped with the skills and knowledge to succeed in post-secondary studies;
- Increase the number of Inuit adult educators and college instructors.

These are important goals to have. However, the need to link these goals to more Nunavut-wide language revitalization strategies is not addressed in this document. There are also some key issues, such as the plan to recruit, educate and retain Inuit educators to support the proposed systemic changes in Nunavut schools. This responsibility lies within the domain of Nunavut Arctic College. Again, the question arises of how strategic planning is occurring with the broad stakeholder group in very coherent and supportive ways. A review of NTEP, initially undertaken by representatives from stakeholder groups, is now being contracted out for completion.

LESSONS LEARNED

The need for capacity building throughout Nunavut is a clear priority identified through both *Pinasuaqtavut* (Government of Nunavut, 1999; 2004b) documents. In terms of this research project, we set out to create an opportunity to provide training and skills amongst Inuit educators in the area of community-based research. This was a very powerful component of this research and, we hope, an empowering experience for the participant researchers. Given the heavy cultural context of conducting research in

Nunavut, the training and supporting of Nunavummiut researchers is essential to the effectiveness of both the data gathering and data analysis processes. It is within this cultural and linguistic context that knowledge production, translation and uptake can occur most appropriately and effectively. It is also within this context that the building of a trust relationship between the local and research communities can occur. Given the gaps in time between knowledge production and translation back to the community level, it may be expected that the actual knowledge uptake was not strong. Is the proposed model of LOI well understood by the communities that will be expected to implement it? This is a concern that should not be overlooked in the next steps of this process.

Historically, research has been ‘done to’ Inuit communities as opposed to being ‘done with’ them. Trust of the research team, the intended purpose of the project, the respectfulness of methodology, and the commitment to an on-going participatory approach are the essential elements of good research practice in northern communities. A senior management policy person from the GN has described these relationships as needing to be “mutual, reciprocal, honest and honourable” (personal communication). The challenge for public policy development is to find respectful ways to ensure this happens.

Our stated purpose was to collect qualitative and quantitative data that would be reported back to the community level in such a way that they could build their collective understanding around issues of language acquisition and, using that understanding, effectively participate in language policy planning and building for their children’s future. The time lag between the original intent of this research and the application of outcomes has been significant. The original Inuit researchers were not involved in subsequent community contacts around LOI. As implementation of the bilingual strategy in these communities occurs, the degree to which the trust relationship may have been strained will become evident. For us, this was perhaps a lesson in terms of best-laid plans meeting the politics and pitfalls of public policy building. These pitfalls may have been greater because Nunavut itself is so young a political entity.

Perhaps the key underlying lesson comes from what Inuit communities have always known: the importance of taking the broad and the long view. Inuit elders identify long-term goals in holistic ways. Through the creation of a bilingual strategy for Nunavut that was separate from the curriculum strategy and the restructuring process for Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit, it became possible to set this piece aside from the others. A more holistic approach that linked these strategies could have ensured that they moved forward together as part of a dynamic and continuous process. It also may have ensured that the resourcing of this process was comprehensive and that the various strategies would not have had to compete for diminishing funds within the department. This linking was a stated goal of the Department of Education initially.

However, with changes in staff and increasing demands on staff, the intent and momentum was lost for a period. Those department people with the firsthand experience of the research were not involved in the post-research phase. In hindsight, the release of an omnibus report might have helped to maintain sight of this original goal. It also would have been more in keeping with an integrated IQ approach.

The original intent of going back to communities and of conducting broad consultation on the research and its potential implications could have been carried out with other consultation pieces around IQ, inclusion and curriculum options. This consolidated approach could have developed a comprehensive appreciation for the big view of change for education in Nunavut and allowed, at the community level, for translation of this information holistically into action plans for schools specifically. Ironically, this approach mirrors, and would have significantly contributed to, a stated goal of Nunavut education for community learning networks.

It was also easy to let the bilingual strategy slip behind the other curriculum work of the department, because the strategy itself has significant policy implications. Originally, the intent was to provide research that would inform and help direct policy development. Ultimately, language rights would be entrenched in legislation through the new Education Act. When the proposed revisions to the Education Act did not go forward, there was no policy framework to support any work on the implementation of a bilingual strategy. Real comprehensive planning requires cohesive approaches and solid policy support in order to safeguard the process and ground it in the bigger political picture.

The strategic nature of the recommendations was grounded in a sequential and systematic implementation of actions on various fronts. For example, the highest priority for effective implementation rested with the effective delivery of a renewed, broader and more appropriately delivered program for teacher recruitment, training and retention. These recommendations centered around improvements to the Nunavut Teacher Education Program. A review of that programme was conducted in June 2005 by Aarluk Consultants, who made a number of recommendations for program renewal to meet the challenges of a bilingual system extending into secondary school

Other critical recommendations focused on the need for corpus and status language planning across Nunavut. As has been mentioned, the Office of the Nunavut Language Commissioner has made significant proposals, currently being studied by CLEY. In the field of research, the Commissioner commissioned surveys of language policy initiatives in Canada, Greenland and elsewhere which could be of use to Nunavut planners. In 2004, she commissioned a research study by Shelley Tulloch on the preservation of

Nunavut's Inuit language dialects in response to many communities' concerns for the long-term health of Nunavut's dialect diversity. (Office of the Languages Commissioner, 2004).

In terms of the overall lessons learned from this research experience, it might be that one can never be too well-planned. More comprehensive planning, involving all key stakeholder groups, for the long-term could have ensured that the momentum for this project did not lag as it did, that the stakeholder participation was more meaningful and comprehensive, and that the implementation phase connected with the various other critical pieces of work being done by the GN. This is an important lesson for future planning. Research is most effective when it impacts policy and practice. The intent of the Department of Education in commissioning this research was to inform policy and practice. An effective model for implementation should have engaged the research and policy communities as implementation partners. As Steinhauer (2002) points out, "If indigenous ways of knowing have to be narrowed through one particular lens... then surely that lens would focus on relationality". This cornerstone of good research was by-passed as the research relationships were not maintained as part of the implementation process. As Arreak and others have so accurately pointed out, the success of any corpus or status language planning rests with the strength of a number of social issues, such as language motivation, language quality and suitability as an effective communication tool, family/community discourse patterns, and the strength of the link of language to culture and identity. In the process of language planning, has the central determinant, so accurately articulated below, by another one of Tulloch's youth respondents, been lost as a core sustaining factor in this work?

... if we do lose the language, then there's not really much Inuit. I believe that language is a powerful tool for our culture.... If we stop using Inuktitut, we would maybe start losing our culture a lot more. We would forget what we are, how we live... (Tulloch, 2004: 306)

The *Aajiqatigiingniq* project report was, in the final analysis, a critical element in helping shape the new Nunavut government's thinking about an Inuktitut-English bilingual education system. It had a direct influence on the formal announcement on November 30, 2004 by the present Education Minister, Ed Picco, of the Bilingual Education Strategy, and should continue to be an important support document for those who will shape bilingual education policy and practice in Nunavut for the next fifteen years.

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Global Wellness Initiatives Blending Traditional Scientific Knowledge with Community Mentorship

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ABSTRACT. Clinical Laboratory Scientists at the Maniilaq Health Center Laboratory have teamed up with students of the Northwest Arctic Region to work in the field of Clinical Microbiology. The purpose was to learn more about the effects of plant and tree extracts on pathogenic microorganisms. We worked with botanical products of distillation testing indigenous plants and trees used locally as well as those from around the world. The young students K-12 have partnered with Elders, parents, health care providers, educators, and professionals in the field of research conducted in the Clinical Microbiology Laboratory. These projects were then shared at science and engineering fairs and community events.

Educators and mentors have found ways to assess the learning process of students participating in this project by evaluating their written comments, their oral presentations and discussions. The students have demonstrated at community gatherings and science fairs that discussions centered around their projects can stimulate scientific inquiry among all ages. They have experienced science in its entirety from inquiry, designing experiments for clinical laboratory research, literature search, compiling data, to submission of abstracts for participation in scientific conferences.

The students have acquired valuable traditional knowledge from the Elders and community members through their seasons spent outdoors in the arctic wilderness and at camp. We have all heard stories about the uses of plants for healing. The students wish to learn more about the traditional knowledge of plants with regards to helping combat microbial infections. Working with plants and microbiology touches on many subjects such as geography, ecology, conservation, health, science and math. It is our goal that these concerted efforts may help encourage students at an early age to explore and learn more about the significant field of scientific research and development.

Key Words: Traditional Science and Community Mentorship

INTRODUCTION

The Northwest Arctic Borough is located above the Arctic Circle in Alaska with a population of about 6,500 people of Inupiaq Eskimo heritage. Maniilaq Health Center and the Northwest Arctic Borough School District, serving Kotzebue and the surrounding eleven villages of Noatak, Selawik, Kiana, Kivalina,

Shungnak, Kobuk, Ambler, Buckland, Deering, Noorvik, Point Hope and the mining community of Red Dog, collaborated on a community outreach mentoring science project.

Outreach Mentoring in Diverse Environments

Young students K-12 teamed with Elders, health care providers, teachers, community science coaches, and clinical laboratory scientists to conduct research in the clinical microbiology laboratory.

As a community outreach, students exchanged knowledge with mentors beyond the classroom participating in traditional seasonal/subsistence activities, culture camps, clinical health care laboratory, local, state and national science fairs, and community events, such as the Kotzebue Wellness Conference.

Laboratory Research

Students researched the effects of plant and tree extracts on pathogenic bacteria in vitro. They worked with botanical products of distillation testing indigenous plants and trees used locally and from around the world, including Madagascar and Canada!

Educators and mentors assessed the students' learning process by evaluating their written comments, their oral presentations and discussions.

Students demonstrated at community gatherings and science fairs that stimulated scientific inquiry among all ages.

Traditional Knowledge Mentoring

Students have acquired valuable knowledge and skills from their Elders and community members from years spent enjoying the traditional seasonal activities. Healthy ways of living have been passed down during activities such as subsistence food gathering and summer culture camps.

Global Healing Traditions

The students desired to learn more about the traditional uses of plants used in healing and combating bacterial infections. Working with botanical extracts gave students educational experiences in indigenous healing traditions, conservation, ecology, geography, science and math. The Madagascar conservation group to protect and save the rainforest areas by developing sustainable resources donated the Ravensara, used in local traditional healing to test antibacterial properties.

Scientific Process

Students utilized the whole scientific process from inquiry, experiments, research and assessment, compiling and sharing data and evaluation as a community project.

Students collaborated among fellow students. Middle school students performed the pilot study, while high school students performed further testing from their results on resistance and dosing.

Goals and Mission

Encourage students at an early age to explore and learn about the exciting field of scientific research and development.

This knowledge exchange and understanding will improve the quality of life for the communities in which the students and mentors live.

Working together on science projects that integrate the traditional scientific ways of knowledge will serve as a foundation for future collaborations.

DISCUSSION

In the winter of 1998 at the Alaska Native Medical Center in Anchorage, Alaska, a community outreach mentorship program in science was initiated with a pilot study. The Alaska Native Medical Center is a Trauma, Surgical, Acute care and wellness center serving the Alaska Native people and Native Americans throughout the state. Clinical laboratory scientists at this facility launched this program by sharing their profession in clinical laboratory science and research with local students. They consulted with staff at ANMC and at CDC Arctic Investigations Division in Anchorage for their project. The pilot project began when a local middle school student chose a science project experiment designed for the clinical laboratory. The student went on to win first place in the local and state science fairs for her clinical microbiology project.

Students K-12 of the Northwest Arctic region of Alaska have been teaming up with mentors in their communities working on similar projects to share at local and state science fairs and community events. Every student in the Northwest Arctic Borough School District is required to turn in a project during the school year. Students are then eligible to share their work at science and engineering fairs locally, nationally and internationally.

The Northwest Arctic Borough is located above the Arctic Circle in Alaska with a population of about 6,500 people. Those who live and work in the region are of diverse multi cultural heritage with the indigenous population being that of Inupiaq Eskimo. The school district provides educational services for the people of Kotzebue and the surrounding eleven villages of Noatak, Selawik, Kiana, Kivalina, Shungnak, Kobuk, Ambler, Buckland, Deering, Noorvik, Point Hope and the mining community of Red Dog.

These young students have been working together with elders, parents, educators and professionals throughout the region. Community members are taking responsibility and action to work together to facilitate better communication and sharing of knowledge, skills and healthy ways of living, both old and new. They are collaborating with local and global science programs, organizations, as well as volunteer programs to help develop a solid foundation for community mentorship. This partnership has encouraged the integration of valuable scientific knowledge, observations and oral traditions. Community members participated in this project in various and diverse environments that go beyond the classroom into areas associated with professional organizations and traditional seasonal activities. All provide avenues for the valuable exchange of scientific knowledge and skills among all ages throughout the year.

During the development of this mentorship project, students and mentors have encountered several opportunities to broaden their scope of knowledge by involvement with the entire scientific process, from observations, inquiry, research and development, compiling and sharing data, to submitting abstracts for participation in science fairs and conferences. Taking the youth through this process as a community can help everyone to better understand and see the value of scientific research and development and its practical applications in their lives. It gets everyone of all ages together sharing their knowledge in the scientific arena, both traditional and modern, thus fostering respect and improved communication and understanding. The goal of traveling together outside of the region to share these projects with others can also be an enriching educational experience for students and mentors.

There are several traditional culture camps in the region where people of all ages and heritage gather each summer to remember and enjoy one of the most cherished seasonal subsistence activities. Going to camp. Everyone is invited to attend and work together learning and sharing knowledge and appreciation for the land and all its wonders. This gives the whole community an opportunity to take action towards improving the health and well being of all who live there. It is a way of learning from the traditional values of Inupiat Iitqusiak that support healthy ways of living.

Clinical Laboratory Scientists at Maniilaq Health Center in Kotzebue have expanded this concept by bringing the students into their professional field of work. Maniilaq Health Center is a trauma, acute and

wellness center serving the people in the Northwest Arctic region. These professionals have chosen to share their work with the students as one of the hubs of science by providing a safe, educational environment for them to experience science in areas of clinical microbiology.

Working together with community educators and organizations as an outreach, the scientists had the opportunity to serve as mentors for middle and high school students in the hospital laboratory. Their students designed experiments based on inquiry as subjects for local school projects demonstrating the anti microbial properties of plant extracts on pathogenic bacteria and fungi. The experiments reflected similar techniques used in the laboratory that provide physicians with information on antibiotic susceptibility testing for organisms that can cause infections. The students were given a thorough health and safety orientation. They learned about universal safety and infection control precautions required within the hospital environment, as well as those techniques specific for working in the clinical laboratory.

Further collaborations among the students were encouraged and evolved into a team approach that introduced them to a more realistic experience with scientific research. Middle school students performed the pilot study, while high school students continued with further testing from questions that arose from the results of the pilot study. This allowed them to catch a glimpse of the big picture of science as a dynamic process of shared knowledge and inquiry.

Global collaborations were also a part of this project. When studying plants and their traditional uses in healing, we encounter a vast body of scientific knowledge found in communities around the world. The students encountered this knowledge through their work with aromatic plants in combating microbial infections. Several friends and colleagues from other countries including Madagascar, Canada, and England sent samples of plants that they traditionally used in their communities for the students to learn about and add to their research. This gave them a broader appreciation of global science, while touching on several subjects in education, including ecology, conservation, history, geography, botany, sociology, health and science.

Educators used various methods of educational assessment within the community that went beyond classroom evaluation. Students had opportunities to share their projects in science fairs and at community events that helped stimulate conversations among all ages about science and living in our world. The students received recognition and appreciation for their work, which then encouraged more students and mentors to participate in future projects together.

Consulting with community members about the knowledge and values from all their years of living can open doors for learning. Getting everyone involved in working on these science projects together, can be

one way to improve communication and respect among all ages. Students were invited to share their projects as a “backdrop” or “poster session” for a local conference, which strengthened community support. Other opportunities for community involvement came when the students and mentors were invited to share their initiatives at several national and international scientific and educational conferences. Not only did the students and mentors participate in the scientific process together, but also they had the opportunity to travel to other communities to exchange knowledge with others.

METHODS

UNIVERSAL INFECTION CONTROL PRECAUTIONS WERE USED AT ALL TIMES!¹

Microbiology Science Project 2003

Testing Aromatic Plant and Tree extracts for Anti-Bacterial effects

Kotzebue Middle and High School Students

Maniilaq Health Center Laboratory

What are the effects of plant and tree distillation products on pathogenic bacteria in vitro?

We will be testing two products obtained from the distillation process of plants:

1. Essential Oils – concentrated extracts from different parts of plants and trees obtained from distillation of the plant material. This product is the condensed material skimmed off the top.
2. Hydrosols – waters obtained from plants and trees during the distillation process. They are the waters left over from distillation.

The aromatic products that we will be testing were sent to us from our brothers and sisters from around the world as well as those used locally.

Pilot Study – Middle School Students

Feb 7th -9th, 2003

What are the effects of plant and tree distillation products on pathogenic Bacteria in vitro?

Standardized Control Organisms tested:

Streptococcus pneumonia (Bad Bug of the Arctic)

Staphylococcus aureus

Streptococcus pyogenes (Group A Strep that causes Strep Throat)

Escherichia coli

Haemophilus influenzae

Distilled plant and tree aromatic extracts tested:

Lavandula angustifolia	True Lavender	USA
Lavandula spicata	Spike Lavender	France
Eucalyptus dives	Eucalyptus	Australia

¹ **NOTE:** The Arctic Institute of North America recommends caution when attempting to reproduce any of the experiments described herein, and suggests that any attempts to do so be performed with the assistance and under the supervision of a qualified person.

<i>Eucalyptus radiata</i>	Eucalyptus	Australia
<i>Eucalyptus globules</i>	Blue Gum	Australia
<i>Ledum groenlandicum</i>	Tundra Tea	Canada
<i>Artemisia herba alba</i>	Stinkweed	England
<i>Cymbopogon citratus</i>	Lemongrass	India
<i>Melaleuca quinquinervia</i>	Niaouli	Madagascar
<i>Melaleuca alternifolia</i>	Ti Tree	Australia
<i>Citrus limonum</i>	Lemon	Italy
<i>Cymbopogon martini</i>	Palma Rosa	Madagascar
<i>Aniba roseodora</i>	Rosewood	Brazil Rainforest
<i>Mentha piperita</i>	Peppermint	USA
<i>Abies balsamea</i>	Balsam Fir	Canada
<i>Picea mariana</i>	Black Spruce	Canada
<i>Thuja occidentalis</i>	Eastern White Cedar	Canada
<i>Cinamomum zeylanicum</i>	Cinnamon Leaf	Indonesia
<i>Eugenia caryophyllus</i>	Clove	Madagascar
<i>Cinamomum camphora</i>	Ravintsara	Madagascar (cultivated)
<i>Ravensara aromatica</i>	Ravensara	Madagascar
<i>Thymus satureioides</i>	Thyme Satureioides	Morocco
<i>Thymus vulgaris</i>	Thyme, Common	France
<i>Thymus hiemalis</i>	Thyme	France

Antibiotics used to compare anti-bacterial effects

Oxacillin	Ox
Tetracycline	Te 30
Amoxicillin	AmC 30
Sulfamethoxazole/ Trimethoprim	SXT
Ciprofloxacin	Cip 5
Ampicillin	AM 10

Friday evening, the organisms from Standard Controls were inoculated on Blood Agar Plates and incubated at 37 degrees Celsius for 24 hours.

Saturday the Kirby Bauer Antibiotic Testing method was used and a 0.5 McFarland Standard solution was made with each organism using Colorimeter Spectrophotometer instrument readings.

The organism solutions were then inoculated onto appropriate media completely covering the plates according to the Kirby Bauer Antibiotic Testing Methodology:

<i>E. coli</i>	Mueller Hinton Agar
<i>Staph aureus</i>	Mueller Hinton Agar
<i>Strep pneumoniae</i>	Blood Mueller Hinton Agar
<i>Strep pyogenes</i>	Blood Mueller Hinton Agar
<i>Haemophilus influenzae</i>	Chocolate Mueller Hinton Agar

One drop of each of the 15 oils, undiluted, was then placed on blank disks and dropped on the media using aseptic technique. Forceps were used, sterilized in Ethanol between each use.

A negative control disk was dropped on each organism.

Antibiotic disks were set up on each organism.

The plates were incubated for 24 hours at 37 degrees Celsius.

Sunday observations were made and results recorded.

The Zones around the disks were measured using standards for Antibiotic Testing in millimeters and recorded.

Any significant overall plate inhibition was also noted.

Pictures were taken when possible.

High School Students

Resistance and Dosing Studies using Aromatic plant and tree extracts.

Feb 15th – Feb 18th

Using results from Middle School Students Pilot Study

Ten of the most effective anti-bacterial extracts were chosen from the Pilot study.

1. How many generations would it take for change or resistance to occur if at all?
2. Will the extracts demonstrate dosing, example: anti bacterial effects when using serial dilutions of 1:2 and 1:4?

Organisms tested:

Staphylococcus aureus

Escherichia coli

Streptococcus pneumonia

Extracts tested:

Ravintsara	Cinamomum camphora	Madagascar
Stinkweed	Artemesia herba alba	England
Tundra Tea	Ledum groenlandicum	Canada
Lemongrass	Cymbopogon citrata	India
Black Spruce	Picea mariana	Canada
Palma Rosa	Cymbopogon martini	Madagascar
Rosewood	Aniba roseodora	Brazil Rainforest
Peppermint	Mentha piperita	USA
Eucalyptus	Eucalyptus radiata	Australia
Lavender	Lavandula angustifolia	France

Antibiotics tested on Staph Aureus for comparison:

Oxacillin	OX
Tetracycline	Te 30
Amoxicillin	AmC 30
Sulfamethoxazole / Trimethoprim	SXT
Ciprofloxacin	Cip 5
Ampicillin	AM 10

Friday evening the organisms were planted from Standard Control Stock. Saturday, 0.5 Mcfarland Standard Solutions of the organisms were set up on the appropriate media using the Kirby Bauer Antibiotic Testing Method. The Agar plates were made up by the High School Students. We used a Colorimeter

Spectrophotometer Instrument to read the 0.5 Mcfarland to get the proper thickness of organism in solution according to the Kirby Bauer Method.

Media used:

Staph aureus	Agar Plates
E. coli	Agar Plates
Strep pneumo	Blood Mueller Hinton Plates

Dilutions were made using Olive Oil as the diluent:

- 1:2 dilution with 1 part essential oil and two parts Olive Oil Diluent.
- 1:4 dilution with 1 part essential oil and four parts Olive Oil Diluent.

A negative control with the Olive oil on the disk was set on the organisms to make sure that it did not contain any anti bacteria effects.

One drop of each of the oils and dilutions was placed on the disks and dropped on the plates with the organisms already plated out.

- Undiluted
- Diluted 1:2
- Diluted 1:4

The plates were then placed in the 37-degree incubator for 24 hours. This was the first generation. On Sunday, observations were made and results recorded. We found that the Strep pneumonia standard organism contained a contaminate of Coagulase Negative Staph. We were still able to measure the zones of inhibition from both organisms on the plate.

The zones were measured in millimeters as well as any break-through resistant organisms recorded. Pictures were taken when possible of the zones of inhibition.

The growth from the edge of the zones was then picked and subbed to appropriate media for the 2nd generation of 24- hour incubation to see if there would be any change in the organisms.

On Monday observations were made and zones were measured with any break-through recorded. The growth from the edge of the zones was then picked and subbed to appropriate media for the 3rd generation of 24 hours incubation to see if there would be any change in the organisms. Antibiotics were set up on Staph aureus for comparison.

Tuesday the final reading from the 3rd generation was taken. Gram stains were made of the organism used and read under the microscope.

STUDENT ABSTRACTS:

Student Abstract 2003

Grade 6

Category Microbiology/Medicine and Health

Title: Aromatherapy is Right Under Our Nose

The purpose of this science project was to investigate the effects of essential oils on bacteria. The reason for this was because some types of bacteria are becoming resistant to different antibiotics that we use today. We wanted to know if essential oils would inhibit different types of bacteria more so than antibiotics. We

tested 5 common disease-causing bacteria with 23 essential oils. We also tested 5 antibiotics with each of the bacteria because we wanted to compare the antibiotics with the essential oils. We hypothesized that cinnamon, clove, and stinkweed (wormwood) would inhibit the most bacterial growth for our project. We went to the local hospital laboratory to do the tests. Our results were cool. We found that Rosewood, True Lavender, Spike Lavender, and Thyme resulted in the most bacterial inhibition. The essential oils ended up working significantly better than any of the antibiotics that we tested at inhibiting bacterial growth. In real life, we believe that this may help researchers and scientists find different, more effective medicine to treat bacterial diseases.

Project Resolution:

Awards Received:	Local Fair	1 st Place Blue Ribbon
	District Fair	1 st Place Blue Ribbon
	Alaska State Fair	1 st Place Blue Ribbon

Student Abstract 2004

Grade 7

Category Medicine and Health

Title: Aromatherapy; The Natural Medicine

Our science fair project was an extension of last year's project and the purpose was to prove if essential oils inhibit bacterial and yeast growth or not. In this project, we chose eight essential oils that seemed to inhibit the most bacterial growth from last year's experiment and tested them against two different types of bacteria and one type of yeast (*Candida Albicans*). We also tested one antibiotic, gentimycin, on each of the bacteria. The two bacteria that we used this year were enterococcus and pseudomonas. These bacteria are common causes of nosocomial infections (infections that people get while they are in the hospital) and they are resistant to some antibiotics. We used the local hospital laboratory to test the oils on the bacteria and yeast. We prepared the agar plates with bacteria and yeast samples and added a drop of each essential oil on a small piece of filter paper, and placed it on the agar plates. The next day, we measured the area of inhibition on each plate. In the end, Thyme worked the best in fighting the bacterial and yeast growth. We believe our project may benefit future discoveries in medicine.

Project Resolution

Awards	1 st Place Local Science Fair
	1 st Place District Science Fair

Spring Science Project 2005 Methods:

compiled by NWARD Middle School students:

1. Wash hands thoroughly using correct hand washing technique.
2. Put protective clothing on, such as gown and gloves.
3. Measure each bacterium using the saline meter and saline water.
4. Swab the chocolate agar plates with the correct amount of bacteria using the swabbing technique.
5. Hole punch the filter paper.
6. Drop oil on the filter paper and place the filter paper in the center of the agar plates.
7. Place each agar plate in the incubator for 24 hours.
8. Measure and record the inhibition zones.

After 24 hours in the incubator, three of the essential oils, rosewood, thyme, and spike lavender, completely inhibited the bacterial growth of streptococcus pneumonia. The seal oil showed no sign of preventing bacterial growth and didn't work nearly as well as the others. Overall, thyme worked the best in inhibiting all of the bacteria tested.

Compared to the antibiotics, at least one or more of the oils surpassed both antibiotics in hindering all of the bacteria tested.

In conclusion, our hypothesis was not supported from the results that were drawn from our experiment. First, we anticipated that the seal oil would prevent bacterial growth, however, the seal oil did not work at all in stopping any of the bacterial growth and did not meet our expectations.

We also expected the essential oils to have at least 10 mm of bacteria inhibition, but that was not supported; stinkweed and rosewood showed 6mm and 9mm of bacterial inhibition for one bacterium, Staph aureus. However, the other essential oils showed inhibition zones varying from 10mm to 85 mm.

Definition of Aromatherapy

by Tiffany Creed

Aromatherapy is the science of taking natural plants, extracting oils from them, and using them for different medical problems.

There are three ways of getting oils into our bodies. They are olfaction, transcutaneous, and ingestion. Olfaction means through the nose, either through direct inhalation, or using a diffuser. Transcutaneous means through the skin. You can do this by taking a bath, and massage. Ingestion means taking it through the mouth.

The most common way to distill oils is boiling the part of the plant (that applies to your medical problem), and it extracts into the container you are using to contain your oil.

In conclusion, aromatherapy is a natural way to reduce medical difficulties.

SHARING OUR STORIES.....

Student/ Mentor comments, interviews and strategic developmental project essays that helped move us forward.

Mentor Comments:

Tina Melin, MT(ASCP) Ketchikan General Hospital Clinical Laboratory

It has been my privilege working with these remarkable young people and with community educators. It is always enlightening see what happens when we allow the students to "take the wheel" in the "real world" of science. They will very soon be the leaders in our field. Sharing projects together provides a way for improving communication between all ages, and builds bridges of understanding and respect. We all have much to learn from each other. This is nothing new to the Inupiaq culture, as passing on knowledge and skills has always been one of their strongest traditions. It is our hope that those participating in these science projects will help encourage others and provide more opportunities for our young people in their education and career choices.

Kathleen Douglass, MT(ASCP) Maniilaq Health Center Clinical Laboratory Manager

Getting the students out of the classroom and into the real world helps bring the “Aha” back into learning. That “stuff” that is learned in the class room actually applies to the “real world” and to our lives. They get to see “science in action”. It is not just something in a book. The “stuff” their grandparents taught them about plants and animals are backed up by the scientific community. The elders know what they are talking about. Being able to apply concepts to the real world inspires curiosity and questioning and leads to finding answers. As community mentors, it is our Job to help these young people see that what they learn in the classroom applies to life in the world. If we keep the interest alive, who knows where it might lead, the sky’s the limit!

Student comments:

Anna Lincoln: Northwest Arctic Borough School District Middle School Student:

For the last two years, we did science projects on aromatherapy. I learned a lot from these experiences such as using a color meter and saline to titrate the bacteria samples and how to use other laboratory equipment. We learned a lot about essential oils and the effects they have on bacteria. The experiences were both awesome and fun at the same time.

Ariana Walker: Northwest Arctic Borough School District Middle School Student:

Our projects were not only fun and interesting, but also educational. I was learning about things that my mom is learning in Nursing School. We tested a lot of essential oils on bacterial samples to see if any would inhibit the growth of the bacteria. The best part of this project was doing the experiments at the hospital lab. We had to learn special hand-washing techniques for infection control and to make sure our hands did not add any foreign bacteria to the bacterial samples we were testing.

Tiffany Creed: Northwest Arctic borough School District Middle School Student:

I learned so much when doing this project. Before we started the project, I had no clue what aromatherapy was. I learned about things I had never even thought of, and the effects of essential oils on the bacteria fascinated me. I had never done a project this advanced or one that applied to real life and that might positively affect the medical world today.

Interviews with mentors, conducted by students:

The following is an interview with Elmer Goodwin, a native of Kotzebue:
by Anna Lincoln, NWASD Middle School Student

Anna: *Where and when were you born?*

Elmer: *Kotzebue, Alaska January 15, 1941.*

Anna: *Where were you raised?*

Elmer: *Kotzebue area.*

Anna: *Who taught you about using stinkweed and Tundra Tea for Wounds?*

Elmer: *Ahna (grandmother)*

Anna: *Is there a limit on how much tundra tea you should have? If so, why?*

Elmer: *“Stinkweed in tea, you should only have one cup daily, because some people might have a reaction. Tundra Tea, you shouldn’t have every day, only 2 times a week. Stinkweed and tundra tea clean out your system.”*

Elmer: *“One time when I was a boy, I got a big cut on my thumb and it got real red and full of pus. I had a red streak going up my arm. My Ahna got dry stinkweed and rub it for long time in her hands to make it soft. She put little water in it and made a paste and put it on my cut and wrapped it in cloth. The next day it was healing up, the pus was gone and it was a lot better.”*

Anna: *Are there any other traditional plants that are good for you?*

Elmer: *Juniper Berries, you don’t want too much of that stuff either, because some people might have a bad reaction. Have one cup a week, good for diarrhea, bad colds, and coughs.*

Interview with Carl Houghton, MD:

by Tiffany Creed, NWASD Middle School Student

Personal Information:

Name: Carl Houghton

How long worked at Maniilaq: *6 months*

How long worked as doctor: *7 years*

What Kind of doctor: *Pediatrician, internist*

1. **If there were no antibiotics, and someone got a mild bacterial infection, would their immune system be able to fight the illness?** *Most of the time it should.*
2. **How do antibiotics work?** *It depends on the antibiotic. Some destroy cell walls of the host cell, and some interfere with the protein synthesis.*
3. **Why do some antibiotics work faster than others?** *Some take time because they actually need to kill bacteria, and some take less time because they just stop bacteria from multiplying.*
4. **Do you think antibiotics or essential oils would work better?** *Antibiotics. You did your testing on agar plates, right? TC: uh-huh. CH: Well, it’s very easy to kill bacteria, even soap does, but you need to know if antibiotics and essential oils will damage human cells.*

Martha Shield F.B. 9/4/03

What Stinkweed Is Used For:

Stinkweed is used for earaches, bee stings, and swelling.

The way stinkweed is used for earaches is to boil the plant and use the broth to put into your ear.

For bee stings and swelling, chew the plant and put it on the spot where swelling or bee stings are.

Materia Medica of some plant and tree extracts used in experiments:

compiled by Ariana Walker, Tiffany Creed and Anna Lincoln

Eastern White Cedar

Most Common Name: White Cedar

Country of Origin: Native North America

The Eastern White Cedar has a very fruity aroma, is slow growing and when crushed, smells like an apple. This essential oil is good at fighting coughs, fever, intestinal parasites, venereal diseases and cystitis.

Balsam Fir

Most common name: Balsam Fir

Latin name: *Abies balsamea*

Country of Origin: Canadian wilderness

It may be irritating to the skin. It is a good soap and is a nice disinfectant. Balsam fir smells like a pine forest, is very refreshing, and is often used in perfumery. It is made from root, bark, wood, seed, fruit, leaf or flower of the plant.

Black Spruce

Most common name: Black Spruce

Latin name: *Picea mariana*

Country of origin: Canada

The Black Spruce essential oil is extracted from the needles and has a pine scent. It is an excellent tonic for the adrenal glands.

Lemongrass

Common name: lemongrass

Lemongrass is very useful. It is used for colic, fatigue, indigestion, muscle aches and pains, and stress.

Lemongrass is non-toxic, and may lead to skin irritation with too much use.

Ledum :

Common name: Tundra Tea, Laborador Tea

As a tea, ledum soothed stomachs, coughs, and hoarseness. It is also believed to calm occasional nervousness. Ledum has been used for years in folk medicine. As a tea, it was also believed to stimulate the nerves.

Stinkweed:

Latin name: *Artemisia annua*

Common Name: Annual wormwood, Sweet wormwood, Sweet Annie, Stinkweed:

Stinkweed is a shrubby, stink plant growing up to 60 – 120 cm. It is numerous flower heads and is a branched, leafy stem. This plant is found in Europe and in the north central and northeast regions of the United States of America. The aerial parts possess medicinal properties executing anesthetic, anti helminthic, diaphoretic and cathartic effects.

Ravensara; Ravensare – Aromatic Ravensare

Botanical name: *Ravensara aromatica*

Ravensara is referred to (by the people of Madagascar) as the oil that heals. They have used it traditionally for combating colds and flu. It has antiseptic properties and is supporting to the nerves and respiratory system.

Ravintsara – Cinnamomom camphora

Aromatic tree growing wild and cultivated in Madagascar. The leaves, bark and stem are traditionally used in Madagascar as a tonic and anti-viral.

Lemon

Lemon is said to prevent scurvy by our ancestors who traveled the seas. Lemon can be used to balance the nervous system, as a disinfectant, for purifying the body, to refresh and uplift, but it may cause skin irritations. In our experiment, E. coli was resistant to lemon, has a zone of 30 mm on Haemophilus influenza, its zone on Strep pneumonia and Staph aureus was 16 mm, and on Strep A, it had a small zone of 12 mm.

Eucalyptus dives

Eucalyptus dives is high in Phellandrene and low in eucalyptol. This species of eucalyptus has different, more specific antiseptic action than other eucalyptus oils. You should avoid direct inhalation, but it is excellent for skin or topical application. Eucalyptus dives can be added to food, soy, or rice mild as a dietary supplement. Eucalyptus worked best on Strep pneumonia with a zone of 35 mm to inhibit bacterial growth. Next was Staph aureus, 28 mm, Strep A, 9 mm, E. coli, 11 mm, and Haemophilus influenza, 8 mm.

Palma Rosa

Cymbopogon martini, also known as Palmarosa, is said to secure the heart, stimulate the cellular regeneration, and moisturize skin, to calm and uplift and for nervous exhaustion and stress conditions. It has a floral-rose grassy scent, and is used today in Ayurvedic medicine. Palmarosa was most affective on Haemophilus influenza with a zone of 29 mm, the zone on Strep pneumonia was 23 mm, on Strep A, 15 mm, E. coli, was 14 mm, and Staph aureus was 17 mm.

Eucalyptus globules

Eucalyptus globules is only one of the three hundred different species of Eucalyptus in the world, and it is the best known. Eucalyptus leaves are not only found in Australia, but now can be found in subtropical regions throughout the world. The medicine in Eucalyptus is found in the oil, found in the dried leaves. Eucalyptus globules are used as a decongestant, loosens phlegm, and relieves spasms. Its leaves are used for teas, bronchitis, colds, and coughs. Eucalyptus globules worked best on E.coli, we measured a zone of 25 mm, second, was on Strep pneumonia, with a zone of 16 mm, on Strep A and Haemophilus influenza, had a small zone of 14 mm, last was Staph aureus and we measured 11 mm.

Eucalyptus radiata

Eucalyptus radiata is grown in Australia and Tasmania. It is a tall, aromatic evergreen tree of the myrtle family. Eucalyptus radiata is used in steam inhalation and a few whiffs so all it takes to clear a stuffy nose and a foggy head. Eucalyptus radiata should only be used infrequently because it is difficult to eliminate through the kidneys. In our experiment, Eucalyptus radiata worked best on Staph aureus, which had a zone of 27 mm, on Strep A, there was a small zone of 13 mm, and Haemophilus influenza, 21 mm with double whole plate inhibition.

Lavandula angustifolia – True Lavender

Origin: Mediterranean countries, England, France

Lavender is a woody, evergreen shrub with pointed, narrow leaves and purple flowers that comes from the mint family. True lavender that grows at higher altitudes than others do, tend to be more calming. True

lavender is not to be confused with Spike lavender. The chemistry can differ by far. Spike lavender is a stimulant with a camphorous smell.

Aniba rosaera – or Rosewood

Is imported from Brazil and is distilled from the wood. It has a sweet, woody floral, spicy smell, and is used to relieve stress and balance the central nervous system, for easing colds, and coughs, and can be used as an aphrodisiac and skin care. Rosewood is an antidepressant, and is said to stimulate new cell growth, regenerate tissues, and help minimize lines and wrinkles. Rosewood had a zone of 56 mm and showed whole plate inhibition, which means the bacteria in the whole plate, was thinned out because of the Rosewood. On Strep pneumonia, the zone was <82 mm, we saw no growth on the agar plate at all, the zone of E. coli plate was 48 mm, and had whole plate inhibition, Haemophilus influenza had a zone of 56 mm, and Strep was 28 mm.

Spike Lavender – Latin name: *Lavandula latifolia*

Country of Origin: Spain

Type: Flower

Spike lavender gets its medicine from the flower and is made in Spain. You can take it through steam inhalation, but avoid usage if pregnant. It is sometimes recommended to be used as an insect repellent, and some authorities have even said it is useful for hair and skin care. Spike lavender is used as an analgesic (pain reliever) antidepressant (a stress reliever) and antiseptic. In our experiment, spike lavender worked best on Strep pneumonia with a zone of >82 mm, we saw no growth, Staph aureus, 48 mm, Strep A, 35 mm, E. coli, 32 mm, and Haemophilus influenza was resistant.

Peppermint

Origin: Europe, United States: small plant

Botanical name: *Menthe piperita*, color: Clear with a yellow tinge

The plant originated in Europe and was eventually brought to the United States, here, it is mostly grown in Washington state and Oregon but is also grown in Idaho and Wisconsin.

Uses: Peppermint can be used for scabies, colic, exhaustion, asthma, nausea, headache, flatulence, vertigo, headache, and sinusitis.

Safety: Avoid in cardiac fibrillation, epilepsy, and fever. Peppermint is a mucous membrane irritant, and can be neurotoxic (toxic to the nerves).

A Good Mixture: Peppermint blends well with geranium, lavender, rosemary, sandalwood, bergamot, and marjoram.

Niaouli – Botanical name: *Melaleuca quinquenervia*.

Color: Clear.

Uses: Niaouli can be used for treating oily skin, acne, bronchitis, whooping cough, cuts, colds, dull skin, flu, coughs, aches, and sore throat.

Safety: There are no specific safety precautions while using this oil.

A Good Mixture: no information found.

Cinnamon - Botanical name: *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*:

Color: Golden Yellow/Brown

Origin: Brazil, India, Jamaica, Java, Martinique

Type of plant: Tree

Uses: Cinnamon is a spice found on the inside of tree bark. The trees are found in several different places. The cinnamon tree can grow up to about 30 feet high. The oil comes from the fruit, the leaves and the roots. The uses of cinnamon (in terms of medicine) are reducing constipation, exhaustion, flatulence, lice, low blood pressure, rheumatism, scabies, and stress.

Safety: The oils can come from both the leaves and the bark, but the bark is too hazardous to use. Cinnamon is a mucous membrane irritant, and strong skin sensitizer.

A Good Mixture: The essential oil cinnamon mixes well with is clove, citrus oils, myrtle, caraway, nutmeg, and olibanum.

Clove Bud: Botanical Name: *Eugenia caryophyllata*

Clove is antiseptic, stimulating, a soothing agent, and a muscle relaxant.

Uses: It can be used as mouthwash, to relieve toothaches, and an insect repellent.

Safety: Clove Bud is a dermal and mucous membrane irritant. Use carefully if you are under the influence of alcohol, if you have hemophilia, if you have prostate cancer, if you have kidney and liver problems or if you are taking anticoagulants.

A Good Mixture: Clove blends well with cinnamon, grapefruit, basil, black pepper, and citronella.

Ti Tree – Botanical name: *Melaleuca alternifolia*

Color: Clear with a yellow tinge

Uses: Ti tree can be used to treat acne, sinusitis, athlete's foot, warts, Candida, flu, cold sores, colds, insect bites, cuts, corns, itching, migraine, oily skin, ringworm, chicken pox, sores, spots, urethritis, and whooping cough.

Safety: May cause sensitization in some patients.

A Good Mixture: Ti Tree blends well with lavender, geranium, clove, lavender, cananga, marjoram, clary sage, rosemary, and nutmeg.

Thyme – Botanical Name: *Thymus vulgaris*

Color: Reddish Brown

Uses: It is said that thyme can get rid of rats and fleas. It is used for sinusitis and asthma, and it eliminates gas and reduces fever, mucus and headaches. You can use it as a household disinfectant when vaporized. It is also a deodorant and antiseptic.

Safety: Thyme vulgaris can cause skin irritation. You should not use thyme when you are pregnant or you have high blood pressure.

Some Pathogenic Microorganisms we tested

compiled by students

Candida Yeast

Candida albicans – Yeast infections result from an overgrowth of *Candida albicans*, which are a form of yeast that's usually found in the lower bowel, but it can also be found in many other places of the body. Yeast is classified in the kingdom of Fungi, which is almost everywhere in nature, including the air. Yeast grows very rapidly, especially when in substances containing sugar. If your immune system is strong and working well, it can keep *Candida albicans* growth under control.

Treatments for Candida yeast overgrowth should start with a high protein low carbohydrate diet. You should avoid all alcohol, sugar, sweets, and bread for a lower risk of getting Candida albicans, which is usually found in women.

There are numerous symptoms for yeast: some include hypoglycemia, sugar cravings, shakiness, mental confusion, distractibility, short attention span, tiredness, confusion, spots in front of eyes, easily bruised, chronic gas, and skin problems such as athlete's foot, hives, fungus in toenails, and very dry, itchy skin.

Pseudomonas aeruginosa

Each year, about 2 million people are infected with nosocomial diseases, 10% of those people are infected with pseudomonas. Pseudomonas is an infection caused by bacteria and can be in any part of the body. People with Aids have a higher risk of getting pseudomonas. You can only get pseudomonas if you are ill. Health care workers, sinks, and disinfectant solutions can spread this infection.

Enterococcus

Enterococcus is a ball shaped bacteria and is a nosocomial disease. If Enterococcus bacteria get into your blood system, they can get to your heart and cause you to loose weight, get the chills and can cause weakness. Enterococcus can cause many infections, including urinary infections. It is found in your intestines and is not safe anywhere else on your body.

Here are several essays written along the way that were instrumental in helping us move forward with this project in our community.

Watershed Educational Project for Traditional Culture Camps

by Tina Melin

Lesson Plan with Objectives

Traditional Camp science projects for kids K-12.

Baseline study.

1. Investigate the history of the watershed at Camp locations teaming up with Elders, kids and community members. Ask the Elders how it used to be.
2. Study holistic health of a stream or river located in the watershed with different project teams of a maximum of 3 required for science fair guidelines:
 - a. fish species present.
 - b. Macro invertebrate food source.
 - c. different habitat zones.
 - d. chemical analysis
 - e. Microbiological analysis.
3. Compile and present data according to science fair guidelines.
4. Set up and monitor fish incubation projects.

Integrating Science With Wellness: Blending Traditional Scientific Knowledge With Today

Observing locally, connecting globally with the GLOBE Science Program

by Tina Melin, MT(ASCP)

University of Alaska Fairbanks OLCG Summer Institute for Teachers and Community Educators

Implementation Presentation, June 2003

Community Outreach – Maniilaq Health Center Clinical Laboratory Team

Northwest Arctic Elders, Students and Teachers

AISES and District Science Fair Projects, Northwest Arctic Region

Where we are now.....

This is the story of how the GLOBE Science program came to be a part of the Pitchuksaaqtit* Hope Project, now known as the Wellness Movement. It is a story about reaching out for change and improvement in medicine and the healing arts. It is about community action towards our Journey to Wellness* and the Circle of Healing* in Alaska. It is a story of the remarkable young people of the Northwest Arctic Region teaming up with their Elders learning about the traditional knowledge and healthy ways of living passed from generations of the Four Directions.* It is a story about the strengths, wisdom and cultural values of the people of the Northwest Arctic Region that is the foundation for Inupiat Ilitqusiat.*

- 1 Pitchuksaaqtit – Inupiaq word meaning “to encourage”
- 2 Journey To Wellness- wellness movement happening all over Alaska and the nation where people are taking action and finding solutions that get to the root of the cause of our symptoms of physical, spiritual and emotional imbalances.
- 3 Circle of Healing – Healing model document written by Robert Morgan, Ph.D., Traditional Healing Planning Department, Southcentral Foundation in Anchorage. The Circle of Healing talks about integrative paths for holistic health care with focus on Traditional Healing including Allopathic Medicine and Alternative and Complementary Medicine choices.
- 4 Four Directions – refers to people from all over the world, all our relations and reminding us that we are all connected.
- 5 Inupiat Ilitqusiat – It is best to consult with an Inupiaq Elder to understand the meaning of Ilitqusiat.

Where we have been....

Over the past few years, we have seen many changes in health care across our nation and around the world. The shift has been towards a more holistic balance in healing of the mind, body and spirit. We have all been exploring, remembering, and learning about the traditional values and healthy ways of the days of old from our ancestors and our cultural heritage. Indigenous knowledge is being woven into healing as we continue to have more choices to help us to feel good, get better, and stay on that path of health.

Education has also been changing as educators are embracing this trend with traditional values and knowledge being integrated into today’s teaching and learning techniques and knowledge base. This is demonstrated clearly in Alaska by the Alaska Native Knowledge Network and the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative....Native Pathways to Education. Integrating this traditional knowledge from those who have observed over their lifetimes and stories passed down is a focus for the UAF Science program, Observing Locally Connecting Globally (OLCG). The OLCG has done this by bringing in the GLOBE Science Program; Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment for young people K-12. Teachers and educators work with this program in Alaska learning and sharing knowledge with Elders and those connected to their elders, young people and scientists locally and then with others around the world.

GLOBE is a worldwide science and education program coordinating the work of young students, teachers and scientists to study and understand the global environment. GLOBE is an international partnership involving countries around the world. In Alaska, GLOBE is partnering with local Elders, and members of the community. GLOBE students are young scientists, tens of thousands strong, learning about Planet Earth, and then teaching us.

Where we wish to go.....

The Maniilaq Health Center Clinical Laboratory, who serves the people of the Northwest Arctic Region, is teaming up with young scientists of Kotzebue and surrounding villages. As one of the hubs of science in our community, our laboratory team is working on a community outreach program. We have been working with students to help bring them into the real world of laboratory science as several students worked with us this past spring on projects to share locally and in local and state science fairs. We hope our participation may help encourage the students to learn more about health care career choices, and in research and development in laboratory science and other related areas as possibilities for their future to help improve their lives and those of the communities in which they live.

We see OLCG and the GLOBE science program as an opportunity for our young people and community members. It is a way to get everyone of all ages outdoors together, studying and learning about the land around us and all creations as well as cultivating a rich environment for sharing traditional cultural knowledge and skills. Working on projects together developed by GLOBE, and those that will come from inquiry from these protocols can become a path of integrating science with health and wellness.

There are several Traditional Culture Camps being held this summer. As an officially trained OLCG/GLOBE educator, I hope to implement this program as a choice for our teachers and young people. I plan to introduce our young scientists to the GLOBE program during summer camp with the following protocols. I will then share what I have learned with teachers and members of the community. This will set the stage for the kids to work with the GLOBE program during the school year and take ownership should they wish to do so. There will also be many topics for their science projects for next year. All of the instruments, educational materials, weather observation station set up and ongoing support from the GLOBE and OLCG teams of scientists, educators and global network will be provided for those trained and participating.

This is how I plan to introduce the program to the elders and kids at camp. We will have a GPS, topographical maps as well as Remote Sensing Satellite image maps so that we can learn to navigate together using the traditional ways and the new techniques. We will begin with the Big Picture. The focus at the camps is on learning the traditional values and ways so time will be limited for blending science participation. The elders and young people will be working together. We will learn from our Creator, from nature and from each other.

Here are several GLOBE protocols that we may cover if time permits:

1. Introduction to the GLOBE Science program- What is it and sharing letters from scientists who value and use the data that GLOBE students collect.
2. Our Home Planet, the Global View- GLOBE Learning Activity to introduce students to the GLOBE program with an overview of GLOBE's most significant features.
3. Our Special Place: The Local View – To give students their first experience to observe their GLOBE Study Site, using their senses to obtain a holistic, motivating impression of the study site.
4. Atmosphere and Weather – Talk about predicting and patterns in the weather and cloud formation. Study GLOBE cloud charts.
5. Navigation –Old and New – GPS Investigation – Introduction to navigation and mapping using celestial, traditional, and GPS satellites. We will use the GLOBE GPS protocol.
6. Learning about holistic health of the Watershed –
 - What is a watershed and why is it important
 - History of the watershed asking the elders to help us understand and the way it used to be.
 - Life cycles of fish.
 - Macro invertebrates as food for the fish.
 - Hydrology water Transparency Protocol
 - Hydrology Water Temperature Protocol
 - Hydrology pH Protocol

Student learning assessment:

We will use the traditional Campfire Talking Circle for assessing what we have learned.

When we get back to town, we will meet at the Boys and Girls Club Computer learning lab to learn more about the GLOBE Program web site and practice entering and compiling the data we have gathered. We may plan a potluck celebration and invite elders and community members for a sharing night of stories and pictures from our experience together at camp.

Camp Sivu is Good Medicine

by Tina Melin, MT(ASCP), Summer, 2003

This is a story of a special invitation to spend a week this summer with scientists of the Northwest Arctic region. It was an honor and a privilege to attend Camp Sivu Traditional Culture Camp with young people K-12 of the Northwest Arctic region and their Elders. We were all there together to have fun and to learn and remember the Traditional Inupiat Illitqusiak Values that embrace healthy ways of living. We were there to take time to appreciate and enjoy this great land, its people and all its wonders.

Our hearts and minds were opened and spirits lifted more each day as we left behind our daily work, school and activities to spend this time together on the beautiful Kobuk river at summer camp just as so many had before us. It was a place where it became natural for us to connect with the land, the people and our Creator for those of all ages and cultural diversities...honoring our differences. Together, we became a loving, supportive family enjoying healthy seasonal activities and rites of passage just as the Inupiaq people in this region have always done since the days of old.

There were six weeks of sessions with different groups coming in each week. Every day was carefully planned from the morning prayer and devotional asking our Creator for guidance to all the daily activities and workshops to the evening snacks and closure. Many had their loving hearts and hands in this camp. The Elders were there with us to share their stories and their wisdom and knowledge from all their years of living. The teens were there as trained counselors and were so good with the kids. Adults from the community were there to work, participate and share their knowledge. Community educators were there to help weave in educational activities and especially to encourage integration of Traditional scientific knowledge and observations over time. Changes in weather patterns and subsistence activities were shared as well as ways of navigation, both old and new. The traditional ways of observing and learning from nature was passed down. Educational sessions with help from the Elders facilitated learning about the plants and animals and our environment. Traditional arts and crafts were taught. Throughout the sessions, spiritual connection was one of the Inupiat Illitqusiak values that was always woven in. All of these activities helped the young people appreciate their own heritage and the value of the wisdom that is so important for the quality of their lives and those of their families and communities in which they live.

There was time made for everything a family could possibly do at camp and more. The food was carefully planned and specially prepared and focused around the healthy Traditional foods such as fresh fish, Caribou and wild greens and berries. Each morning the elders would take a group down river to check and set the net for fish. They would always come back with fresh salmon and whitefish for lunch and dinner. They would then teach processing and preservation techniques during the learning sessions such as cutting, drying and smoking. Cleaning and maintaining camp chores were shared by all. Stories of safety and survival throughout the seasons were taught by the Elders during the learning sessions. There was time for favorite things like swimming, canoeing and hiking. Story Telling, berry picking and gathering the wild medicine plants were some of the favorite activities as well as swimming and boating. And the evening free play time. The kids and adults each had their own time together just as a family would. There were stories shared that made us laugh and made us cry. We were all touched by the expressions of joy and happiness all around us. Many had never had this opportunity to experience traditional camp with a family. It warmed our hearts and left us all with wonderful lasting memories and impressions. Many times it was said how much we wish that everyone in our communities could experience Camp Sivu every summer.

One evening a group of us went hiking up on the ridge behind the camp to pick berries. It was going to be a beautiful sunset after a warm, fall-like sunny day. "Wear your rubber boots because it will be muddy going up!" When we got to the top of the ridge, we were overwhelmed by the beauty of the sight before us. There were lakes and mountains and trees all around the vast Tundra and it took our breath away. There was

every kind of berry that you could ever imagine and plenty of them. The Elders showed us how to pick the berries and the Tundra Tea in a way that was efficient and ecologically sound so as to sustain them through the seasons to come.

The kids were bounding all over the tundra and covered miles it seemed in just a few minutes. One little boy looked at me concerned and brought me back to the task at hand when he said, “Tina, you are not picking berries!” I said I will but I need a minute to take this in because I am overwhelmed by the beauty and I cannot believe it! The little boy just smiled and off he ran to pick more berries. My imagination ran wild as I could just picture the ancestors walking across the tundra and animals from long ago. It seemed like we could see a show of time right before our eyes....spirit memory. We were all happy doing something that had always been a joy to all who had come here. We felt a special freedom and our spirits soared and our guards came down, and we were able to open up and share our thoughts and feelings, and to talk about everything. We all felt safe and happy at that moment in time with no worries. Such a healing place. This was the perfect student learning assessment tool....all ages sharing and talking together in a group. All of us out there doing something healthy together. I thought about how God sure must be smiling because this must be what He likes His children to experience every day!

Camp Sivu Traditional Culture Camp in the Kobuk river valley is Good Medicine for all who have the opportunity to go. I will always cherish the memories of that week spent at camp with the people of the Northwest Arctic Region. I hope that many more will get to go for many years to come.

INUPIAQ VALUES

Our understanding of our universe and our place in it is a belief in God and a respect for all His creations. Every Inupiaq is responsible to all other Inupiat for the Survival of our cultural spirit, and the values and traditions through which it survives. Through our extended family, we retain, teach and live our Inupiaq way.

The Northwest Arctic Borough School District AISES Science Fair will support and endorse the Inupiaq values during the Fair. The following list was established by the Inupiat of NW Alaska and summarizes the values of the Inupiaq people of the Arctic Region of Alaska:

- ❖ Knowledge of Language
- ❖ Respect for Others
- ❖ Cooperation
- ❖ Respect for Elders
- ❖ Love for Children
- ❖ Hard Work
- ❖ Knowledge of Family Tree
- ❖ Avoid Conflict
- ❖ Respect for Nature
- ❖ Spirituality
- ❖ Humor
- ❖ Family Roles
- ❖ Hunter Success
- ❖ Domestic Skills
- ❖ Humility
- ❖ Responsibility to Tribe

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES, LINKS AND PARTNERS

Life Application Study Bible. 1996. Tyndall House. Holy Bible, New Living Translation

<http://www.arctichealth.org> Arctic Health – An information portal to issues affecting the health and well being of our planets northern most inhabitants.

www.aises.org (AISES) American Indian Science and Engineering Society

www.asm.org American Society for Microbiology (ASM) – invited students and mentors to share initiatives at ASM Undergraduate Educators Conferences. Also shared information as mentors, encouragement and support for our projects.

www.asmcue.org American Society for Microbiology Conference for Undergraduate Educators.

<http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/aip/index.html> - Centers for Disease Control (CDC) Arctic Investigations Program.

<http://www.ucalgary.ca/aina> Arctic Institute of North America (AINA)

MATE : Madagascar - Man and The Environment– Conservation group lead by Olivier Behra that sent samples and information for the students on two of their aromatic trees traditionally used in healing...Ravensara aromatica and Cinnamomom camphora, or Ravintsara. MATE is a non profit and non governmental organization (NGO) based in Madagascar. It works for the promotion of conservation by development and underlines the importance of the work in association with rural populations to handle the dramatic problem of the threats of overexploitation and disappearance of natural resources.

www.mate.mg www.olivierbehra.com

www.rjbuckle.com – Clinical Aromatherapy for Health Professionals

www.unitedaromatherapy.org/resta.php3 - Response Emergency Stress Team of Alaska

www.icisf.org – International Critical Incidence Stress Foundation

Aliksir- Aromatic plant products education and processing company in Quebec, Canada who shared information and sent samples of aromatic plants and trees from Canada for the students to work with.

www.aliksir.com

<http://www.lycaeam.org> The Lycaeam: Huge resource for lots of ethnobotanical plants.

<http://herb.umd.umich.edu> Native American Ethnobotany Database. A database of foods, drugs, dyes, and fibers of Native American peoples derived from plants.

No Barriers Education Foundation – www.no-barriers.com Neal Petersen grew up during Apartheid in South Africa, overcoming great obstacles to excel in the sailing world, being the first African American to sail around the world alone. Neal is a motivational speaker, sailor and mentor in education for all ages and

T. G. MELIN et al.

gave encouragement and inspiration to our students and mentors. Neal provided information on traditional ways of nautical navigation to share with our students at camp.

Brother Bear – Motion Picture: Walt Disney Pictures Productions

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TISSERAND, MAGGIE. Aromatherapy for Women

WORWOOD, VALERIE ANN. 1991. The Complete Book of Essential Oils and Aromatherapy. Macmillan London Limited.

ALASKA NATIVE KNOWLEDGE Network: University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska.
<http://www.ankn.uaf.edu>

ARCTIC HEALTH-CONSORTIUM LIBRARY; TRADITIONAL HEALING
<http://www.arctichealth.org>

ALASKA NATIVE MEDICAL CENTER TRADITIONAL HEALING LIBRARY-Anchorage, Alaska
www.anmc.org

OBSERVING LOCALLY, CONNECTING GLOBALLY: University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska
<http://www.uaf.edu/oleg>

GLOBAL LEARNING AND OBSERVATIONS TO BENEFIT THE ENVIRONMENT: GLOBE
<http://www.globe.gov>

UNITED STATES FREEDOM CORPS: Volunteer Organization Consolidation
<http://www.usafreedomcorps.gov>

MANIILAQ HEALTH CENTER – www.maniilaq.org

NORTHWEST ARCTIC SCHOOL DISTRICT - <http://www.nwarctic.org>

NANA – www.nana.com

CAMP SIVU – Noorvik, Alaska
<http://www.aqqaluktrust.com>

"My Way to Myself": Preserving the Healing Power of Voice in a Community-Based Participatory Research Project on Alaska Native Pathways towards Sobriety

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ABSTRACT. The “People Awakening Project: Discovering Alaska Native Pathways towards Sobriety” (PA) is a culturally-anchored, community-based participatory research project (CBPR) of the sobriety process among Alaska Natives. This paper will discuss the development of an interactive, multimedia research tool produced by the People Awakening project team that preserves the narrative force of the life history process, and integrates the primary psychosocial research findings in a way that is consistent with local standards of knowledge acquisition, social learning and healing. A single case example will be presented to illustrate how the preservation of voice is as important as the recording of words, particularly in the process of dissemination of results and findings back to the local people. The research process can be healing for the individual, community or communities involved, and the application of research findings can contribute substantially and meaningfully to the local social movements towards healing. Research can be an empowering way to one’s self, and the preservation of the full process of learning, knowing and telling through such multimedia forms as CDs and DVDs provides an innovative bridge from modern format to traditional form, and from research towards healing.

KEYWORDS: Alaska Native; Inuit; sobriety; alcohol; community-based participatory research (CBPR); healing; narrative; prevention; social action; health.

INTRODUCTION

"I was sitting there in the bar, I was just looking back at everything. It’s like I was outside of my body and I could see myself. And I thought, jeez, so poor. So poor, my own self... My body hurts everywhere. I was looking at myself, from right above myself, and I was aching, hurting, and wanting to cry. And I couldn’t believe I was sitting in a bar, but I had to do it for myself. I had to go back to a bar, to make sure I did not want another drink.

And I did it. I sat there for two hours, as weak as I was. I sat there for two hours. I said, I am done, totally done drinking. [My husband] he says, “Do you want counseling? You need to go to AA?” I said, no. I don’t need nothing. I just need my way to myself. I am done. I don’t want another drop of alcohol for the rest of my life".

-People Awakening Project participant

The quote above is a short excerpt from a much longer life history of an Inupiaq Eskimo woman who volunteered to share her story for the, “People Awakening Project: Discovering Alaska Native Pathways towards Sobriety” (PA). PA was a five-year, federally-funded study designed to provide an Alaska Native understanding of the sobriety process (NIAAA 1RO1 AA 11446-03). The impetus for sobriety research among Alaska Natives arose as a community-based response to a series of local newspaper articles entitled, “A People in Peril” that detailed the extreme costs of substance use and abuse among Alaska Natives in both rural and urban areas of the State (Anchorage Daily News, 1988). These articles projected an image of Alaska Natives as on the brink of self-destruction and fundamentally lacking the resources to effect change in their own communities. A group of Alaska Native officials from across the State joined with University of Alaska researchers and faculty in a call for a more complete story, told in the voices of the local people. In an innovative move away from studying the reasons for drinking, social dysfunction and despair, PA was developed and funded to preserve and transmit stories of personal and community protection, resilience, achievement and success from Alaska Natives from all tribal regions across the State.

Within the research process it became clear to both PA researchers and participants that there was a tremendous amount of healing attached to the process of relating and receiving a life history. The connection between research and healing manifests in the transformative power of words and story to create meanings that effect change on both an individual and collective level. This paper responds to the theme of the 14th Inuit Studies Conference, “Bringing Knowledge Home: Communicating Research Results to the Inuit,” by discussing the process through which the PA research team, in collaboration with a Coordinating Council of Alaska Native elders and tribal officials and community members, were able to transform the research product into a tool for social action to address a primary health disparity among Alaskan Inuit and other Alaska Native peoples.

A SHARED KNOWLEDGE, A SHARED VOICE: PA AND CBPR

The People Awakening Project (PA) was designed as a culturally-anchored, community-based participatory research project (CBPR) of the sobriety process among Alaska Natives (Minkler and Wallerstein, 2003; Mohatt et al., 2004). CBPR is a collaborative approach to conducting research that, “equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each brings” (Minkler and Wallerstein, 2003: 4). CBPR essentially begins with a research topic that is identified as important to the community with the overall aim to combine, “knowledge and action for social change to

improve community health and eliminate health disparities” (Minkler and Wallerstein, 2003: 4). CBPR, and its related variations such as participatory action research (PAR), have been used with particular success among Native North Americans in health and mental health related areas (Israel et al., 2005; Manson, et al., 2004; Wallerstein and Duran, 2003). CBPR is a crucial component for empowerment of research participants and collaborators from the non-scientific community, and works to demystify the research process and produce results that can be accessed at the local levels for immediate social action. A CBPR approach produces a shared knowledge that remains firmly community-based, and as such, must be communicated or returned in a way that is accessible, appropriate and useful within this primary context for social action and change.

The primary research aims and questions guiding PA were identified and refined by a Coordinating Council of Alaska Natives representing all five tribal regions of the State including: the Inupiaq of north and northwest Alaska; the Yup'ik/Cup'ik of southwest Alaska, the Alutiiq/Aleut of south-central Alaska and the Aleutian chain, the Tlingit/Haida of Southeast Alaska and the Athabaskan of Interior Alaska. The Coordinating Council was a fluid group that experienced some flux over the years of the project, but consisted of a core group of 10 individuals whose direction and guidance remained consistent and strong for the duration of the project. A few key issues arose as primary components of their collective vision for research on Alaska Native sobriety. Essentially these involved the way in which the research team would learn from the local people, and the ways in which the research team would communicate what was learned to others. The Coordinating Council unanimously agreed that a life history or narrative method would constitute the most culturally appropriate way to learn how Alaska Natives maintained or achieved a sober and healthy way of life. Certain members on the Coordinating Council, in particular, urged the research team to learn as they have learned throughout their own lives from their elders through story, song and observation of practice.

The PA research team under the guidance of the PA Coordinating Council collected a total of 100 life histories over a three-year period from Alaska Native individuals from all five tribal regions (27% Yup'ik, 20% Inupiaq, 19% Aleut/Alutiiq, 17% Tlingit/Haida, 17% Athabaskan). PA project participants ranged in age from 21 to 78, with 44% male to 56% female. An open ended, semi-structured life history interview format was used to elicit information on such areas as; childhood, family life, community life, participation in traditional activities and subsistence, schooling and education, work and domestic life, marriage and childrearing, death and loss, substance use and abuse, abstinence, recovery and wellbeing. Participants for the PA research project were recruited through advertisements calling for volunteers or nominations of

Alaska Native individuals who had never abused alcohol or other substances or those who had once had a problem but had quit or were in recovery, and who would be willing to share their life stories. The PA team was overwhelmed with the initial response from the local communities seeking participation in the research, and our Coordinating Council strongly urged us not to turn anyone away who wanted to share their lives and experiences. Supplementary funds were sought and acquired to interview everyone who so courageously volunteered to be a part of the project. As we would learn later on, in the process of gathering, reviewing and analyzing the hundreds of hours of digital recordings, the chance to tell one's story is as important for the advancement and preservation of health as it for the advancement and preservation of knowledge.

A CBPR approach requires that knowledge gained through the research collaboration be given back to the local communities in a way that can be used within their own communities and on their own terms, to effect change, promote social action and reduce disparities in health and wellness (Lewis, 2001; Park et al., 1993). The traditional products of the research endeavor, including scholarly publications, posters, reports and presentations, are more consistent with the needs of the scientific communities, and while useful for obtaining funds for social programs and follow-up research, may find little practical use within the local communities. This point relates directly to another of the PA Coordinating Council's main concerns, that the results of the PA research be shared with Alaska Native people in their communities in a way consistent with their practice of learning and receiving information. PA participants shared their knowledge with us through story and discourse. Reading transcripts of the interviews could only approximate the power of the spoken word, and an essential component for healing was lost in the translation and transcription. The Coordinating Council pointed out that it is essential that young people learn about their culture and way of life from their own people, in their own words, language and voice. Alaska Native people will identify not only with what is being said, but how it is being communicated, through tone, pacing, volume and pronunciation. The healing power of words inheres in their performance (Kleinman, 1988; Laderman and Roseman, 1996), and among Alaska Native and Inuit peoples this power is well documented and understood (Fienup-Riordan, 1995; Minor, 1992). It became clear then that the PA sobriety narratives were themselves tools that could effect social action and change within the local communities if the healing power of the voice could be universally heard.

IN OUR OWN WORDS: CREATION OF A PEOPLE AWAKENING CD-ROM

A theme that arose with regular frequency during the life history phase of the PA research was that telling is healing. PA participants would often state explicitly that their sobriety was directly related to their

ability to give voice to their feelings, thoughts and experiences in their everyday lives. As part of the collaborative aspect of the PA research, participants were offered monetary compensation for their time and knowledge shared during the interview. Many PA participants declined compensation and instead preferred to have the money donated to the tribe or elder's group, and stated that they wanted only for their story to be shared so that others may "catch" something from it that could be of use (Morrow, 1995). As the PA project moved into the dissemination and renewal phase, the PA research team met with the Coordinating Council once again to discuss ideas for transmission of the research data and results back to the collaborating communities. The idea of an interactive CD-ROM was presented to the Coordinating Council, as a way of communicating the research back to the participating communities and received strong support. Despite initial concerns regarding the technological aspects of the media, the general consensus of the Coordinating Council was that if it could provide a vehicle for PA participants to tell their stories in their own words and with their own voice, then it would be worth it. There were several important areas of concern and discussion surrounding the development of the CD-ROM and these will be taken in turn below.

Inclusion and exclusion: who participates?

The PA project collected over 100 life histories of varying length, some containing over 10 recorded hours. The CD-ROM media platform is restrictive in the sense of space and file limitations, and we found that in total we could expect to include only 20 of the 100 life histories on the PA CD-ROM. A collaborative selection process then ensued with each PA team member nominating PA participants for inclusion on the CD-ROM. It was decided that there would be two life histories selected for each of the five tribal areas with an even distribution of males to females and with the inclusion of at least one life history conducted in a Native language (e.g. Yup'ik Eskimo). All nominations were reviewed by the Coordinating Council, and the nominated participants were contacted by telephone to explain the development of the PA CD-ROM and seek their permission to be a part of the process. We initially anticipated the PA CD-ROM to be a web-based education tool that could be used in a treatment or prevention context with Alaska Native or other aboriginal peoples. Many of the PA participants supported the use of their life stories in this way, but were reluctant to participate if the CD would be accessible online. This was an unanticipated "bump in the road" for the PA CD-ROM development, and eventually the idea to make the CD program available on the internet was revised.

After we had received permission and consent from the PA participants to include their life histories on the PA CD-ROM we began the process of editing the transcripts and working with University of Alaska Fairbanks, Oral History Program to create the CD-ROM. Several participants wanted names and places removed from their life histories to protect the privacy of their family members. One participant wanted to be listed as “anonymous” and wanted her story edited for content references to persons or place, but at the same time was deeply committed to being a part of the CD-ROM project and felt her story needed to be heard, especially by young Alaska Natives.

Another PA CD-ROM participant was concerned that the stories may be misused by individuals who might not understand the power of the stories and the words of the elders. This participant suggested that a page be included on the CD-ROM describing the proper use and meaning of oral history and oral tradition for Alaska Native people. These concerns underline the inherent power of the stories shared by the PA participants to effect change in both their own lives and in the lives of others.

Benefits and limitations

The benefits of the CD format are clearly evident. A CD provides not just a vehicle for sharing what we learned during the PA project, but allows others to share in the process of how we learned. The CD-ROM format preserves knowledge *and* voice, and becomes an interactive way to experience the data in a style more consistent with oral and tactile forms of learning. The PA CD-ROM also has the potential of reaching children and young people who use computers daily in their schools in both the rural village and urban center contexts. Young people in the village are highly literate in modern technological innovation, and even adults tend to seek out regular Internet access for online shopping, thus redefining the scope and nature of the “bush order” (Christensen, 2003). The PA CD-ROM allows young people to experience an immediate sense of mastery as they navigate the CD, and is a creative way to imbed tradition within modern innovation. The PA CD-ROM is a concrete representation of the successful blending of old ways with the new, where a Western-based format is given indigenous form.

Potential limitations are also clear and must be considered carefully. Most prominent is the restricted range of the CD-ROM to reach only those within proximity to a computer, and more specifically, a computer of recent make. While the number of rural households with a computer is steadily increasing as the capabilities and reach of wireless and satellite connections expands, the majority of homes still do not have computers available to them for regular use. What computers are available in the village may also

present some significant limitations for using the PA CD-ROM. The PA CD-ROM was designed to work on both PC and Macintosh platforms, but experiences some technological problems with the Macintosh operating system, and requires additional specification to allow the audio to play. Many of the school districts throughout rural Alaska have contracts with Apple and have only Macintosh computers available for use in the schools, there is currently an instruction sheet available to address this problem, but the “fix” may prove too complicated for more novice computer users to negotiate.

Another limitation that was touched upon earlier concerns the limited capacity of the CD-ROM in terms of space constriction. We were only able to include 20 of the 100 life histories on the PA CD-ROM, and that means that many were left out that present different perspectives, realities and representations of everyday life and sobriety among Alaska Native people. The PA CD reflects well the nature of the data gathered during the research project, but should not be considered representative of the “Alaska Native” experience in general.

Despite these apparent limitations the PA CD represents the most efficient medium to date that transmits the knowledge gained through the community-based research process using the local methods for effecting personal and collective change. Through the PA CBPR process it became evident that the life history method was more than a way of gaining knowledge about a topic, issue or phenomenon, it was also a way that Alaska Native people, in other contexts of their everyday lives and social interaction, made sense of their experiences so that they might continue to heal and possibly provoke healing in others. In the next section of the paper we will present a single-case example from the PA CD-ROM to illustrate this healing power of story and voice in the lives of our Alaska Native participants.

TELLING IS HEALING: A YUP’IK/CUP’IK ESKIMO CASE EXAMPLE

Narration is a universal process that is constructive, acquired and culturally dependent (Frank, 1995; Mattingly and Garro, 2001). People learn to tell stories within a cultural context that allows for the expression or repression of particular themes, emotions and experiences to varying degrees and in highly divergent ways. As we learn to tell stories in culturally specific terms we are, in a sense, creating and reconstructing experience. Bruner (1987: 15) discusses this restorative aspect of narrative:

...eventually the culturally shaped cognitive and linguistic processes that guide the self-telling of life narratives achieve the power to structure perceptual experience, to organize memory, to segment and purpose-build the very “events” of a life. In the end, we *become* the autobiographical narratives by which we “tell about” our lives.

Story and oral tradition has an integral place in Alaska Native culture and everyday life (Fienup-Riordan, 1995; Hensel, 1996), and in turn, the PA research has shown that culture is fundamental to the sobriety process (Mohatt et al., 2004). As was stated earlier, through the PA CBPR process we learned that narratives and oral histories do not just say something, they do something (e.g. Laderman and Roseman, 1996). Both the audience and the narrator are changed by the experience. The majority of the PA participants, from all tribal regions, described their sobriety in terms of their awakening to their culture and an awareness of how they themselves were connected. One of the major themes that arose from the PA life histories was that discourse and story have long been a part of the traditional healing landscape throughout Alaska, and the strength to tell about one's life and experiences, reflects the individual and collective capacity to heal (Profeit-LeBlanc, 2003; Smith, 2003). Healing, though, is bound functionally to the *act* of telling and cannot at times be translated into written form without losing the essential quality of voice. How our PA participants talked about their lives and experiences, whether they laughed or cried, whispered or screamed, sighed, tensed or flattened their affect changed, in very important ways, what they were saying.

An example from a life history collected for the PA project and included on the PA CD-ROM will be used here to show how the narrator evokes meaning, emotion and catharsis through the strategic use of voice. The life history was transcribed originally using a prose form, and voice features such as weeping, laughing, sighing, prolonged silence and rapid or hurried speech, were only evident when the original recording was listened to. The excerpt that follows was re-transcribed from prose into a "practical poetics" that takes pause as its basic line determinant and creates an "open text" comprised of "audible sentences" (Tedlock, 1983: 6). The written text is here rendered as closely as possible to the spoken narrative to elucidate voice features. Each pause in speech is reflected by the creation of a new line in writing. Longer pauses are reflected by greater spaces between lines relative to the speaker's default pause length. Pitch and loudness are reflected by the use of capitals and italics respectively. Words spoken in louder voice are written LIKE THIS. Words spoken with stress or emphasis indicated by tightness in voice are written *like this*. All other voice features such as weeping and laughing are noted in parentheses (). The following excerpt is from the life history of a Cup'ik Eskimo woman with over five years of sobriety. In the passage below she describes her self-conscious coming to terms with her experience, culture and self.

Interviewer: I would just like to ask what you were able to forget or what sort of discomfort it took away from you when you would be drinking?

PA Participant:
Hmm—

Mostly now I think it's
all the things that I never talked about,
the *trauma* in the drinking family,
the sadness...
the...

Just not being...
Mostly I think,
not being able to have somebody to talk to
really in-depth.
I mean you can talk to your friends about problems, you know,
but sometimes I think,
we need to talk about *really* how...
Just *SEARCH* in there
whenever something occurs.
And I think I've been bottling up my childhood,
my parents drinking,
because I never really talked about it
really to anyone,
just keeping those
into myself (whispers).

After I did the twelve steps of AA,
I recognized that that's was what
my ancestors followed,
follows.
Our ancestors tell us
we shouldn't keep anything inside of us
because that's...
I believe that's what drove me to drinking and getting dependent,
was keeping myself *to myself*.

In my ancestors' times everybody shared who they are,
how they're feeling to everybody.

Yeah (whispers).

Interviewer: Were there moments along the way that seemed like
important steps for you, that seemed like you were making some kind
of progress or seeing some kind of change in yourself?

PA Participant:

Well,
I was sitting in the kitchen and all of a sudden I started crying—
and for what, I don't know.

And then while I was crying and my son was looking at me... (laughs softly)
And then along the way-
I love myself, I LOVE MYSELF AS A CUP'IK WOMAN!
Whoaaaaaaa----- (cries out and laughs)
Reeeally cried.

That's one of them.

[End section]

What can be seen immediately, if not adequately heard, is that the way this participant tells her story reveals certain integral aspects important to understanding how she came to terms with her experiences. Her voice is steady, calm and even. She starts off slowly with more frequent and longer pausing. Her voice is much softer and tenser in the first half of the narrative, often dropping off into a whisper. The use of pause in a narrative can have dramatic effects on meaning. Anthony Woodbury (1987: 187), working with Central Alaskan Yupik and Cup'ik oral traditions, finds that in the "default" instance short pauses will create cohesion, while unusually long pauses will convey disjunction, or dramatic anticipation. He adds to this that "lack of pause" can also convey a sense of "urgency" and "fierceness" in a story. As the narrator in the piece above continues her story, moving past her experience of trauma and isolation, her verbal pace quickens. Her voice becomes louder and lighter and she laughs more easily. Her story climaxes with her yelling out triumphantly, "I love myself, I love myself as a Cup'ik woman!" This is followed by a shrill wail (Whoaaaaaaa) and laughter, so infused with joy and relief, it literally causes the listener to quiver from the sheer force of her voice.

This is but one small example of the power of voice in story to effect change. As we listen to the narrator in the segment above, it is difficult to remain removed from the story. Her words gain particular power as she uses her voice to laden them with emotive force. She is, in a sense, able to use her words as arrows and "shoot" them out through voice in a way that is more likely to pierce through to the heart of those listening (Basso, 1983). This is not an uncommon way to use language in aboriginal societies, where the oral form continues to predominate as the primary vehicle for knowledge (Cruikshank, 1998). Elders in Yup'ik Eskimo society will caution the young people to the "power of words" (Fienup-Riordan, 2003), and "strong talk" remains as one of the most effective agents of social control in these groups (Wyman, 2004). But the words are only one part of what makes the talk "strong". The PA narratives are a similar form of "strong talk" because they are intended to promote or produce social action and change. As the case above

illustrates, they function in this capacity most truly and effectively by preserving the full narrative experience, both words and voice, to evoke healing.

FROM RESEARCH TO HEALING: THE PA CD-ROM IN SOCIAL ACTION

Through the PA CBPR research process we learned the ways in which telling can be healing, and through the creation of the PA CD-ROM we attempted to provide a tool that can be used in a capacity for social action. The PA research allowed us to bear witness to the power of people's story to change lives, their own and others around them. Our PA participants wanted their stories to be *heard* by other people. The academic or scholarly standard in research typically requires a certain amount of retelling and reframing, such that the knowledge that was shared is told to, rather than heard by, others. Because PA was designed as a CBPR project, one of the primary objectives for the research was to produce materials that can be accessed and used by the participating communities to reduce health disparities or effect social change. One of the primary potential uses for the PA CD in the local community context was envisioned as part of a treatment or prevention program, particularly targeted at the youth population in rural Alaskan villages.

Currently, few formal resources are available in the rural villages to address issues concerning the mental health of the youth, including substance abuse and suicide (Allen et al., 2004). In most regions throughout Alaska, youth and adults have to leave their home communities and travel to subregional hubs, or to one of the major city centers to receive treatment for substance abuse or other mental health related problems. Many of the villages may employ one or maybe two paraprofessional wellness workers such as a certified substance abuse counselor or a medical health aide, but these workers are often overwhelmed with their case loads and have little time available to spend on prevention efforts. This is an area of significant health disparity in Alaska, and the need is urgent to address the mental health of Alaska Native people in their own communities.

The PA CD-ROM provides one tool for use in a village context by local paraprofessionals in the health or social service fields, teachers, clinicians, clergy, or even parents. The PA CD-ROM is essentially an innovative way to reproduce and encourage the efficacy of a local, traditional option for healing and recovery. As the narrative from the previous section made clear, story and oral tradition have an important place in Alaska Native culture and everyday life, and are an integral part of maintaining and promoting health and wellbeing for individuals, families and communities. Stories are one way in the traditional

community context for making the important, and even life-changing or life-saving connections between self, kinship, culture and environment.

The PA CD-ROM can be used in an informal, local community context or in a formal treatment-based or clinical environment to reproduce this type of traditional healing way. We have learned from presenting the PA CD-ROM that the stories are most effective when they are experienced socially. Many of the stories told by the PA participants and included on the CD-ROM contain painful or raw accounts of traumatic events including physical, verbal or sexual abuses, suicide and attempted suicide, loss and illness among other things that could cause listeners to recall or re-experience their own traumas or pain. It is important then when the PA CD-ROM is being presented or shared with an audience to be sensitive to how an individual might react to hearing such stories, and to ensure that there is adequate and appropriate measures in place to assess the audience or individual listener's reactions to the stories.

The PA CD-ROM was designed specifically with clinical applications in mind, and the CD-ROM contains a section for researchers, clinicians or other interested persons to tour the PA "Pathways to Sobriety Model for Alaska Natives," and allows guided access of the life histories through this model to understand the psychosocial processes involved in the sobriety and substance abuse process (Figure 1) (Mohatt et al., 2004). The following steps are suggested as a way to implement the PA CD-ROM in a healing context.

1. Introduce the People Awakening CD-ROM as part of a group or one-on-one meeting.
2. Show the individual or group how the CD works and let them gain familiarity with the media in an instructive and supportive setting.
3. Choose a life history and listen to a selection together.
4. Ask for reactions to the narrative and to the CD-ROM in general. Is it comfortable, understandable, meaningful, powerful, interesting. Ask the listeners to reflect on their feelings when they heard the story. Were they sad, excited, angry, hopeful or fearful?
5. Select another section from the CD in advance that might "speak" to the particular members of the group or the specific individual and listen to the section together and reflect on it. For example, if the group or individual is young, select narratives from younger participants or sections of childhood and adolescent-age recollections. If the group is young parents, select passages about parenting and childrearing.
6. Explore the relationship between culture and sobriety by listening to specific parts of the narratives and talk about the ways in which talking about something or giving voice can be healing.

7. Identify ways the individual/s can talk about their own life experiences using examples of others in the PA CD-ROM.
8. Encourage the individual/s to create their own life stories to share with their family, children or peers.

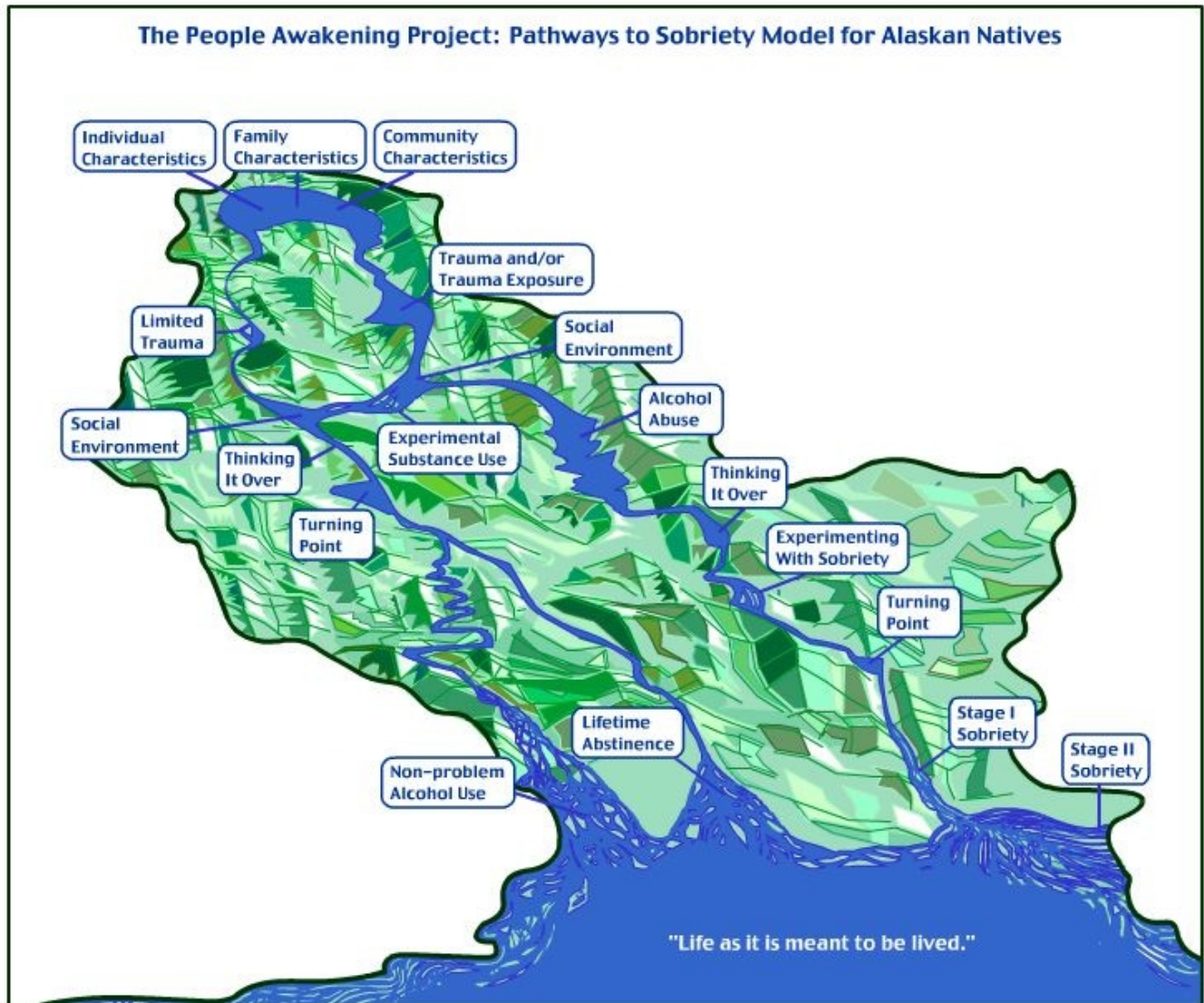


Figure 1. PA “Pathways to Sobriety Model for Alaska Natives,”

There is a multitude of things that can be gained through the experience of listening to the PA life histories, especially for those young and older Alaska Native people who might struggle today to make the important connections between their sense of self and their social worlds. Some positive messages that our PA participants and Coordinating Council of elders and Alaska Native community representatives have identified as fundamental to this project and to the process of healing among Alaska Native people include;

know you are not alone, recognize there is hope and healing happening in your own communities, understand that telling is healing, focus on the strengths, find the way to yourself, and remember that it is never too late.

CONCLUSION: FINDING THE WAY TO YOURSELF

The People Awakening Project is community-based participatory research endeavor at the University of Alaska Fairbanks aimed at developing a culturally-anchored understanding of the sobriety process among Alaska Natives. Through the collection of 100 life histories from Alaska Native participants from across the State, we found that the process of research itself can evoke healing. Thus, true to the action-oriented nature of our research approach we sought to preserve not only the data that was shared with us, but the full nature of the exchange. When it came time to focus on presenting the PA data, we realized that it was not only the words that carried the force and meaning, it was the words spoken in the voice of the community members that carried with it the greatest power to heal. The development of the PA CD-ROM was a way to transform research data into a tool for social action. The PA participants were provided a secure medium for the preservation of their knowledge, and a vehicle for sharing this knowledge with future generations. State and tribal organizations received culturally-anchored, community-based materials for treatment, prevention and education of substance abuse and other mental health related issues. Youth, parents, elders and other community members are, consequently, able to learn about the sobriety and healing process from their own people. There remain several important limitations to this type of dissemination medium, but the benefits and potential uses in a treatment or prevention context with young people in their own communities make the venture not only worthwhile, but vital. Story is a way towards culture, and culture towards sobriety, and sobriety lights the way towards oneself. But as one Yup'ik PA participant states: "Today life is good, you know. And it's not the end of the story, by any means."

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Agentive and patientive verb bases in Iñupiaq**Tadataka Nagai**

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ABSTRACT. The Inuit language has two types of verb bases that can take both intransitive and transitive endings: agentive verb bases, for which intransitive subject corresponds to transitive subject, and patientive verb bases, for which intransitive subject corresponds to transitive object. This division has often been noted in the literature, but the principle behind it has been rarely considered. This paper attempts to clarify the semantic principles behind this division in North Alaskan Iñupiaq, by examining verb bases that refer to motion, verb bases that refer to the agent's physical impingement on the patient, and pairs of verb bases involving iterative postbases.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the principle of distinction between two classes of verb bases in North Alaskan Iñupiaq: agentive and patientive verb bases. First, we need to define those two types of verb bases. There are two overlapping criteria to find out whether a verb base is agentive or patientive.

The first criterion is the correspondence of intransitive subject with transitive subject or transitive object. Thus, for agentive verb bases intransitive subject corresponds to transitive subject. For example (abbreviations used are: AS: absolutive; CTU: contemporative unrealized; HT: half-transitive; IND: indicative; MD: modalis; RL: relative; S: singular; TM: terminalis; VL: vialis; 3: third person; 4: fourth person):

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------------------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| (1.) | a. | afun | abnamik | tautuktuq | |
| | | afuti-ø | abnaq-mik | tautuk-tuq | |
| | | man-AS.S | woman-MD.S | see-IND.3S | |
| | | intransitive subject | | | ‘the man saw a woman’ |
| | b. | afutim | abnaq | tautukaa | |
| | | afuti-m | abnaq-ø | tautuk-kaa | |
| | | man-RL.S | woman-AS.S | see-IND.3S3S | |
| | | transitive subject transitive object | | | ‘the man saw the woman’ |

Example (1a) is an intransitive sentence, while (1b) is a corresponding transitive sentence. The intransitive subject, afun ‘man’, in (1a) corresponds to transitive subject, afutim ‘man’, rather than

transitive object, abnaq ‘woman’, in (1b). So tautuk- ‘see’ in (1) is an agentive verb base. On the other hand, for patientive verb bases intransitive subject corresponds to transitive object. For example:

- (2.) a. ayaupiaq naviktuq
 ayaupiaq-∅ navik-tuq
 cane-AS.S break-IND.3S
 intransitive subject ‘the cane broke’
- b. afutim ayaupiaq navikkaa
 afuti-m ayaupiaq-∅ navik-kaa
 man-RL.S cane-AS.S break-IND.3S3S
 transitive subject transitive object ‘the man broke the cane’

Example (2a) is an intransitive sentence, while (2b) is a corresponding transitive sentence. The intransitive subject, ayaupiaq ‘cane’, in (1a) corresponds to transitive object, ayaupiaq ‘cane’, rather than transitive subject, afutim ‘man’, in (2b). So navik- ‘break’ in (2) is a patientive verb base.

The second criterion to distinguish agentive from patientive verb bases is that a half-transitive postbase is optional or obligatory, respectively, in anti-passive forms. Thus, agentive verb bases do not require a half-transitive postbase in anti-passive forms. Actually, (1a), where the verb inflects intransitively without a half-transitive postbase, is an anti-passive sentence corresponding to the transitive sentence (1b). On the other hand, patientive verb bases do not yield anti-passive forms without a half-transitive postbase, as shown by the fact that (2a), where the verb that inflects intransitively without a half-transitive postbase, is not anti-passive. To form anti-passive forms from patientive verb bases, we need to add a half-transitive postbase after the verb base. Compare (2.) with (3):

- (3.) afun ayaupiamik navgiruq
 afuti-∅ayaupiaq-mik navik-i-tuq
 man-AS.S cane-MD.S break-HT-IND.3S ‘the man broke a cane’

where the verb inflects intransitively with a half-transitive postbase, is an anti-passive sentence corresponding to the transitive sentence (2b).

In the literature the distinction between agentive and patientive verb bases has often been addressed, under various designations, since Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]). But much less discussed have been the principles behind the distinction, that is, what makes a verb base agentive and what makes a verb base patientive. What follows is an attempt to find out some of the semantic properties of agentive and patientive verb bases, by taking up three sets of verb bases. The following sections look at: verb bases that refer to motion; verb bases that refer to the agent's physical impingement on the patient; and pairs of verb bases involving iterative postbases. The final section provides concluding remarks.

MOTION VERB BASES

In this section we will look at verb bases that refer to motion. Such verb bases may be subdivided into those which refer to the agent's motion with respect to the patient and those which refer to the patient's motion caused by the agent.

Verb bases that refer to the agent's motion with respect to the patient, such as in (4.), are agentive.

- (4.) tikit- 'reach', aquvit- 'sit down on', mayuq- 'go up (hill etc)', ataaq- 'descend', nutik- 'jump over', kaivit- 'go around (something)', qaafiq- 'pass', naluk- 'swim across', tati- 'lean on', utiq- 'return to'

For such verb bases, the patient is location, which is not caused to be in motion. On the other hand, verb bases that refer to the patient's motion caused by the agent, such as in (5.), are mostly patientive.

- (5.) uvufaq- 'bring', katak- 'drop', mumik- 'turn over', aat- 'take away'; isiq- 'bring in', iki- 'put in box, container, vehicle', kivit- 'sink', nuut- 'move', igit- 'throw', uviq- 'cause list'

For such verb bases, the patient is caused to be in motion. Thus, we may conclude that motion verb bases whose patient is not caused to be in motion are agentive, while motion verb bases whose patient is caused to be in motion are patientive.

However, of verb bases of the latter type, those which portray the patient as being caused to be in motion at a specific locus relative to the agent, such as in (6.), are agentive.

- (6.) akiyaq- 'carry by hand', kakaaq- 'carry (person) on shoulders', sabliaq- 'put on the lap', amaaq- 'carry on the back', iqsruk- 'carry (things) on shoulder'

These verb bases may be viewed as having an ‘agent-oriented meaning component’ (Haspelmath 1993), that is, the meaning component which depicts the specific way in which the agent is involved in the event. Thus, although *uvuƒaq-* ‘bring’ and *akiyaq-* ‘carry by hand’ both refer to a patient caused to be in motion, they differ in that *akiyaq-*, unlike *uvuƒaq-*, specifies the patient’s locus relative to the agent during the motion. That is, *akiyaq-* has an extra agent-oriented meaning component, compared to *uvuƒaq-* in that it specifies the way the agent carries out the motion, i.e., by hand. So we may conclude that verb bases with an agent-oriented meaning component are agentive even if they refer to a patient caused to be in motion.

IMPINGEMENT VERB BASES

In this section we will look at verb bases that refer to the agent’s impingement on the patient. They are subdivided into several semantic subclasses:

Verb bases that refer to the agent’s contact on the patient, such as in (7.), are agentive.

- (7.) *aksik-* ‘touch’, *aluk-* ‘lick’, *kauk-* ‘hammer (nail)’, *kunik-* ‘kiss’, *savit-* ‘pat (dog)’

Such verb bases refer to actions in which the patient does not change state.

Verb bases that refer to the agent’s manipulating the surface of the patient, such as in (8.), are also agentive.

- (8.) *qitchuk-* ‘scratch’, *titiq-* ‘mark (ground)’, *allaq-* ‘clean (gun) with metal’, *aglagaq-* ‘mark (wood)’, *mieujiq-* ‘paint’

Such verb bases also refer to actions in which the patient does not change state.

Verb bases that refer to the agent’s changing the state of the patient, such as in (9.), are mostly patientive.

- (9.) *abit-* ‘wet by spilling water’, *aƒalat-* ‘stir’, *taluk-* ‘open (door)’, *umik-* ‘close, lock’, *tasrit-* ‘stretch’, *qipit-* ‘twist (rope)’, *imu-* ‘fold’, *puyat-* ‘make dirty’, *uuyu-* ‘lengthen’, *nalbuq-* ‘straighten’, *imaq-* ‘wet to tan’

By contrast, verb bases in (10.), which apparently refer to the agent’s changing the state of the patient, are agentive.

(10.) afula- ‘wet to tan’, sivvuq- ‘squeeze’

In this respect afula- contrasts with its apparent synonym imaq- ‘wet to tan’ (9.). The difference between these two verb bases is that afula- refers to the agent’s wetting the patient as a process leading to the patient’s state of being tanned, but the focus is not on the patient’s changing state from not being wet to being wet, but on the agent’s wetting. Thus, even though it does imply the agent’s changing the state of the patient, the focus is not on the patient’s changing state, but on the process of the agent’s indulging in the activity of wetting the patient. On the other hand, imaq- focuses on the patient’s changing state from not being wet to being wet. This difference is manifest in the examples in (11.), which were composed by a speaker when I asked about the difference between these two verb bases:

- (11.) a. abnam imabaa amiq
 abnaq-m imaq-kaa amiq-∅
 woman-RL.S wet-IND.3S3S skin-AS.S
 ‘the woman wet the skin to tan it’
- b. abnam ukalliq afulagaa qitummafniaqjugu
 abnaq-m ukalliq-∅ afula-kaa qitummak-niaq-jugu
 woman-RL.S rabbit-AS.S wet-IND.3S3S tan-will-CTU.3S
 ‘the woman wet the rabbit (skin) to tan it’

These examples show that afula- does not complete the sentence as imaq- does without another verb base which indicates the event that completes the series of events involving what afula- refers to. That is, imaq- focuses more on the patient’s final change into the state of being wet, while afula- focuses more on the agent’s process of wetting it. And this difference is correlated with the fact that the former is patientive while the latter is agentive. sivvuq- ‘squeeze’ may be understood in a similar fashion. That is, most often you squeeze something not to change its shape from not being squeezed to being squeezed, but as a process of dehydrating it. Its focus is not so much on the patient’s changing shape per se as on the process of the agent’s working on it. Thus, it focuses on the agent’s process, and it is agentive. Thus, of verb

bases that refer to the agent's changing the state of the patient, those that focus on the agent's process are agentive, while those that focus on the patient's change-of-state are patientive. This statement may be paraphrased: those that refer to a complex process causing the patient's change-of-state are likely to be agentive, while those that refer to a simple process are likely to be patientive. This is because complex actions require more conscious, intensive, prolonged involvement on the part of the agent than simple actions, so that they are more likely to be portrayed as the agent's indulgence. In this connection we may understand verb bases such as in (12.), which are all agentive according to our second criterion in Section 1.

(12.) argiq- 'roast', saqaniqtaq- 'fry', ufiraq- 'sew bottom of mukluk'

They refer to the agent's changing the state of the patient through a conscious, intensive, prolonged process. For example, you can abit- 'wet by spilling water' (9.) something by tilting above it a glass that has water in it, and you can afaLat- 'stir' a soup by thrusting a ladle into it and moving it around several times, but to properly argiq- 'roast' something you will need to sit for some length of time and check it occasionally after putting it near fire. Thus, verb bases such as in (12.) are likely to focus on the agent's process, and they are agentive.

Verb bases that refer to the agent's instrument penetrating into the patient may be classified into those which imply the splitting or killing of the patient and those which do not. Those which imply the splitting or killing of the patient fall into two types: those which refer to semelfactive action and those which refer to iterative action. The former, such as in (13.), are patientive, while the latter, such as in (14.), are agentive.

(13.) avik- 'cut (food) in two', kapi- 'stab', quppiq- 'cut (fish) in two', kipi- 'cut (rope etc) in two', nibluq- 'cut by the throat'

(14.) qirriuuq- 'chop (wood) into pieces', tira- 'cut (fish) into small pieces', uluaq- 'saw (wood) into pieces', ikigaq- 'cut (wood) into blocks', uukji- 'cut (food) into pieces'

Those which do not imply the splitting or killing of the patient, such as in (15.), are agentive.

(15.) naulik- 'spear', nivak- 'shovel (snow)', siik- 'cut (fish) open'

Thus, verb bases of this type are patientive unless they refer to iterative action or they do not imply the change of the patient, in which case they are agentive.

For verb bases that refer to the agent's contact on the patient which may involve some physical impact on it, such as in (16.), the agentive/patientive value depends on whether the patient is human or not.

(16.) aqi- 'kick', patik- 'slap', tigluk- 'hit with a fist', putyuk- 'pinch'

When the patient is human, they are patientive. For example:

- (17.) a. afutim abnaq tiglukaa
 afuti-m abnaq-∅ tigluk-kaa
 man-RL.S woman-AS.S hit-IND.3S3S
 'the man hit the woman'
- b. afun abnamik tigluiruq/*tigluktuq
 afuti-∅abnaq-mik tigluk-i-tuq/ tigluk-tuq
 man-AS.S woman-MD.S hit-HT-IND.3S/box-IND.3S
 'the man hit a woman'

The anti-passive form in (17b) requires a half-transitive postbase, so tigluk- 'hit' is patientive. However, when the patient is non-human, these verb bases are agentive. For example:

- (18.) a. afutim katchi tiglukaa
 afuti-m katchi-∅ tigluk-kaa
 man-RL.S wall hit-IND.3S3S
 'the man hit the wall'
- b. afun katchimik tigluiruq
 afuti-∅katchi-mik tigluk-i-tuq
 man-AS.S wall-MD.S hit-HT-IND.3S
 'the man hit a wall'

- c. afun katchimun tigluktuq
 afuti-Økatchi-mun tigluk-tuq
 man-AS.S wall-TM.S hit-IND.3S
 ‘the man hit a wall’

The anti-passive form does not need a half-transitive postbase, as in (18c), although it may take one, as in (18b), so *tigluk-* ‘hit’ is agentive here. This difference according to the semantic nature (human vs. non-human) of the patient may be viewed as being related to the expected impact on the patient. That is, although hitting someone and hitting something are physically similar actions, which is the basis of their assignment to one and the same verb base, they are mentally or socially very different actions in terms of the impact expected on the patient. If you hit someone, you will expect some impact on that person: he or she must feel some physical pressure; he or she may get physically damaged; and even if not physically damaged, he or she may be mentally hurt by being hit. On the other hand, if you hit, say, a wall, you normally will not expect any apparent impact on the wall: it does not feel anything, nor is it physically or mentally damaged. Therefore, actions denoted by these verb bases may be considered to differ in the amount of impact depending on whether the patient is human or not. When their patient is human, that is, when the action has a fair amount of impact on the patient, they are patientive; otherwise they are agentive. In addition, note from (18.b, c) that *tigluk-* ‘hit’ may or may not take a half-transitive postbase. This fact, together with the fact that a half-transitive postbase is obligatory in the anti-passive form when the patient is human, as shown in (17.b), suggests that the version with a half-transitive postbase is related with the implication that the action has some impact on the patient, whereas that without a half-transitive postbase is related with the implication that the action does not have any impact on the patient. This is confirmed by examining possessor ascension sentences with this verb base. Verb bases of this kind allow possessor ascension sentences, whose patient corresponds to the possessor of the patient of the unmarked sentence. For example:

- (19.) a. afutim tiglukaa abnam talìa
 afuti-m tigluk-kaa abnaq-m taliq-a
 man-RL.S hit-IND.3S3S woman-RL.S arm-AS.3SS
 ‘the man hit the woman’s arm’

- b. afutim tiglukaa abnaq taliagun
 afuti-m tigluk-kaa abnaq-∅ taliq-agun
 man-RL.S hit-IND.3S3S woman-AS.S arm-VL.3SS
 ‘the man hit the woman on the arm’

- (20.) a. afutim tiglukaa tupibmi talua
 afuti-m tigluk-kaa tupiq-mi talu-a
 man-RL.S hit-IND.3S3S house-RL.4SS door-AS.3SS
 ‘the man hit the door of his house’

- b. afutim tiglukaa tuppi taluagun
 afuti-m tigluk-kaa tupiq-ni talu-agun
 man-RL.S hit-IND.3S3S house-AS.4SS door-VL.3SS
 ‘the man hit his house on the door’

(19.b) and (20.b) are possessor ascension sentences corresponding to the unmarked sentences, (19.a) and (20.a), respectively. Thus, the patient in (19b) corresponds to the possessor of the patient in (19a), while the patient in (19a) is expressed in vialis case in (19b). The (b) sentences imply that the hitting has an impact on the patient as a whole, not just on the part of it that the agent’s hand touches. That is, the (b) sentences portray more impact on the patient than the (a) sentences. Now, the anti-passive sentence corresponding to (19.b), where the patient is human, is:

- (21.) afun tigluiruq abnamik taliagun
 afuti-∅ tigluk-i-tuq abnaq-mik taliq-agun
 man-AS.S hit-HT-IND.3S woman-MD.S arm-VL.3SS
 ‘the man hit a woman on the arm’

As is expected from (17.b), the anti-passive form has a half-transitive postbase. Next, the anti-passive sentence corresponding to (20.b), where the patient is non-human, is:

- (22.) a. afun tigluiruq tupibmieik taluagun
 afuti-øtigluk-i-tuq tupiq-mieik talu-agun
 man-AS.S hit-HT-IND.3S house-MD.4SS door-VL.3SS
 ‘the man hit his house on the door’
- b. * afun tigluktuq tupiqmieun taluagun
 afuti-øtigluk-tuq tupiq-mieun talu-agun
 man-AS.S hit-IND.3S house-TM.4SS door-VL.3SS
 ‘the man hit his house on the door’

Contrary to what we would expect from (18.b, c), where a half-transitive postbase is optional, it is now obligatory, the version without it being impossible. So here the verb base is patientive. This shows us that when the sentence implies an impact on the patient as a whole, the verb base is patientive. Thus we may conclude that verb bases of this kind are patientive when they imply a fair amount of impact on the patient, either because the patient is human or because it implies an impact on the patient as a whole; otherwise they are agentive.

Verb bases that refer to the agent’s causing the patient to lose its physical unity, such as in (23.), are patientive.

- (23.) alik- ‘tear’, navik- ‘break (long object)’, piiyaq- ‘break (artifact)’, qupi- ‘split in two’, qaaq- ‘bust’, uukkaa- ‘break’

They refer to the patient’s change-of-state. However, verb bases in (24.) are agentive.

- (24.) qaabaq- ‘bomb’, nuutkutit- ‘blast’

They indicate not only the patient’s losing its physical unity but also the agent’s specific process involved in it as a necessary factor, so they may be considered as having an agent-oriented meaning component.

SEMELFACTIVE VS. ITERATIVE PAIRS OF VERB BASES

Iñupiaq has a fair number of pairs of verb bases that differ in that one refers to semelfactive action

while the other refers to iterative action. Thus:

(25.)	semelfactive	iterative
	patik- ‘slap once’	pattak- ‘slap many times’
	kigi- ‘bite once’	kifmaq- ‘bite many times’
	avik- ‘cut (food) into two’	avguq- ‘cut (food) into many pieces’

The formal relationship between a pair of this type is not regular, but semelfactive forms are always formally simpler than the corresponding iterative forms, so we may posit an unproductive iterative postbase (i) which attaches to some verb bases referring to semelfactive actions and (ii) whose form varies depending on the verb base it attaches to. The characteristic of these pairs is that, whether the semelfactive form is agentive or patientive, the iterative form is always agentive. Thus, following, as well as those in (25.), are some examples of pairs where the semelfactive form is patientive and the iterative form is agentive:

(26.)	semelfactive: patientive	iterative: agentive
	kapi- ‘stab once’	kapuq- ‘stab many times’
	naluk- ‘throw once’	nalluk- ‘throw many times’
	putyuk- ‘pinch once’	putyuaq- ‘pinch many times’
	qupi- ‘split in two’	qupluq- ‘split into many’
	anau- ‘whip once’	anauliq- ‘whip many times’

And following are some examples of pairs where the semelfactive and iterative forms are both agentive:

(27.)	semelfactive: agentive	iterative: agentive
	afig- ‘say yes once to’	affaq- ‘say yes many times to’
	aqi- ‘kick once’	aqsraq- ‘kick many times’

And there is no pair where the iterative form is patientive. This shows that this hypothesized iterative postbase makes the verb base agentive. Thus in such cases the agentive/patientive value of the verb base is morphologically conditioned by a specific postbase, which is related to the semantic property of iterativity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have seen that there are several semantic properties that are related to the agentive/patientive value of a verb base. They may be summarized as follows:

agentive verb bases:

the patient not caused to be in motion

the patient does not change state

less impact on the patient

complex process

iterative action

focus on the agent's process

may have agent-oriented meaning component

patientive verb bases:

the patient caused to be in motion

the patient changes state

more impact on the patient

simple process

semelfactive action

focus on the patient's change

do not have agent-oriented meaning component

Thus, we may conclude that agentive verb bases refer to events where the agent is salient, whether due to the focus on the agent's process or the agent-oriented meaning component, while patientive verb bases refer to events where the patient is salient, whether because it is the most affected participant in the event, or due to the focus on the patient's change. This shows that the division between agentive and patientive verb bases is not random, but is based on some semantic principles, at least for some classes of verb bases. What remains to be investigated is whether similar semantic principles can be identified for other classes of verb bases.

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The Endurance of the Tangirarmiut

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ABSTRACT. In 1784, in the Sugpiaq village of Tangihnaq near Kodiak Island, Alaska, two men were publicly executed by Russian fur traders and the village soon came under heavy Russian influence. It remained a vibrant community through both the Russian and American periods but by the time of the 1971 passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act the village population had decreased drastically. Following public hearings, the village was declared eligible under the Act and a corporation, Leisnoi, Inc., was established to receive the settlement. A lawsuit ensued challenging the eligibility of Leisnoi, Inc.. This litigation has continued in the courts ever since, essentially preventing the corporation from operating. The last Tangirarmiut moved to the city of Kodiak in 2002 leaving the village site unoccupied. A federally recognized tribe with about 250 members is based in Kodiak and provides services to its members even though none reside at the old village site. This paper traces the history of the village based on published records, archival documents and personal interviews.

Key words: Alaska Natives, indigenous identity, Russian America, Kodiak, Sugpiaq, Alutiiq, Woody Island

INTRODUCTION

The natives live here because they say their fathers lived here before them.

G.I. Davydov, a Russian, describing the Wood Island Native settlement in 1802 (Hrdlicka, 1944)

After thriving for seven to eight thousand years, the Sugpiat, the indigenous people of the Kodiak Island area, saw the world turned upside down with the arrival of Russian fur traders in the late 18th century (Jordan and Knecht, 1988; Crowell, 1988; Hrdlicka, 1944). At the time of first Russian contact people were living in a village they called *Tangihnaq* near present day Kodiak. They called themselves *Tangirarmiut*. The village name changed under Russian control to Leisnoi Ostrov (Wood or Woody Island).

The Tangirarmiut spent eight decades under Russian rule and were forced to adopt Russian ways and Russian language. By the time of the 1867 transfer of control of Alaska from Russia to the United States, the Tangirarmiut had embraced Christianity through the Russian Orthodox Church and were bilingual in Russian and the Sugpiaq language, called *Sugt'stun*. Inter-marriage with Russians produced Russian surnames for most the community's residents. While the Tangirarmiut continued to live many aspects of their indigenous lifestyle, hunting, fishing, and gathering food from the land and sea, they also practiced many of the ways of the visiting Russians. An identity connected to this place persists even after

the last community on the island was forced to disperse. Former residents and descendants are determined not to allow Tangihnaq to become simply a community of memory.

RUSSIAN CONTACT

After over 20 years of effective resistance the Sugpiat were defeated with the bloody massacre by the Grigorii Shelikov directed cannon attack at Refuge Rock near present day Old Harbor. Shelikov soon established the first permanent Russian settlement at nearby Three Saints Bay (Black, 1988, 1992; Crowell, 1997; Oleksa, 1990; Pullar and Knecht, 1995).

Black says:

The islanders' defeat ushered in perhaps the darkest period of their history, a period of impressment and exploitation not rivaled since and which ended only in the year 1818 with the reforms instituted by the first naval officer to be governor of Alaska, Captain Leontii Hagemeister (1992).

To the indigenous people of the Kodiak Island area the connection to their long ago background remains a part of their being and the core of their identity. Suzuki and Knudtson (1992) describe this feeling best when referring to Athabascans of the Alaska interior saying "The distant past is a dim but potent memory". The first written record refers to the Wood Island Native community, located on a small point of land, as Tangihnaq ("point of land", "spit" or Chiniak, from Cinyaq "land point").

Shelikhov wrote that he feared that Tangihnaq would be a part of attack on him prior to his own brutal attack at Refuge Rock (Black, 1992). The village did not escape Shelikhov's brutality after the Refuge Rock massacre. According to Black, citing 1788 Britiukov documents, Shelikhov attempted the execution of two men at "Chiniak" who were accused of killing two Russians. They were tied together and Shelikhov shot them both at the same time. He killed only the first and wounded the second. He then ordered the wounded man beheaded (Black, 1992). In 1786, Shelikhov dispatched ten or eleven of his 113 men to the Wood Island settlement to occupy it through the establishment of a trading post (Bancroft, 1886). In the winter of 1794-1795 two ships, the *Del'fin* and the *Ol'ga*, were built there (Black, 2004).

In 1810, Davydov described a dance performance at Wood Island that took place in 1802. Translated by Dominique Desson, this provides a glimpse of the people and ambience inside a traditional structure less than two decades after the first Russian contact.

The description says in part:

A large oil lamp burnt in the center of the kazhim and several smaller ones around the walls. The space for the performance and the roof overhead were covered with dry grass. .

. . . . Here too, two men are sitting near an oil lamp holding drums, and two others are standing on the sides, naked, with red stripes painted all over their body, wearing masks, with a small stick in their mouth, and holding small paddles and rattles in their hands. The masks were made of bent twigs, in such a way that the red and white decorated face of the men was visible through the mask. Above the lamp, from the crossbeams connected crosswise with a quadrangle hung arrows, baidarkas, floats, and other hunting equipment, and all of this is rocked by a man as before. Here, however, at each of the corner of the crossbeams, on suspended boards, a man sat, who like the previous two, is wearing a mask and has his body decorated with different colors. . .

The spectators consisted of native inhabitants, dressed in their finery. The women were wearing their best dresses such as cloth, parkas, or those made from marmot skin or eider down, almost all had bones piercing their nasal septum, or beads threaded on sticks, while on their arms and legs, their necks, and in their ears were as many beads as they could fit in, or all they had.

Everyone was very pleased with the performance. During the rest of the festival the women kept bringing in food and serving it to people. They only had to look away for a moment and one of the young boys would grab the dish and run away; then the women would start chasing, and everyone roared with laughter. . . . (Davydov, 1810 from Desson, 1995).

EPIDEMICS

While the atrocities committed during the early Russian period (1784-1818) in the Kodiak Island area claimed many lives, death from new diseases was a greater risk. The danger of new sickness was not unanticipated by local Natives. In the early 1850s, Holmberg interviewed an old man who remembered the first contact with the Russians. He quotes the Sugpiaq elder, Arsentí Aminak, who remembered what the “eldest and wisest” of his village cautioned at the time, “Who knows what kinds of sickness they will bring us?” (Holmberg, 1985 [1855-1863]).

The wise elder had legitimate concern. New illnesses began spreading among Kodiak’s indigenous people soon after Shelikhov’s victory and the first epidemic of respiratory disease was documented on Kodiak in 1804. In 1819, a severe epidemic of influenza hit Kodiak with a heavy death toll. In the winter of 1827-1828, another epidemic of respiratory disease hit Kodiak killing 158 Natives on the island.

Throughout the Russian period in the Kodiak area, epidemics decimated the Native population (Fortune, 1989).

The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1835-1840 first appeared in Sitka in 1835 where the Russians had taken many people from the Kodiak area. The disease broke out on Kodiak Island on July 8, 1837 and by October some 265 Natives had died. By January 1838, another 473 had died on Kodiak (Fortune, 1989). It has been estimated that when the epidemic was over in early 1840, as many as two-thirds of the Native population of southern and western Alaska had perished. The period of severe oppression and atrocities had pretty much ended in 1818 and the Sugpiat had adopted many Russian ways. The Russian overseers' main concern was about how to stop the epidemic, and drastic action was called for. This single event probably changed life for the Kodiak area Sugpiat more than anything else other than the Russian conquest itself. By 1844, the 65 villages or settlements in the Kodiak area were consolidated into just seven, one of which was Wood Island (Hrdlicka, 1944 from Tikhmeniev 1861; Fortune, 1989; Tikhmenev, 1978). While these "new" communities are referred to as villages, they were more likely more like resettlement centers or refugee camps (Pullar, 1992). The traditional social and political structures would have been broken down by such a consolidation. One can only imagine the stress put on Wood Island village by the influx of residents from other villages at the same time the community was trying to recover from the epidemic.

The village survived, even if looking quite different than it had in the past. In the consolidated villages, the Russian American Company built frame houses, storehouses, and community buildings (Fortune, 1989). While the semi-subterranean houses, *barabaras* or *chikluaks*, were still used, they would drop out of use in the coming decades in favor of the frame houses. Each of the seven communities was assigned one or two baidaras (large open skin boats called *angiaks*). New clothing was brought from Russia, and livestock and agriculture were introduced in the communities (Tikhmenev, 1978). Of course, some of this was not new to the people of Wood Island as the Russians had discovered its value for agriculture many years before.

THE ICE INDUSTRY

The Russian-American Company began exporting ice to San Francisco from Wood Island in 1852, following the California Gold Rush. Ice was in dire need in California and the venture proved quite profitable (Tikhmenev, 1978; Stevens, 1990; Federova, 1973; Gibson, 1976; Dmytryshn and Crownhart-Vaughn, 1979; Higginson, 1908). The ice was cut by a horse-powered saw from a lake adjoining the village.

The workers, classified as “Koniagas” and Russian (probably Creoles), were paid one ruble per day (Stevens, 1990). They also received a noontime meal and three drinks of vodka a day. More additions were made to the community as the Russians transplanted Natives from other villages to work in the ice trade (Huggins, 1981). The Tangirnarmiut hunted and fished in the summertime and cut and stored ice in the winter. The ice producing operation required the building of a road, which was the first in Alaska. A water-powered sawmill was built primarily for the production of sawdust for insulating and packing ice for the journey to California (Stevens, 1990; Bancroft, 1886).

CREOLES

The influence of Russian culture on the Sugpiat of the Kodiak area, including Wood Island, was perhaps manifested most by the creation of a new social class called *Creoles*. Creoles, initially the offspring of Sugpiat women and Russian men, were granted a special classification as a means of guaranteeing basic civil rights. The classification was soon expanded to include Sugpiat and other Alaska Natives who pledged their political allegiance to the Russian tsar. Thus, it was quite possible to be classified as a Creole while being one hundred percent biologically Native.

Oleksa (1990) says:

Creoles combined elements of two cultures, often spoke two languages, and later could read and write two or more, but were not biologically ‘mixed.’ To be a Creole was more a matter of the spirit, a state of mind, a question of self-identity.

Oleksa also describes a “Creole” as one who

...had adopted certain Slavic-European attitudes and traits, had been trained in a Western-type school, and thereby qualified for a position in the middle or upper management of the colony. Creoles were not necessarily of mixed racial stock and did not necessarily have to abandon much of their heritage as Native Alaskans. They thought of themselves as having the best of two worlds, rather than as victims caught tragically between them.

The Russian population of Alaska at any given time during the colonial period averaged only about 550 (Federova, 1973). Therefore, those referred to as “Russians” were usually Creoles. When control of Alaska was transferred by Russia to the United States in 1867, all Creoles were given the option of moving to Russia at Russian America Company expense or receiving the amount in cash that it would take to travel to St. Petersburg. By this time most of the management positions, as well as the clergy positions of the

Russian Orthodox Church, were filled by Creoles (Huggins, 1981; Black, 1988). In the decade following the transfer of Alaska to the US, the Creoles were treated as a “defeated remnant in a conquered territory” (Black, 1988). As Black says, “The Creole became the half-breed” (1988). As such, they often rejoined the Native communities.

Oleksa (1992) says:

The contributions of Creoles and Native Alaskans made to the progress of the Russian American colony have been overlooked for decades, partly because these designations have often been misunderstood. A Creole was not only a person of mixed Russian-Native ancestry, but any Native who was a permanent resident of a town. It was a social rather than racial designation. As generations passed, all or most Native Alaskans in an area came to be Creole, although their genetic relationship to any Caucasian ancestor may have been very slight, or even non-existent.

Oleksa (1992) continues:

By the middle of the century, the terms ‘Aleut’ and ‘Creole’ had become synonymous, although the census listed Native Sugpiaq or Unangan separately as ‘Aleut’ and the ‘Creoles’ as a distinct social class, which included many Natives who had no biological ties to Russians. All tradesmen, merchants, or company foremen were also Creole, regardless of race. Statistics that indicate the continuing decline of the Aleut population after 1820 can be misleading, for while the number of Aleuts did decrease, the Creole population increased dramatically. The Aleuts did not die, but rapidly became Creole. After the sale to the United States, when the social class no longer existed, the process was reversed: all Creoles became Aleuts.

During the Russian period it was a common practice for Sugpiat villages to be divided by an imaginary line such that Creoles lived on one side and the other Natives on the other. Hannah Breece, a schoolteacher in Afognak village and in Wood Island village from 1904 to 1909 describes this living situation for both. “Afognak village was actually two villages. . . . One was Aleut, the other thought of as Russian” (Jacobs, 1995).

On Wood Island Breece makes a similar statement:

On Wood Island, where I went next, I felt quite at home because the population was much like Afognak’s. The center of island life was the Baptist mission, with an orphanage and school. The

native folk lived in a settlement to one side and those who called themselves Russian to the other, both at quite a distance from the mission buildings (Jacobs, 1995).

It seems quite clear that Breece is referring to Creoles when she says “thought of as Russian” and “those who called themselves Russian.” By appearance, they most likely looked like other Natives. The remnants of the Creole system would last for decades and cause much confusion. While the term was apparently not used so much by Native people themselves in the twentieth century, others continued to use the term. My mother’s birth certificate of 1916, for example, lists both her parents as Creoles.

By the 1980s many Sugpiat were completely unaware of the term but it was brought back to focus as many people, such as myself, researched family trees and found the term in common use. In the mid-1980s a Sugpiaq elder had retrieved a copy of his birth certificate he had never seen before. It listed both of his parents as “Creole.” He was distressed by this, believing it cast doubt on his Nativeness. “This is a mistake,” he told me. “I’m an Aleut and my parents were Aleuts. We were always Aleuts, not Creoles.”

The Creole classification nearly had a devastating effect on the Native people of Kodiak after the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA, 1971). To be eligible to enroll under the Act, one needed to prove one-quarter Native blood. Because the only written documentation available (Russian Orthodox Church records and territorial birth, marriage, and death records) used the Creole term, it became an issue during the enrollment process. Initially, the US Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) defined a Creole as one-half Native and one-half Russian. This erroneous assumption would have disqualified many if not most Natives of the Kodiak area from receiving benefits under the Act. An appeal was made, and with explanations provided by the Russian Orthodox Church, the Creole term was disregarded in determining ANCSA eligibility.

I last heard of the term used when I was president of the Kodiak Area Native Association during the 1980s. The implementation of federal Indian policy of self-determination was in full swing and the organization was operating many programs, including medical and dental clinics that had previously been contracted out by the federal government to individual local medical and dental providers. Of course, this meant a loss of revenue to these providers and some were quite upset with the new arrangement. One non-Native supporter of these providers was heard to say, “I don’t know how they can call themselves the Kodiak Area *Native* Association. The people involved there are all Creoles.”

THE BAPTIST MISSION

In 1886, a new visitor, the American missionary, arrived at Wood Island. Sheldon Jackson, the US

Education Agent for Alaska and a Presbyterian minister, devised a plan for the various denominations to work with Natives in Alaska without competing against each other. The Baptists were assigned to Kodiak (Hinckley, 1972). In 1886 a Baptist Mission was established on Wood Island followed by an orphanage in 1893. This new Baptist outpost was under the direction of W.E. Roscoe (Hodge, 1907 and 1910; Roscoe, 1992). This created an immediate conflict as the Sugpiat of Wood Island were all faithful members of the Russian Orthodox Church.

In 1895, Jackson wrote a description of the new mission and orphanage:

Wood Island school. - Baptist mission; teachers, W.E. Roscoe and wife and Miss C.C. Currant; enrollment 30; population, Russian Creole. During the spring and summer of 1893 the ladies connected with the Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society erected a large two-story building on Wood Island as an orphanage. This orphanage was completed and opened upon the 4th of July, 1893. It is a house of refuge and of hope, and the one bright light in all that section of ignorance, immorality, and superstition; the only place in all that region where the rising generation can be taught the beauty, purity, and value of a Christian home.

The same year the Baptist Orphanage started, my grandfather, Vasili Shmakov, then eight years-old, became the center of the first dispute between the Baptists and the Russian Orthodox. The tactics used by the Baptist missionary, Roscoe, were questionable at best as he attempted to find Native children to place in the orphanage. He was accused of forcing his way into local Sugpiat homes and compelling parents to sign away custody of their children (Oleksa, 1992). Something of this type seems to have taken place when my great-grandmother, Olga Ageeva, the widow of Ivan Nicholiev Shmakov, signed away custody of her son to Roscoe. She quickly tried to reverse this action saying that she did not want to give up her son but that Roscoe's "agent have made me drunk senselessly and beckoned for my signature which I do not remember." With the support of the Russian Orthodox Church legal action was taken that removed my grandfather from the Baptist Mission. Rather than return him to his mother the court placed him in custody of the Orthodox Church (Lazell, 1960).

The following year, Jackson (1895) expressed his dissatisfaction with the court ruling regarding my grandfather. He wrote:

Last fall Willie Schmakof, whose father was dead, and mother too poor to support him, was taken to the orphanage; the mother made out regular papers of indenture, duly signed and attested, until the child should be of age. Mr. Roscoe, in behalf of the Woman's Missionary

Society of the Baptist Church, obligated himself and society to supply the boy with comfortable clothing, lodging, and food, and give him a good common school education. The Russian Greek priest. . . went before Judge Rogers, United States Commissioner at Sitka, and asked that the boy should be removed from the care of the school. The judge, ignoring the legal papers placing the child in the custody of the school, took him away from the school and from his mother and gave him to the custody of his grandmother. It is true that the mother gets drunk and is immoral, but was not on that account the mother's authority was set aside, . . . The boy was. . . turned loose on the streets, where he often goes hungry and in rags, and is living in filth and dirt and is growing up a hoodlum. The mother of the boy sent in a written remonstrance against this outrage of the court. A remonstrance was also drawn up and signed by all the white men at Wood Island and Kodiak.

Jackson apparently believed that only white men, no Natives and no women, carried sufficient stature to influence the court. It seems unlikely that any local Sugpiaq would have participated in this attempt because of their strong allegiance to the Russian Orthodox Church.

My grandfather was eventually placed in the Russian Orthodox Orphanage in Sitka where he is listed in the 1900 census. His widowed mother remarried, this time to Norwegian ship captain Anton Rossing causing my grandfather to adopt the Rossing name. In 1913 he married my grandmother, Afanasiia Rysev in the Russian Orthodox Church. They had four children before they divorced in about 1920. My grandfather died of tuberculosis in 1927 at the age of 42 whereas my grandmother would live to be 92.

Epidemics continued to devastate the Kodiak Island villages including Wood Island. A measles epidemic in 1874-75 claimed over 500 lives on Kodiak Island. Typhus, mumps and pneumonia were also deadly. The Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918-1919 struck Alaska, including Wood Island, very hard (Fortuine, 1989). Latest estimates put the worldwide death toll at between 50 and 100 million, with more than half of the victims dying between mid-September and early December 1918, with the week of October 16, 1918 alone seeing 4,597 die in Philadelphia (Barry, 2004). On October 30, 1918 the mail ship, *S.S. Admiral Farragut*, arrived at Wood Island from Seattle with a new matron for the mission. It also brought the influenza and within three days four boys from the mission were ill and bedridden. Within two weeks, all mission boys and most girls and staff were ill. Before the end of November one child from the mission and 26 villagers died and were buried in a mass grave. These included nine of the 12 members of the Waspetkoff family. (Wooley, 1998; Leisnoi, Inc., 1996).

Michael N. “Mitch” Gregoroff, who was born at Wood Island village in 1937, passed on information from his own family history and the influenza epidemic in the village. He says:

During the flu epidemic. . . many native residents of Woody Island died, some whole families. My grandmother was married to Nick Fadaoff at the time. Many of the people who got sick came to my grandmother’s for care and many died there. Nick Fadaoff had gone from house to house during that time trying to help the sick people and would often enter a house only to find a family member who had died.

WORLD WAR II

By the time of World War II Wood Island village was commonly referred to as Woody Island. Because of a feared threat from a Japanese attack, the Kodiak area was heavily fortified and occupied with thousands of troops. A contingent of Navy Seabees were stationed on Woody Island and built a complex near the Baptist Mission, a warehouse in the village, and installed a water and sewer system (Leisnoi, Inc., 1996).

In 1941 the Civil Aeronautics Administration (CAA), later to become the Federal Aeronautics Administration (FAA), built a communications station on Woody Island. At first it was occupied by a small staff but as time went on it was expanded to include family housing, dormitories, and apartment buildings. A new community featuring fenced landscaped yards, green lawns, and flowerbeds had developed just across the small island from the Sugpiat village (Chaffin, 1983).

In 1942, the US army built a sawmill on Woody Island, operated by 799th Engineer Forestry Company. The Army cut four and a half million board feet of lumber there in less than a year which was primarily supplied to the war effort in the Aleutian Islands (Chaffin, 1983).

THE 1960S

The 1960s were not kind to Woody Island. The FAA ferryboat, the *Fedair IV*, provided transportation between Woody Island and Kodiak. While it was put in service for the FAA Station, the villagers also used it and it became the main mode of transportation to Kodiak (Chaffin, 1983). When the FAA station ceased operation in the late 1960s, the *Fedair IV* ceased its runs as well. This cut off the only major transportation link with Kodiak (Leisnoi, Inc., 1996).

The Great Alaska Earthquake of 1964 decimated the village. The wave breached the land between

the sea and the small lake adjoining the village that was used for a water supply, making the lake into a saltwater lagoon. The village water system from Tanignak Lake (“Upper Lake”) was damaged beyond repair, causing the community to be without easy access to fresh water. The FAA dock was washed away, leaving no suitable moorage for skiffs that had become the only mode of travel for villagers.

The public school closed in 1969 and the Fedair IV ceased operation. Those with children had to utilize skiffs to get them to school. In ways, not unlike their parents and grandparents had sometimes done themselves, people began moving back and forth between Woody Island and Kodiak. The stays in Kodiak were usually considered temporary at first as people were anxious to return home. But as time went on it became less feasible to live there as people had jobs and other obligations in Kodiak. But people continued to visit Woody Island for subsistence purposes or just to feel the comfort of their old home. This practice continues to a certain extent even today.

During the late sixties the Vietnam War was in full swing and Woody Island young men were sent off to battle. Two of them never returned, a tremendously high number for such a small community. Daniel “Danny” Harmon was killed in Vietnam in 1967, and his cousin, Freddy Simeonoff, a 22-year-old helicopter pilot, was killed in Vietnam in 1971. Their loss is still felt by former village residents. “They were inseparable,” said Mitch Gregoroff, Harmon’s brother, “They were cousins, but they were also best friends.” Harmon’s grave is in the center of the old village site.

KARL ARMSTRONG, JR. AND LEISNOI, INC.

In 1926 my grandmother married Karl Armstrong, Sr., the long time deputy U.S. Marshall for the Kodiak area. Their child, Karl, Jr., born in 1927 would have a profound impact on the future of the Woody Island community. While Karl, Jr. was still an infant, his father shot and killed a man accused of being my grandmother Afanasiia’s lover. This caused more family disruption as he was convicted of murder and sent to federal prison, and was divorced by my grandmother. Karl, Jr. was placed in the Baptist Orphanage where he spent his early years. My grandmother remarried and left Woody Island and Kodiak for a few years, returning at regular intervals to live and work for various periods of time.

By the time he was a high school student in Kodiak in 1942, Karl, Jr. had become intensely interested in the political process. A story in a 1944 issue of the *Kodiak Mirror* describes Karl, Jr. leading the Territory of Alaska delegation into the 1944 Democratic Convention in Chicago. The same issue reports the death of his brother Lawrence Armstrong at 25.

After serving in both the US Army and the Merchant Marines following World War II Armstrong was well on his way as an activist. He would often be called “outrageous” for his editorials written for the *Kodiak Mirror* of which he was the editor for many years. He advocated for statehood for Alaska, and even for statehood for Kodiak Island. When the movement for an Alaska Native land claims settlement began in the 1960s he became an integral player. He helped organize the Kodiak Area Native Association in 1966 to ensure a just settlement for Kodiak Natives. When ANCSA was passed, authorizing the establishment of regional and village business corporations, he was actively involved. He was one of the incorporators of Koniag, Inc., the regional Native corporation for the Kodiak area.

His own village of Woody Island, however, was not listed in ANCSA as being eligible to form a corporation and receive a share of the land and cash settlement. He immediately set about leading an appeal to this omission that was successful in 1974 after a BIA review. By now, however, the village was a shadow of its former self.

But big problems were emerging for the modern day Woody Island people, the descendants of the Tangirarmiut. The corporation was formed under ANCSA and called Leisnoi, Inc.. Armstrong became its first president and set about an aggressive campaign to enroll eligible Natives. To be eligible one must have lived on Woody Island or been a descendent of a Native resident. The enrollment effort produced 296 Natives deemed eligible by the BIA (Arnold, 1976). This process may have led to a major obstacle for the corporation. As the residents of the Kodiak Baptist Orphanage also lived on Woody Island they, as well as their descendents, were eligible to enroll there even if having no family or cultural ties to the village.

LEISNOI, INC.

When Leisnoi, Inc., began to select its land entitlements under ANCSA, serious problems emerged. Little land was available on Woody Island so most of the selections were necessarily made on Kodiak Island. The most desirable land was along the 45-mile long road system south of Kodiak. Some of this land, however, had been leased from the federal government for cattle grazing and, sensing that the low priced leases may become a thing of the past, the cattle ranchers protested the selections. A group called the Citizens Action Group was formed in Kodiak to fight Leisnoi’s and other village certifications. Then, in 1976, litigation was filed by ranchers claiming that Leisnoi, Inc. was improperly certified as a Native village and didn’t qualify under ANCSA.

The qualification question rested on the definition of “village” found within ANCSA where it says,

“‘Native village’ means any tribe, band, clan, group, village, community, or association in Alaska listed in . . . this Act, or which meets the requirements of this Act, and which the Secretary determines was, on the 1970 census enumeration date. . . composed of twenty-five or more Natives” (ANCSA 1971, P.L. 92-203). Thus, the legal question became whether there were 25 Native residents on Woody Island on April 1, 1970. The question was further complicated by the possibility that residents may have been away from home on that day but intended to return. The law required that 13 residents be physically present on the required day in 1970.

In early 1979, apparently in response to the ranchers’ challenge to Leisnoi, Inc., national syndicated columnist Jack Anderson published a series of articles challenging the legitimacy of some of the villages in the Kodiak region to participate in ANCSA. He claimed that Koniag, Inc. was establishing “phantom villages” in an attempt to defraud the federal government of land and money. He called it “a land-grab scheme that could dwarf Teapot Dome in acreage and potential profit” and singled out Karl Armstrong, Jr. as the “man behind” the “land grab” who he termed “no simple, semi-literate Eskimo fisherman or Indian trapper” (Anderson, 1979). Finally, he was particularly critical of the certification of Woody Island as an eligible Native village under ANCSA, and claimed Leisnoi, Inc. was established to defraud the US government of valuable timber land (Anderson, 1979).

THE MERGER AND THE LAWSUITS

In 1980, a bold step was taken by the Alaska Native regional corporation for the Kodiak area, Koniag, Inc. A proposal was put before the shareholders of Koniag and individual village corporations to merge the village corporations with Koniag, Inc. All villages except one, and including Woody Island, represented by Leisnoi, Inc., voted to merge. Pandemonium followed as some shareholders filed litigation to undo the mergers based on a charge that the proxy statement provided to shareholders explaining the merger was misleading. In the case of Leisnoi, Inc., shareholder Nicholas Shuravloff filed a class action suit in 1981 on behalf of all Leisnoi shareholders to reverse the Leisnoi-Koniag merger.

In late 1981 and early 1982, Koniag, Inc. negotiated with the cattle ranchers in an attempt to settle the litigation over the land that had been owned by Leisnoi but was now under Koniag, Inc. control because of the merger. In February of 1982, Shuravloff attempted a legal injunction to block any settlement while his class action suit on the merger was pending, but before the court acted on his request, an agreement was signed. In the agreement, reached in early March, Koniag agreed to sell the ranchers nearly 19,000 acres of

the land in question for a purchase price of just over fourteen dollars an acre once the land was officially conveyed to Koniag by the federal government. At the time, it was stipulated that the actual market value of the land was three and a half million dollars. Several days after the agreement was signed, the Alaska Superior Court denied Shuravloff's injunction request.

In January of 1983, the Superior Court ruled the proxy statement issued by Koniag, Inc. on the mergers was indeed misleading. In October of that year, a settlement was reached with Shuravloff under which the Leisnoi-Koniag merger was voided. Leisnoi, Inc. was thus reestablished as a corporation. In November 1985, the US Department of Interior conveyed surface title (under ANCSA, subsurface title to village land is given to the regional corporation) to the disputed land to Leisnoi, Inc. and four days later Leisnoi, Inc. said it would not honor the agreement made by Koniag, Inc. to sell the land to the ranchers.

The ranchers filed new litigation in an attempt to force Leisnoi, Inc. to abide by the agreement entered into by Koniag, Inc. In 1988, the ranchers were successful when the Superior Court ruled that Leisnoi, Inc. was bound by the agreement. Leisnoi appealed to the Alaska Supreme Court on the basis that the ranchers knew of the demerger litigation and the possibility that the land would revert to Leisnoi as a result. In 1992, the Alaska Supreme Court agreed and, in a 3-2 decision, overturned the lower court's ruling.

The Alaska Supreme Court ruling caused the ranchers to turn to federal courts where the case concerning the eligibility of Woody Island as a Native village under ANCSA is still being contested. After numerous federal court decisions the case was referred to the Interior Board of Land Appeals (IBLA). In August, 1998, a two-week hearing on the case, *Omar Stratman v. Leisnoi, Inc.*, presided over by a federal administrative law judge for IBLA, was held in Anchorage and Kodiak. Numerous witnesses testified, including several Natives who were former residents and several non-Natives who claimed there was no Native community there in 1970. In 1999, the IBLA judge issued a "recommended ruling" that Leisnoi, Inc. be decertified stating that there were not 25 Native residents on Woody Island on April 1, 1970 (Interior Board of Land Appeals Case No. IBLA 98-152). In the meantime, Leisnoi, Inc. wished to sell land back to the federal government which was buying land with funds from the Exxon Valdez oil spill settlement, but was unable to because of the clouded title due to the litigation. Efforts to get a confirmation of Leisnoi's eligibility by Congress have been unsuccessful.

THE WOODY ISLAND TRIBAL COUNCIL

Under federal law, each Alaska Native village is considered an "Indian tribe" with certain rights and

jurisdictions. Congress ratified a list of “federally recognized Alaska Native entities” in 1994 and “Lesnoi Village (aka Woody Island Tribal Council)” was on the list (Case and Voluck, 2002). A tribal council was formally reorganized in 1998 and in 2001 the author was elected its president. The council administers funds for higher education scholarships, environmental issues, and historic preservation programs. In the summers of 2002 and 2003 the council coordinated “tribal retreats” for former Woody Island residents and their descendents to return to Woody Island and learn more about their culture and history and strengthen their sense of community.

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Often times it has been difficult for people of recent generations to learn much about the history of Woody Island because elders did not seem eager or even willing to talk about it. My mother only spoke of it in vague references and small anecdotes. When I asked my grandmother when she was in her 80s, she said “I don’t believe in living in the past. Some people like to live in the past and tell stories of the past. I like to live for the future.” She did tell me, “We were all related in that village! (laughing) Whenever people wanted to get married they had to go to another village to find someone to marry.”

This point is also made by the late Fred Zharoff, former state senator and former president of Leisnoi, Inc. “During my early years talking about the past was discouraged by our elders as they had been taught to suppress these memories by the missionaries and others in an attempt to integrate them into mainstream culture” he said.

JOHNNY MALIKNAK, THE LAST TANGIRNARMIUT

Woody Island has been my home all of my life and I intend to live there for the rest of my life (Johnny Maliknak, April 28, 1995).

Johnny Maliknak’s intention would not come to pass. As winter approached in late 2002 the last Tangirarmiut finally agreed to move into senior housing in Kodiak. Maliknak, the son of Stephan and Angelina Maliknak, was born in a small house near Upper (Tanignak) Lake in 1933 and lived in a cabin set in the trees a few feet from the beach. He had neither electricity nor running water and down a short path behind his house was his old well-used steam bath usually called by the Russian name for bath, *banya*, though some continue to use the Sugpiaq word, *maqiwik*. His last home on Woody Island was but a few

yards from his birthplace. In his lifetime he has seen the village transform from a bustling community to the uninhabited location it is today.

CONCLUSION

Through many different labels and identities, Tangirarmiut, Sugpiaq, Aleut, and Alutiiq, the indigenous people of Woody Island have maintained a cohesion (even if sometimes slight) and continue to identify with that place. It remains a part of their being, even if they haven't lived there themselves and know it only through stories and descriptions from parents or grandparents. It is fitting that the slogan of the Native corporation for Woody Island, Leisnoi, Inc. is "A tradition of endurance." Some residents return for visits, often longing for the way things were. Others wish conditions would permit them to return for good. "To this day I have wanted to move back to Woody Island on a permanent basis. It is a beautiful and quiet place and it is where my roots are. I would like to once again live the lifestyle I enjoyed as a resident there," Mitch Gregoroff said. Other former residents voiced similar desires as they paraded to the witness stand at the 1998 trial challenging Woody Island eligibility as a Native village. Gregoroff refers to some places at the old village site as "hallowed ground," a point he makes by saying, "When I get on the island it seems to come up through my feet. I can just feel it!" He is determined to return, saying, "Regardless of what happens, certified or decertified, it will still be my home....I was born there and there I should return, in one form or another. It will always be my home."

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Taking Graduate Courses to the Circumpolar North

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ABSTRACT. “Taking Graduate Courses to the Circumpolar North” provides an account of strategies for selecting content, for writing a course handbook, and for delivering a graduate-level course through a distance-delivering Internet platform such as Bazaar or WebCT. The model course is Global Studies 653: Women’s Narratives from the Circumpolar North which I deliver through Athabasca University’s Master of Integrated Studies Program. “Women’s Narratives from the Circumpolar North” is the study of narratives including letters, memoirs, autobiographies, and journals by women from the mid-1800s to the present. These women went to or lived over an extended period of time in the circumpolar north, that is, in any one or more of the eight countries on or adjacent to the Arctic Circle. The focus of these narratives ranges from exploration, settlement, adventure, and work to travel and life experiences. However, the course first reviews collected life stories of indigenous women. Current theories from anthropology, history, geography, gender studies, literary studies of life writings, and native and northern studies provide the critical framework and inform analyses, rendering the study interdisciplinary. Meanings of the term “north” to indigenous women and to white women over time, are explored. In considering reasons why white women ventured north, the study reveals contrasts between the women’s expectations and the realities that they confronted. In beginning with narratives by Inuit and Sami women, the course confronts post- and neo-colonial attitudes and, at the same time, emphasizes the indigenous people’s place in the circumpolar north. The paper provides an overview of the collection of sources, the development of a bibliography, selection of course material, development of the course, and use of the Internet in course delivery.

INTRODUCTION

The number of pedagogical issues in delivering education to students in the circumpolar north escalates in moving from the grade levels of a public school system to college and university systems. Research demonstrates major improvements in the delivery of education over time, from the church to government- run residential schools taught in English by white teachers using southern curricula to current Inuit-run schools, that is, schools taught in Inuktitut by Inuit teachers using Inuit-focused curricula. Colleges, too, have evolved to deliver relevant training programs to northern adults. Until recently, however, northern students desiring a university education, out of necessity, went south. There were, and still are, for example, no degree-granting universities in the Canadian Arctic. Since Internet has become universal, university and many other post-secondary educational programs are available without northern students having to leave their homes.

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The goal of this paper is to explore the development of one specific graduate-level course with a circumpolar focus, that is, “GLST653: Women’s Narratives from the Circumpolar North,” offered through the Master of Arts—Integrated Studies program at Athabasca University, Athabasca, Alberta. I will not be exploring pedagogical or educational issues which are best covered elsewhere. For example, On Top of It: Overcoming the Challenges for ICT and Distance Education in the Arctic (Pekkala, 2004), an assembly of fifteen articles from experts concerned with the circumpolar north, offers ideas and reflections on government policy, international cooperation, indigenous perspectives, distance pedagogy, effective evaluation, infrastructure needs, institutional changes, and social relations as they relate to Arctic education and new technologies. Instead, my focus is entirely on the development of a new graduate level course designed specifically for northern learners.

At the outset, I want also to clarify that many universities in Canada, the United States and elsewhere in the world offer on-line courses. Perhaps none is better known or successful than the University of Phoenix, founded in 1976 in Phoenix, United States. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Canada offers many graduate courses in education that have an aboriginal focus. Other institutions are noteworthy. Since its inception in the 1990s, the University of the Arctic provides an important avenue for students interested in pursuing courses or programs in circumpolar studies. It serves as an umbrella agency for universities in circumpolar regions such as Nunavut Arctic College and Athabasca University, Canada; University of Lapland; University of Tromsø, Norway; University of Alaska; Sakha State University, Russia and others.

My institution, Athabasca University, was founded in 1970 as a distance learning centre that would specialize in the delivery of distance education courses and programs, well before the Internet became an everyday education tool. Its mission statement reads:

Athabasca University, Canada’s Open University, is dedicated to the removal of barriers that restrict access to, and success in, university-level studies and to increasing equality of educational opportunity for adult learners worldwide. We are committed to excellence in teaching, research and scholarship, and to being of service to the general public.

<http://www.athabascau.ca/aboutAU/mission.php>

Given the Athabasca University’s commitment to distance delivery of university-level studies from its inception, the institution’s infrastructure was well-suited for evolution to on-line development and delivery of both under-graduate and graduate university level courses and programs when Internet tools

became available. The program, Master of Arts—Integrated Studies (MAIS) is one of several such programs that the university offers.

Briefly, MAIS requires completion of eleven courses over two years, including two core courses, seven to eight elective courses and one to two integrated projects. The two core courses cover the origins and roles of the various theories that inform the contemporary arts and social sciences and a range of approaches to research in the social sciences and cultural studies. The electives, of which GLST653 is one, cover topics ranging from Ethnobiology and Comparative Canadian Literature to **Transformatory Organizing and Datascape: Information Aesthetics and Network Culture**. Students may concentrate their studies in Educational Studies; Work, Organization, and Leadership; Adult Education; Cultural Studies; Community Studies; Global Change; Canadian Studies; Historical Studies; Information Studies; or Equity Studies. The program has proven enormously popular because it can be completed solely on-line (<http://www.athabascau.ca/mais/program.html>).

GLST653: WOMEN’S NARRATIVES FROM THE CIRCUMPOLAR NORTH

The course that I designed and deliver for Athabasca University’s MAIS program is GLST653: Women’s Narratives from the Circumpolar North. It uses a grouped-study, solely on-line delivery mode. The calendar describes the course as:

. . .the study of narratives including letters, memoirs, autobiographies, and journals written by women from the mid-1800s to the present. These women went to, or lived over an extended period of time in, the circumpolar north, that is, in any one or more of the eight countries touched by the Arctic Circle: the United States; Canada; Greenland (Denmark); Iceland; Norway; Sweden; Finland; and Russia. The focus of these narratives ranges from exploration, settlement, adventure, and work to travel and life experiences over one or more seasons in various circumpolar places. Current theories from anthropology, history, geography, gender studies, literary studies of life writings, and indigenous and northern studies provide critical frameworks for studying relevant narratives, rendering the study interdisciplinary. Meanings of "north" to indigenous women and to white women over time are explored. In considering reasons why white women ventured north, the study reveals contrasts between the women's expectations and the realities that they confronted. By beginning with narratives by Inuit and Sami women, the study confronts post- and neo-colonial attitudes and, at the same time, emphasizes the indigenous people's original occupancy of the circumpolar north. The study answers questions regarding women's reasons for going north, their contributions to evolving northern cultures, and changing attitudes towards intercultural relations and nordicity.

(<http://www.athabascau.ca/mais/syllabi/glst653.html>)

The calendar description of GLST653 clearly defines the parameters of the course's range of study, but the idea for developing this graduate course for northern learners grew from the discovery of a core body of Arctic women's life writings.

Bibliography and Genesis of GLST653

My graduate studies in Canadian prairie women's literature and ongoing research (Redl, 1991) and teaching of women's literature has provided me with a firm foundation for Arctic studies, but the beginning of my project was prompted by the realization that common Arctic knowledge highlights men's achievements with little or no regard for those of women. Anyone I asked could name off several prominent Arctic men—John Franklin, Henry Hudson, and so forth—but they knew of no Arctic women. Driven by this curious state of affairs, I began to search for books by Arctic women on-line, in used book stores, archives, libraries, and museums. The search was complicated by the fact that libraries do not catalogue books under the heading "Arctic women books;" instead, books by Arctic women often surface under other search categories such as "geography," "adventure" and so on. Nevertheless, soon, I had compiled a bibliography of over 300 books.

Yes, there are over 300 book-length life narratives by both indigenous Arctic women and southern, predominantly white women who have gone to the Arctic in various capacities. Indigenous women were the first to live in the Arctic and their life stories continue to unravel. It is only recently that books written by indigenous women have appeared in notable numbers.

The southern, predominantly white women's stories fall under the specific roles in which their subjects went north: wives of Arctic men, for example, wives of whalers, explorers, biologists, and trappers; Klondike women; traveling and adventuring women; and women working in different capacities such as nurse, teacher, scientist, and artist. Some stayed in the Arctic for a limited time such as one season while others stayed for the rest of their lives. Some engaged in sports such as racing the Iditarod. There are books by indigenous and southern women who have gone to the Arctic on almost every imaginable northern life story.

Relevant Critical Theory

An adequate body of material available, the next task was to determine a critical framework appropriate to graduate studies. However, because narratives often dictate critical approaches, the selection

of texts and of relative theoretical criticism progressed almost simultaneously.

Given that the texts were by women, I first considered gender relations and other issues addressed by feminist criticism. It soon became apparent, however, that every book described, on one level or another, the interface of indigenous and white cultures. Colonial and post-colonial criticism proved useful in these situations. Other books lent themselves to study using theory from specific disciplines, for example, anthropology and literary criticism, particularly as concerned with orality, autobiography, travel writing, and life writings. These will be explained more fully in the following section, “Selected Textbooks.”

Developing the Course

Several stages are identified in the development of the course.

- a) Course Description. The course description appears above, but, the process of developing the course began by drafting a preliminary course description which changed somewhat as the course content was fleshed out.
- b) Course Objectives. Again, these evolved throughout the development of the course. The objectives were to provide students with the opportunity to:
 1. develop critical-thinking strategies for consideration of the intersection of gender and culture in exploration, settlement, adventure, work, and travel in the circumpolar north.
 2. consider the meaning of north from various perspectives and the expectations and realities of the north for women who have gone north over time.
 3. examine changes in identification of the landscape and people of the circumpolar north over time.
 4. apply theories of orality, autobiography, travel writing, and life writing to relevant narratives by women of the circumpolar north.

<http://www.athabascau.ca/mais/syllabi/glst653.html>

- c) Course Evaluation: Because GLST653 would be a solely on-line course, I gave considerable attention to course evaluation. Drawing on experience from delivering other on-line courses and collaborating with the program director, I decided that all aspects of student activity in the on-line discussion should be weighed into the final course grade. The student course work and its evaluation were finalized as follows:

To receive credit for this course, you must participate in, and submit weekly contributions to online student discussions; moderate one online student discussion; and submit three writing

assignments. You are also expected to state two topic preferences, corresponding to two of the course's weeks of study, for moderating an online discussion. You must achieve a final mark of at least 60 per cent to pass this course successfully.

The participation and weighting of each required activity are as follows:

Course Activity	Weighting
Participate in each online discussion session	20 %
Assignment 1: Essay (2,500 words) (Week 4)	20 %
Moderate one online discussion	20 %
Assignment 2: Research Proposal (Week 9)	10 %
Assignment 3: Research Paper (6,500 words) (Week 11)	30 %
Total	100 %

<http://www.athabascau.ca/mais/syllabi/glst653.html>

As can be noted from the grading system, the course requires students to contribute electronically to discussion topics and other online activities. This entails weekly participation in student discussions and, as well, moderating one online discussion. Note that, in order to receive a passing grade, students are required to attain a grade of 60% or better.

d) Selected textbooks: Selection of textbooks was challenging because some choices were out-of-print or exorbitantly priced. In the end, various criteria for selection included fair representation by region and time, beginning in the 1850s and moving to the present day. Attempts were made to include a wide range of women's Arctic experiences. To accommodate gaps, I chose short excerpts from twelve books for inclusion in a "Reading File." Because they offer contrasting views of the Klondike and they are both available at www.canadiana.org, I included two full length e-books by women who went to the Klondike: Mary Hitchcock's Two Women in the Klondike and Sarah Patchell's My Extraordinary Years of Adventure and Romance in the Klondike and Alaska. These two books were considered from a historical perspective and, as well, from the perspective of genre.

A brief statement on the contents of each of the other primary texts and relevant critical approaches follows:

- Briggs, Jean L. Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970. An anthropologist, Briggs provides a detailed account of her life from August 1963 to January 1965 with a community of between twenty and thirty-five Utkuhikhalingmiut (Itku) who lived at the mouth of the Back River in what is now Nunavut. A study of changing methodologies in anthropology highlights the book's strengths and weaknesses.
- Diebitsch-Peary, Josephine. My Arctic Journal: A Year Among Ice-fields and Eskimos. New York and Philadelphia: The Contemporary Publishing Company, 1893. Diebitsch-Peary describes her year-long stay at the expedition base camp in Greenland while her husband, Robert Peary, and crew explored the Greenland ice pack. Issues of credibility associated with the study of autobiography serve in the study of Diebitsch-Peary's text.
- Ehrlich, Gretel. This Cold Heaven: Seven Seasons in Greenland. New York: Pantheon Books, 2001. Using references to Knud Rasmussen and Rockwell Kent, Ehrlich describes life in present-day Greenland as she experiences it over seven seasons. Her book lends itself to a study of current post-modern literary conventions.
- Jason, Victoria. Kabloona in the Yellow Kayak: One Woman's Journey through the Northwest Passage. Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1995. Victoria Jason provides an account of a woman courageously kayaking solo over 7,500 kilometres. Her account is studied from the perspective of genre, in this case, the adventure genre.
- MacLaren, I. S., and Lisa N. LaFramboise, eds. The Ladies, the Gwich'in, and the Rat: Travels on the Athabasca, Mackenzie, Rat, Porcupine, and Yukon Rivers in 1926. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998. Lady Clara Vyvyan and her companion Gwendolen Smith travel to Aklavik and via the Rat, Porcupine, and Yukon Rivers before returning to England. Lady Vyvyan's account provides gist for a study of early twentieth century travel literature that is comparable to other examples of Victorian women's travel literature.

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- Murie, Margaret E. Two in the Far North. Illustrated by Olaus J. Murie. 2d ed. Anchorage, AK: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1978. Murie describes her life-long work as an environmentalist, first, accompanying her husband who is a biologist in the field and, after his death, on her own. Her book is studied from the perspective of genre, as an example of autobiography, too.
- Ross, W. Gillies. This Distant and Unsurveyed Country: A Woman's Winter at Baffin Island, 1857-1858. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. This book is a number of journal entries by Margaret Penny who accompanied William Penny, her husband and captain of the whaler, *Lady Franklin*, which over-wintered in Baffin Island's Cumberland Sound during the winter of 1857-1858.
- Wachowich, Nancy, in collaboration with Apphia Agalakti Awa, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak, and Sandra Pikujak Katsak. Saqiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999. Wachowich's book provides the life stories of three generations of women from one Inuit family living in the area of Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, Canada.

Writing a Study Guide

The most time consuming part of the development of GLST653 was writing the course guide. It provides essential information about the course design, course materials, and procedures for completing the course successfully. The Study Guide clearly outlines each week's reading assignment, objectives, critical approach, suggested topics for on-line discussion; suggested topics for further research; supplementary reading (web sources/other books by women in related fields); and deadlines. Most important, it contains a weekly "lecture," which is basically a critical essay on the week's reading(s). The Study Guide is perhaps the student's most important tool in following the weekly requirements in order to ensure successful completion of the course.

Creating on-line and hardcopy reading files

In addition to creating the aforementioned "Reading File" which contains short excerpts from twelve books, I also created an on-line reading file. It directs students to suitable websites containing information

relevant to each week's readings. These might include supplementary web sources on theory related, for example, to anthropology or critical analysis of autobiography. Some contain maps clarifying the geographical territory covered by each writer. An abbreviated version of on-line file for "Week One: Introduction," which is linked to the GLST653 homepage, appears below:

Week 1

[A definition of the Circumpolar North.](#)

*This site has been linked to information maintained by the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge at <http://www.spri.cam.ac.uk/library/overview.html#arctic>
You may find this site helpful to increase your overall knowledge as it contains valuable information on the Arctic.*

Background Information — Maps on the Internet

[The best site for maps and an overview of the circumpolar Arctic.](#)

This site has been linked to information maintained by the Arctic Circle group at the University of Connecticut at <http://arcticcircle.uconn.edu/>

[Another good overview via maps.](#)

This site has been linked to information maintained by Explore North at <http://www.explorenorth.com/index.html>

[Map of Arctic](#)

The site has been linked to the databases maintained by Can Do - an Earth and space sciences project at <http://www.musc.edu/cando/>

[Barents euro-arctic region.](#)

The site has been linked to the Databases maintained by the Information Service of the Arctic Centre, University of Lapland at <http://www.arcticcentre.org/contentparser.asp?deptid=10381>

[Early maps of Iceland and some of the polar regions.](#)

This site has been linked to information maintained by the Nordic Digital Library Center at <http://www.bok.hi.is/kort/english.html>

[A list of Web sites for maps.](#)

This site has been linked to information maintained by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association at <http://www.arctic.noaa.gov/maps.html/>

Information Site

[General Information](#)

This site has been linked to information maintained by All Things Arctic™, an internet based e-tailer and information source for Arctic-related topics. "All Things Arctic"'s goal is to become the largest and best source for premium Arctic-related products as well as provide a vast center for news, weather and information from and about the region above the Arctic Circle at <http://www.allthingsarctic.com/default.aspx>

(<https://www.athabascau.ca/courses>: password protected)

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Of course, there may be many other websites that provide information on the Arctic or on each week's readings and discussion topics, but, hopefully, those listed on the on-line reading file will pique student's interest enough for further independent searches.

Prior to the course start date, all students receive a box containing course materials. These include all the books listed above, the "Course Guide," and "Reading File." All other course information is supplied via personal e-mail and on-line through a password protected website. All discussion occurs on-line through the same website.

Developing the website and conference platform

The WebMaster loaded my copy, mostly Word documents and images, onto the website which contains the conference platform for GLST653. Athabasca University uses Bazaar, a program designed by the university, which proves comparable to WebCT, a program with which I am also familiar. It is certainly not my objective in this paper to go into details on web design; however, some knowledge of the structure is needed for effective management and delivery of the course. I have copied the entire introductory webpage below in order to explain the various features.

<https://www.athabascau.ca/courses>: password protected)

[Admin view](#)

- Choose Resource Type -	▼	Add
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[Edit this resource](#)

GLST 653: Women's Narratives from the Circumpolar North (May 2004)

Hello, **carolynr**. Click [here](#) to log out.

[Master of Arts – Integrated Studies](#) > [GLST 653: Women's Narratives from the Circumpolar North \(May 2004\)](#)

- [Digital Reading Room](#)
- [Course Evaluation](#)

[Introductions & Welcome \(Carolyn Redl\)](#) (16 posts, 1 topics)

Participant Introductions: PROF TO INSERT DATE

[Introduction to the Course](#) (109 posts, 1 topics)

Week One: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 23

[Saqiyuq](#) (172 posts, 6 topics)

Week Two: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 27-28.

[Never in Anger and Sami Writings](#) (122 posts, 6 topics)

Week Three: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 32-33.

[The Distant and Unsurveyed Country](#) (203 posts, 18 topics)

Week Four: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 37-38.

[Feedback Forum I](#) (26 posts, 1 topics)

Week Five

[My Arctic Journal and Excerpts from Writings by Other Wives of Explorers](#) (163 posts, 10 topics)

Week Five: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 46-47.

[Klondike Women Write](#) (161 posts, 9 topics)

Week Six: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 51-52.

[Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers to the Arctic](#) (158 posts, 8 topics)

Week Seven: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 59-60.

[The Ladies, the Gwich'in, and the Rat](#) (227 posts, 10 topics)

Week Eight: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 63-64.

[Kabloona in the Yellow Kayak](#) (311 posts, 14 topics)

Week Nine: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 67-68.

[Two in the Far North](#) (241 posts, 12 topics)

Week Ten: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 73-74.

[Feedback Forum II](#) (20 posts, 1 topics)

Week Ten

[Excerpts from Other Books by Women Working in the North](#) (203 posts, 15 topics)

Week Eleven: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 82.

[The Cold Heaven](#) (220 posts, 13 topics)

Week Twelve: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 86-87.

[Conclusion](#) (199 posts, 11 topics)

Week Thirteen: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 91.

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The topic template offers both “User view” and “Admin view.” As an administrator, I am able to add material throughout the course and would switch to that version of the course in order to make any teaching-related changes. Students are permitted into only “User view,” the page reproduced above. This page provides access to another page for discussion of each week’s topic identified by each underlined title. If a student is registered in more than one course, they will often want to return to the program’s main website, “Master of Arts – Integrated Studies.” The MAIS homepage provides access to all courses in which a student is enrolled. “Digital Reading Room” takes them to the digital pages described above under “Creating an on-line and hardcopy reading file.” “Course Evaluation” is used for administration in assessing the course. The remaining titles relate to each week’s student work for the course and provide access to the discussion platform.

Let me explain the meaning of each title’s entry. The third week of the course appears as: “Never in Anger and Sami Writings (122 posts, 6 topics); Week Three: Discussion topics, Course Guide, 32-33.” This entry means that the readings for the week are the book, Never in Anger, and excerpts of writings by Sami women found in “The Reading File” –Rauni Rauni Magga Lukkari’s “Where Did the Laughter Go?” and “The Nomadic Circle of Life: A Conversation on the Sami Knowledge System and Culture,” from No Beginning, No End: The Sami Speak Up. After students have read these selections and the “Discussion topics” found in the Course Guide, pages 32-33, they are prepared to begin the course discussion.

Access to the course discussion is gained by clicking on the title “Never in Anger and Sami Writings.” Because I have used a real page from the course and respect the students’ privacy, I cannot go further into the program. The information on this page, however, indicates that Week Three’s discussion centered on 6 topics, all appearing on a list that is found by clicking to the next webpage. Once on that page, a student clicks on the desired topic and is led to the page on which each student’s entry on that topic appears. Then, the student is given the opportunity to “Reply.” Once the student has entered a reply, he or she clicks “Send” and the reply box transmits the response as a new message added to the on-going narrative. As well, the number of responses would change from 122 to 123, this time highlighted to indicate to a new reader that a new message has been submitted. The discussion page operates very much as any ListServe operates. As you can see, Week Three generated 122 posts.

During the first week, students are asked to submit their preferred weeks for moderating the discussion. They take turns moderating from Week 4 to Week 12 inclusive.

In comparison to the subject for Week 3, the subject for Week Nine, Kabloona in the Yellow Kayak, generated 311 posts on 14 topics. As the course proceeded and as students became more and more

comfortable with each other and with the course material and discussion platform, the more entries they made. In addition, some moderators were more effective than others in prompting dialogue.

Since participation in the discussions and the moderating of one discussion accounted for a total of 40% of the final grade, students were very conscientious and active on the discussion platform. The discussion also gave them an opportunity to become better acquainted with their course mates than they would otherwise have been.

The timing for the real-time on-line discussion was democratically determined during the first week in class and was dependent on the physical location of students. Because students often come from places in different time zones, I scheduled a two hour real-time on-line discussion starting at 9:00 p.m. EST, assuming that by then all students would likely be home from work and not in bed. Time differences are the main obstacle in scheduling a real-time on-line discussion. Each week's discussion topic was opened as soon as the previous week's real-time on-line discussion ended. Students were free to add comments whenever they liked during the week, but they were expected to be present for a classroom-like dialogue with all participants during the real-time discussion.

Course Delivery

The pilot delivery of GLST653 occurred from May 1 – August 1, 2004 with eight students in attendance. It is scheduled to be presented in alternate three-month semesters, either fall or winter, commencing September, 2004.

Feedback from Pilot Delivery of GLST653

To date, feedback has been anecdotal and positive. The only significant change requested was for two free weeks to accommodate preparation of the two papers. Several students concurred that the course should be extended for two weeks in order to allow the postponement of real-time on-line discussions during the week prior to submission of the two major assignments.

CONCLUSION

The design and delivery of GLST653 has proven very satisfactory. The selected texts have provided an overview of the diversity of women's experiences throughout the circumpolar Arctic and from the 1850's to the present. Students have given positive responses to the selected women's narratives and the entire

delivery system with its continual discussions and real-time on-line discussion periods. Although there are many books by Arctic women that could not be included in the course, some students have taken the opportunity to do further research on those and use those books as the focus of their major assignment. The success of the course depends heavily on the participation and research of students. Their willingness to debate with intellectual fervor gives the course vigor. Their creativity opens new avenues of discovery and ways of knowing the circumpolar Arctic. As scholar and instructor, I have found delivery of GLST653 very gratifying and rewarding, beyond my wildest dreams for any academic experience.

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First Nations and the Canadian Legal System: Conflict Management or Dispute Resolution?

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ABSTRACT. In the course of my employment as prosecutor in Northern Canada, I realized that the Canadian criminal court system did not only fail Aboriginal people as was stated in many official reports but, it also caused major disruptions in small Inuit communities to almost everyone.

Because of difficulties in interviewing people about very traumatic experiences, I determined that only an inductive approach could make the situation understandable (in the sense of *meaningful*). As prosecutor I had easy access to Aboriginal victims of crime and witnesses, providing me with significant qualitative information that allows me to explain the phenomenon, better than interviewing a random selection of people that would have no time to develop a rapport with me and share their most profound concerns about the system.

Thus, my thesis is based on the stories of hundreds of Inuit victims and witnesses, and I owe it to them to bring back what I learned and identify the failures of the Canadian *Justice* system for Aboriginal people.

* The opinions expressed in this paper are personal to the author.

This paper is a short summary of my thesis presented at Royal Roads University (Victoria, BC) in support of a Masters of Arts in Conflict Analysis and Management in the years 2001 to 2003. The main reason why I was interested in this program was because it focuses on inter-group conflicts, particularly inter-ethnic, and I wanted to explore how to manage such conflicts in the Canadian context as I think the conflict between Aboriginal Canadians and the mainstream or dominant society is basically the result of an inter-ethnic conflict, particularly in terms of the courts and the legal system.

By the time I started working on my thesis in 2002, I had moved from the North to British Columbia and naively thought I should confine myself to what is happening with local First Nations in terms of such conflict. This proved to be virtually impossible for reasons I will elaborate later in this paper and here I need to go back in time, when I was working as a prosecutor in Nunavik (Northern Québec) and, later, in the Northwest Territories (which then included Nunavut). In the mid eighties I started working with Inuit as a prosecutor and spent over 10 years in those areas trying to make sense of what we were doing. Ultimately, I found out that, for the most part, the court system (I prefer using “court system” instead of “justice system” as I plan to demonstrate the system does not bring “justice” to the Inuit communities) didn’t make any sense to the Inuit, based on my own experience working with numerous Inuit victims and witnesses.

Indeed, I was usually able to create a rapport with them and often they shared with me their most intimate concerns about the court system. Once charges were laid and the matter was proceeding to court, many had second thoughts and didn't want to go through this process that is supposedly aimed at resolving conflicts by finding the truth and, if guilt is established, punishing the offender.

Through this wealth of information and experience, I was able to relate to certain specific areas of the court system that were profoundly offensive to them and it became obvious that the system, instead of helping Inuit communities, was actually contributing to escalating conflicts and harming the communities in general. I became obvious to me that it was caused by a significant culture clash, contributing to a major inter-ethnic conflict and it needed more research and investigation in order to understand the dynamics of conflict and have a better grasp of what could be done to improve the situation, in partnership with Aboriginal people.

Thus, I thought I could do a formal research with local First Nations in B.C. and compare both situations. Unfortunately, it did not work, as formal research in an area like criminal courts and victimization is extremely difficult, particularly if it is mainly qualitative. My experience informed me that quantitative research does not work with this type of issues because it is crucial to understand the worldviews of the *participants* (i.e. those used to be called 'subjects') so that we can then understand what does not work in the court system. So, I started working with members of the Sechelt Nation, who are my neighbours on the Sunshine Coast of British Columbia, and realized very quickly this data collection process proved to be unhelpful because the best information would come from those who had personal contacts with the court system, particularly criminal courts, and this proved far too emotional for most protagonists in the system to allow them to open up to a stranger. In fact, it became clear that an inductive approach was the only way I could make the situation *understandable* (in the sense of *meaningful*). Howard Becker is an example of inductive approach; Becker is a widely respected sociologist and an accomplished jazz musician who wanted to research marijuana in the 1960s and his activities gave him ready access to many long-term marijuana smokers as well as those who were trying it for the first time. He wanted to understand this social microcosm in and of itself (Palys, 1997). Similarly, I had easy access to Aboriginal victims of crime and witnesses, for approximately 25 years, providing me with qualitative information that allows me to explain the phenomenon. That unique experience proved to be much more helpful in analysing the conflict than interviewing a random selection of people that would not have the time to develop a rapport with me and share with me their most profound concerns about the system. Aboriginal victims, if allowed some time and empathy, despite the legal concept that prosecutors, being agents of the

state, must remain aloof from the victims, often do not hesitate to confide in the prosecutor. Thus, the contact with hundreds of witnesses, most of them Inuit, provided me with a unique insight about the conflict between the court system and those individuals who, for the most part, also became victims of the clash between the mainstream system and their cultures. Yet, my face-to-face interviews with members of the Sechelt Nation tended to confirm that this information applied also very well to them and I developed this in my paper.

Throughout my years of practice as a prosecutor in Aboriginal communities I came to realize not only how dysfunctional the justice system was but also how it could hurt and destroy people, victims and offenders, and this is an opportunity for me to share with the readers those years as a prosecutor and try to paint a realistic picture of the clash between Aboriginal Canadians and the mainstream court system. I would have liked to travel to Nunavut and share that research more extensively with people in the communities, as I owe it to many of them for educating me in terms of their cultures and traditions. However, the inherent costs of doing this are prohibitive but, nevertheless, with the assistance of the Makivik Society and the Department of Justice, I had a chance to discuss my research and findings with a group of members of local justice committees in Nunavik at one of their meetings in Puvirnituk and they confirmed that my research generally reflected their own experience with the court system.

At the outset, my research questions were:

- What are the elements of traditional and modern Aboriginal dispute resolution mechanisms, if any, that conflict with the mainstream legal system, with a particular emphasis on the criminal court system?
- Can this area of conflict substantiate, by itself, the failure of the mainstream court system to meet Aboriginal Canadians' needs or are there other sources of conflict that contribute to its failure?

Before I started my research and based on what I knew of the conflict, I proposed the following two hypotheses:

- My first hypothesis is that cultural alienation is one of the most important factors that render the mainstream system ineffective and irrelevant.
- My second hypothesis is that if there was a dispute resolution system that was relevant to Aboriginal cultures, then it is likely that it would contribute to reducing conflicts.

When looking at the interaction between the legal system and Aboriginal people it is important to keep in mind that the system was imposed on them and there was no consultation as to whether it was appropriate (Davies 1991; Palys, 1993). The colonial powers wanted to bring "civilization" (Moyles, 1989)

to those people whose culture and traditions were ignored by the dominant society: this is a flagrant case of ethnocentrism – i.e. “the belief in the primacy and centrality of one’s own culture” (Tidwell, 1998). The legacy of Canadian colonialism has been “horrific” for Aboriginal Canadians in that it caused the almost complete disintegration of their societies and the legal system is part of this colonial legacy and contributed to this disintegration instead of bringing peace and safety to the communities (Hickman, 1989; Cawsey, 1991; Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991; RCAP, 1996). As a result of a general sense of discomfort by some professional of the court system, some accommodations have been tried to make the system work better. Two examples of those accommodations are the integration of the traditional Inuit adoption practices (Morrow, 1995) and the sentencing circles (Stuart, 1997). Unfortunately, by integrating some Aboriginal practices into the court system, coupled with public legal education, this contributed to the erosion of those very cultures through a process of acculturation (Rouland, 1983).

It is well established that Aboriginal people had their own conflict resolution systems (RCAP, 1996) and, for instance, the Inuit used duels as a way of avoiding retaliation within the communities (Rouland, 1979; Rousseau, 2003). One of the common characteristics of how Aboriginals dealt with conflict was the flexibility of the response and the fact that the matter would be addressed collectively, either through the family, clan or through the whole community. These mechanisms were significantly eroded by the dominant society when it decided to take over, managing the life of Aboriginal people in all respects and the traditional social mechanisms were marginalized and, in some cases, eradicated.

Many legal scholars boast that the Canadian legal system is one of the best if not the best in the world and often Canada offers assistance to other countries in their attempts to improve the fairness of their legal systems and to be more sensitive to human rights. So, what’s the problem? Shouldn’t Aboriginal people be happy with such a good system? I came to the conclusion that the answer is a resounding “No”!

I will review some of the major features of the court system that collide with many if not most Aboriginal cultures. First and most importantly, the **adversarial** nature of the mainstream system is offensive to most if not all Aboriginal cultures. Adversarial, in this context, means that the system is composed of two adverse parties – in criminal matters, the prosecution and the defence - that are trying to put the *blame* on the other one – the offender or the victim - for the purpose of “winning” the case, through a decision made by a neutral third party, the judge. For Aboriginal people, this is contrary to their cultures whereby conflict is resolved through conciliation and the restoration of peace and harmony (York, 1990; Ross, 1992). Clare Brant, a Mohawk psychiatrist says: “We are very loath to confront people. We are very loath to give advice to anyone if the person is not specifically asking for advice. To interfere or even

comment on their behaviour is considered rude” (Ross, 1992). I heard the same concerns from many Inuit witnesses who were ashamed to have to testify in front of the whole community and make comments about someone else’s behaviour. Some of them, victims of serious crimes, were so embarrassed at the prospect of testifying that this factor, coupled with others, is suspected to have contributed to their suicide just before trial.

Moreover, in any court hearing, witnesses are sworn to tell the truth (they can be affirmed but, in general, witnesses used to make an oath on the Bible to tell the truth) but at the end of the proceedings, particularly at trial, the judge will make a determination that is likely to go against some of the witnesses’ testimonies – for example, reasonable doubt goes in favour of the accused person – and those witnesses generally feel that the judge is saying that they lied under oath and they feel completely discredited and are often afraid of being punished. As a consequence, people tend to protect themselves and just say they don’t remember or they flee the community at court time.

The **right to silence** often translates into a mystifying concept for Inuit people. In our legal system, the accused has the right to remain silent, that is, he cannot be compelled to testify and no adverse inference can be drawn against him. This is the way Canadian law has evolved to enforce the presumption of innocence (the presumption of innocence has not necessarily evolved the same way in other legal systems). On the other hand, for many Aboriginal cultures, it is absolutely crucial to let everyone who has something to say about an incident to speak and, of course, it is important, in that context, to give the protagonists a chance to express themselves too. Thus, it is expected that an accused person – being one of the protagonists - will say something about the event that is at stake and when the accused remains silent (often as recommended by counsel), people are completely mystified and feel completely helpless as there is so much information that is missing.

Yet, the picture gets even worse when we turn to victims that are forced to testify, while offenders have an absolute right to remain silent... Many people told me they felt this was extremely unfair and held the system into disrepute because they thought the parties were treated differently. Then, when considering the case of Kitty Nowdluk, a victim of a horrendous sexual assault, where she was incarcerated for over a week for failing to appear at the accused’s preliminary inquiry in Iqaluit in 1991, it is easy to understand why the system is perceived as unfair and unduly harsh on victims. Victims are often entirely powerless in that system and even though they may think the process is not going to do any good to them, they are forced into it, generally without consultation, despite their most forceful reluctance.

In matters involving sexual or family violence, the victim may be **ostracized** by her own community. This happens because the victim is perceived as turning against her community because she got the court system involved (when she called the police to seek assistance) and which may result in the offender being sent away, to jail. This is compounded by the fact that the family unit is crucial in small Aboriginal communities and, because the court might remove the offender from the community, it will inevitably have an impact on the whole family, particularly if he is the provider. Victims have often told me they had called the police to stop the pain but that they didn't want to destroy anybody else's life and didn't want to go to court. Unfortunately, in the mainstream system as I mentioned above, the victim may be forced to testify and, as a result, may be morally forced to leave the community if her behaviour is perceived as highly inappropriate.

The way **witnesses** are treated is also very difficult to reconcile with Aboriginal cultures. The most vulnerable witnesses are usually child victims. If such a matter ends up in court, child victims are likely to be forced to testify against the offender, which is akin to ratting on him or comment negatively on his behaviour, and is, in the child's culture, completely inappropriate. If and when the prosecutor succeeds at having the child say enough that might allow the court to convict the offender, then the child is cross-examined by an adult, university educated lawyer, who is trying to create inconsistencies in the child's testimony so that it be given no credibility. As a result, this process may destroy the work done by the community and by professionals to heal the child and he or she is often re-victimized. If the offender is convicted, the child victim is likely to feel guilty for the cause of that and if he's acquitted, the child will believe that this happened because the judge didn't trust him, that he's perceived as a liar, and is often afraid to be punished by the court.

Adult witnesses often experience the same kind of frustration with the system as they are asked to repeat their version of the incident to many strangers and feel they are the ones on trial. They are often hesitant because they are concerned they might offend the community by commenting on someone else's behaviour and are reluctant to answer the questions. A vigorous cross-examination is likely to throw the witness in a state of panic, as he does not want to offend the lawyer and often feels compelled to accept the lawyer's suggestions as to the event, thereby creating inconsistencies that negatively impact on his credibility. In my experience, victims of sexual crimes are the ones that are most likely to be adversely affected by the process, as their own personal and intimate life may become an issue in a trial, in public, before the whole community. This serious problem is compounded by the fact that those types of crime

don't tend to happen in public and many judges are reluctant to convict an individual based on "he says, she says" type of evidence. The victim will likely be re-victimized by the process.

Thus, what the system claims is a search for the truth is actually based on human witnesses for the most part, on information that is not forthcoming and that has to be elicited through coercion. This evidence, forming the basis for the determination of guilt or innocence of an accused person, is therefore far from complete and exhaustive to the extent that, in my view, it leaves the judge with minimal information and the tools he or she needs to make that determination are far from perfect.

Some **rules of evidence** do also compound this inter-cultural conflict. While a witness may swear on the Bible to tell the truth, the *whole* truth and nothing but the truth, he will be prevented from testifying about what others told him because of the rule against hearsay. I had an elderly witness in Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet, Nunavut) who refused to testify after she was trying to say what the victim told her after she was raped – the judge told her she couldn't say that and the witness then refused to say anything more as she was of the view she was breaking her oath to tell the *whole* truth.

Another rule that is very confusing for an Aboriginal witness is the rule against leading questions. That rule provides that the party calling a witness cannot ask any question that would suggest the answer. Usually this rule is understood as prohibiting any question where the answer would be "yes" or "no". Thus, witnesses who made a statement to the police and who are extremely uncomfortable in court usually expect the lawyers will tell them what they have to say and non leading, open ended questions often get a puzzled face and a very vague response, if anything at all. Often this evidence on which the court must relate to make final decisions is far less comprehensive than the witness' statements to the police or to the prosecutor and that, again, directly impinges on the reliability of the court process.

Another significant hurdle the court system faces in Aboriginal communities are the delays in getting criminal cases to trial. It is not that delays in the north are any worse than in southern Canada – quite to the contrary and compared to how long a case goes to trial in the south, Nunavut does very well. No, the problem is somewhere else: in small Inuit communities, incidents or crises are usually dealt with informally very quickly since people must still live together on a day-to-day basis. Therefore, when the community has dealt with the matter and it has been put behind, the court party comes back and reopens the whole issue with the goal of determining guilt and, if so, punishing the offender. A clear illustration of this is the way the Inuit call the judge: *Iqqaqtuiji* or, in English, "a person who contributes in recalling a wrong action rather than a good one; helping somebody to express something not yet mentioned but not beyond memory" (translation by Michèle Therrien, in Brice-Bennett, 1997). It reflects the concept that it is remarkable that

someone's job would be to make people remember sad things while the matter was already dealt with by the community and should have been laid to rest.

Finally, there is the major clash between **retribution and restoration**. The mainstream system is based on retribution and once an offender is found guilty, a sentence must be imposed while for Aboriginal cultures, it is important to heal the offender and restore harmony and peace in the community (Zimmerman, 1992). When Inuit victims speak up about what should happen to the offender, they often say they would be satisfied with anything that would prevent the assault from re-occurring. Most think in terms of treatment or counselling but very seldom in terms of incarceration and then only to keep the offender away for a period of time, as one victim once told me, for a "time-out". Sending Aboriginal offenders to jail is often a complete failure as they don't have to take responsibility for the offence, they often return to the communities far worse than when they left, feeling that they have paid their dues to society (including their own community) and are therefore absolved from any other consequences of their crimes.

There are of course some positive aspects of the system. For instance it provides closure to an incident, albeit late, and it has the power to send dangerous people out of the community. It is also very formal and people often said they liked to see court sessions with all its solemnity.

So, what has been done to address those issues? Given the amplitude of the problem faced in Canada, I am sad to report that not much was done. In Nunavut, there are more lay Justices of the Peace that can deal with only minor cases. As well, Elders may sit with judges of the Nunavut Court of Justice, at the *invitation* of the judge, and provide the court with their comments about offenders and victims. There are diversion programs, whereby minor matters are referred to local programs by the police or the prosecutors, in almost all communities (personal knowledge). Yet, those models depend on the willingness of mainstream justice officials and funding from governments is scarce (Aboriginal Justice Strategy) and they are not usually based on the communities making their own choices or on the legal traditions of Aboriginal people. Thus, there is still a general dissatisfaction with the system that is perceived as clashing with traditional Inuit values (Griffiths et al., 1995).

In my paper I mapped the conflict using Wehr's (1979) grid of analysis and came to the conclusion that this is a conflict that is identity-based, where the perception of each party for the "other" is important but might be misleading. There are a number of elements to that conflict, like stereotyping and dehumanization, which might trigger escalation, perhaps to the extent of violence and it is therefore very important for all of us to address those issues. Yet, governments cannot anymore attempt to resolve the issues in isolation, like it always did in the past. Solutions must first come through a process of trust

building between the two groups so that further discussions may be grounded on a good understanding of the worldviews of both groups. Trust is the foundation upon which to build a real partnership between Aboriginal peoples and the mainstream society and only then can we start working on designing a conflict resolution model that will work for Aboriginal Canadians. Such design must be interest-based, i.e. with the participation of the stakeholders who will “become true partners in identifying, understanding, and managing their disputes – and have a more vested responsibility for the successful operation of the conflict management system.” (Costantino and Merchant, 1996) This, in my view, is the only way for Canada to build a new and successful partnership with its first inhabitants.

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Inuit Youth: The Future of Inuktitut

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*"I don't think that Inuktitut will disappear because people believe in it."
- 18 year-old Inuit male, Iqaluit, Nunavut*

ABSTRACT. The Inuit language is generally considered strong in the Baffin region of Nunavut. However, faced with the rapid influx of English, some fear for Inuktitut's long-term viability. Based on responses to interviews (37) and closed questionnaires (130) in three communities, this paper examines the role of Inuit youth in determining the future of Inuktitut. As competent speakers of Inuktitut, and as parents of the new generation, Inuit youth have the ability to pass Inuktitut on to their children. Most Inuit youth in the region still know and use Inuktitut, but tend to use English, alongside Inuktitut, in private as well as public life. Many strongly value Inuktitut and are motivated to transmit this language. Some are taking personal initiatives to promote it. Inuit youths' attitudes about Inuktitut and English are influencing their linguistic behaviour, and as such are potentially shaping the linguistic makeup of future Inuit communities.

Keywords: Inuktitut; Inuit youth; language and identity; bilingualism; language planning

INTRODUCTION

In 1998, as the Nunavut Implementation Commission was preparing for the creation of a territory which would reflect Inuit ways of being, I began research on the status of Inuktitut in Nunavut. I set out to document the foundation for Inuktitut promotion that was already present in Baffin Island communities, particularly among the youth. How confident were Inuit in their ability to speak Inuktitut? When did they speak Inuktitut? If they were bilingual, what made them choose to use Inuktitut or English in a situation where they could use either? Why is Inuktitut important? Why do they want to keep it alive (if they do, in fact)? Inuit youths' responses to these questions, summarized here, suggest that they are in an important position for the eventual survival or loss of Inuktitut. Their ancestral language is still strong, in terms of competence, use and prestige. Nonetheless, many of the youth I spoke to, especially in Iqaluit, are concerned about its future, and are looking for ways to assure its continued vitality. This paper reports on Inuit youths' testimony about the place of Inuktitut in their lives, and on the role they will assume in shaping its future.

BACKGROUND

The creation of Nunavut marked a hopeful time for the future of Inuktitut. Already, it had long been considered one of the strongest aboriginal languages in Canada (Foster, 1982; Norris, 1998). Anyone visiting Baffin Island communities could quickly observe that Inuktitut was widely being used. In Nunavut, Inuit would have a strong voice in their government, and be able to realize certain desires, including the maintenance of their ancestral language through its implementation in the workplace, education, and government (see among others Légaré, 1998). Such goals were explicitly set out in the government's Bathurst Mandate (cf. Nunavut, 1999). As optimistic as the future may have looked for the survival of Inuktitut, some were saying that the younger generation did not care about Inuktitut, and that it was being lost. Informal observation in Iqaluit showed bilingual parents speaking English with their children, and bilingual friends and co-workers speaking English to each other, though they used Inuktitut in these situations as well. The increasing use of English, even in situations where Inuit could use only Inuktitut, pointed to a need for research into the grassroots support for the promotion of the Inuit language.

In other communities, with other languages, researchers have found that the desires of the local population, and more specifically, the feelings of the speakers about their language, play a key role in determining its fate (cf. Allard and Landry, 1992; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998; Fishman, 2001; Thomason, 2001). Publicly, Inuit leaders were saying that Inuktitut was very important to them, for their culture and their identity, among other reasons (cf. Nunavut Implementation Commission, 1996; Nunavut, 1999). No one had asked a large number of Inuit youth what they really felt, though, about the future of Inuktitut and why (and if) it was important to them. Inuit youth, as the parents to the future generation, are determining whether or not Inuktitut continues to be passed on. For these reasons, I collected information, opinions, perceptions, attitudes and ideas about Inuktitut (and English) from young Inuit, in order to identify the level of grassroots support in the communities, among the youth, for the promotion of Inuktitut.

METHOD

Between 1999 and 2001, I conducted semi-directed interviews with 37 Inuit between 18 and 25 years-old (17 in Iqaluit, 10 in Pangnirtung and 10 in Pond Inlet), while living for 16 months in Iqaluit and making short trips to the smaller communities. Among these youth, there were 19 women and 18 men. Twenty-two were working, in a wide variety of jobs, from cashier to teacher; 15 were still in school. Twenty-three had grade 12 education or higher. Twenty-three had both Inuit parents, and fourteen had one Inuit parent and

one non-Inuit parent. Eleven had children. I asked these individuals to tell me about 1/ how well they speak Inuktitut; 2/ how frequently they speak Inuktitut; 3/ why Inuktitut is important to them; and 4/ what they want for its future. These topics were subsequently examined among a larger number of youth (130) using a closed questionnaire (content and format was influenced by interview responses and by questionnaires used in similar research by Taylor and Wright [1989], Patrick [1998], Langgaard [2001], and Dorais and Sammons [2002]). The interviews and questionnaires, as well as observations of daily life in Iqaluit, Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet, helped me to understand the way Inuit youth in these three communities see the current state of Inuktitut (in their own lives, in their communities and in Nunavut). The following paragraphs summarize Inuit youths' responses, discussing their feelings about Inuktitut and their support for its promotion.

RESULTS

Competence

The first indicator of Inuit youths' key place in shaping the future of Inuktitut in Nunavut came through in their responses regarding language competence. Overall, the youth responded that they speak Inuktitut, but not as well as they would like to. For almost all of the research participants, Inuktitut was the mother tongue, used exclusively until they started school, at which point they learned English. The large majority (81%; 106/130) estimated that they have acquired and maintained "good" or "excellent" oral competence in Inuktitut. At the same time, even more (95%; 122/128) rated their oral competence in English, the second language, as "good" or "excellent". These results suggest that Inuit youth, for the most part, have the knowledge of Inuktitut necessary to use this language regularly and eventually pass it on to their children, which indicates a strong foundation for the maintenance of Inuktitut.

Even though most of the Inuit with whom I spoke said that they were 'good' or 'excellent' at speaking Inuktitut, many are concerned about losing their language, especially in Iqaluit. In Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet, the bilingualism seems balanced. Youth that have spent their whole lives in these smaller communities are maintaining their Inuktitut language skills as they learn English, and remain confident speaking their mother tongue. However, in Iqaluit (and among youth in the smaller communities who had lived for some time in Iqaluit or in Southern Canada), Inuit youth expressed concern that as they use English more frequently, and hear English around more frequently, they are losing their ability to speak Inuktitut well. This feeling is widespread and highly personal, as suggested in the following quotations:

[W]hen I moved here [to Iqaluit], I started slowly losing it [Inuktitut] and kind of like it's been changing or whatever, but that's okay because it's not too late. I can go back and I can learn and I can improve, I can expand on my Inuktitut, but it's not lost, I'm not a lost case. I still have pretty good Inuktitut.
- 18 year-old female, Iqaluit

It seems for me, English is taking over, more than before. [...] Now, a year and a half ago, I kind of lost my Inuktitut. I was hearing English so much that I just started speaking more English than I used to. But now I'm getting it back. Slowly, but.
- 19 year-old female, Iqaluit

I feel I almost lost [Inuktitut] once because I used all English for a bit. [...] We realised that and went oh, we have to speak more Inuktitut now, so we tried to do that more. [...]
- 19 year-old female, Iqaluit

Because I didn't realise I lost it. [...] It seems like I lost it so fast, you know? Without realizing it.
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

Particularly in Iqaluit, Inuit youth said that they used to speak Inuktitut better than they do now, and that they do not speak Inuktitut as well as they would like to. These observations are concerning for the future of Inuktitut because they show a group of Inuit who as children spoke only Inuktitut and now, as young adults, feel that they are getting worse at speaking Inuktitut rather than better.

In order to continue to grow as excellent speakers of Inuktitut, the youth said that they need to have more opportunities to learn and practice this language. As the quotations below suggest, many feel that they do not have access to sufficient resources (classes, learning material, exposure, etc.) in order to learn and keep their Inuktitut at the level that they would like to:

But the majority of the young people, the twenty-year-olds I hang out with, just don't understand Inuktitut anymore. Why? Because their parents aren't speaking and the schools aren't hiring anybody to teach Inuktitut.
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

[...] So, grade seven it all really happened with English. And I lost it [Inuktitut] after that, because at high school, when you took Inuktitut, all you did was sewing and drawing, and it wasn't a real Inuktitut class when I was in to high school. It made me almost embarrassed, not knowing how to speak it, but now that I have it back, it's great.
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

I worked with a lot of young people and when I tried to communicate with them, have a long conversation in Inuktitut, half of the things, they don't even understand. I'm not disappointed in anyone, I'm more concerned than anything, that they haven't really been taught, or been spoken to in Inuktitut. And they really have to do something about it now. If they wait until later to preserve it, especially to the young children and teenagers, because they're the ones that are going to be here in the future anyway, and if you don't teach them that, then it is just

going away, and you know, just be written down in history that once, Inuktitut was spoken.
- 21 year-old female, Iqaluit

The Inuit with whom I spoke said that they learned Inuktitut at home as children, and can still speak it, but are afraid of losing it down the road. Their comments suggest that the schools could play a greater role in helping them to maintain their language. Although Inuktitut remains the first language of this generation, they are calling for support to ensure that they can pass on a full knowledge of Inuktitut to their children.

Use

I also considered patterns of language use as indicative of the relative strength of Inuktitut. The youth overwhelmingly reported using both Inuktitut and English in most situations. In all three communities, Inuktitut *can* be used almost anywhere, the only exception being situations in which the Inuit are interacting exclusively with *Qallunaat* (e.g. speaking to a teacher, to a boss, at the RCMP office or at the hospital). In such cases, mainly or only English is used. The Inuit youth that I spoke with said that they tend to use only or mainly Inuktitut when they are speaking to older Inuit (elders, Inuit grandparents, in some cases parents), and when speaking about or participating in traditional activities. On average, they use both Inuktitut and English with siblings, children, spouses, boyfriends or girlfriends, friends and co-workers; at home, at school, at work and in government offices. In other words, even where one might expect them to use Inuktitut, such as with their Inuit siblings, or friends, or even children, both languages are used, almost equally. Similarly, even in more formal situations, such as work, school, and government, Inuktitut is spoken alongside English. Similar findings, among a wider age span, are reported in Dorais and Sammons 2002. The fact that Inuit youth feel that they *could* use Inuktitut in almost any situation is very favourable for continued use of this language. However, the fact that they *do not* consistently use Inuktitut in situations where they *could* needs to be addressed if Inuktitut is going to stay strong.

The youth also reported using more English, and less Inuktitut, now than they used to. For example, even if they use more Inuktitut than English when speaking to their parents, most have started to use some, if not equal amounts of English in this context, compared to when they were children and used only Inuktitut:

My parents, at home, it's Inuktitut [...] Yeah, with my parents, if I can't communicate with them, you know, it's like I say it in English and they're like, "Qanu? What's that?" And so.
- 19 year-old female, Iqaluit

My whole family's Inuk. But when we have conversations it's mixed Inuktitut and Qallunaatit. So...when I speak to my dad, usually, it's through my mom, my mom's translating. When I have something to say or something to tell to them, like the news, or whatever, I'll say it, but then I'll try to say it in Inuktitut, but he won't understand, so my mom will have to repeat it. That's how it is at home. That's how much I've lost my Inuktitut, you know? So. But with my sisters and brothers I'll just speak English, and Inuktitut, but, you know. That's how much I've lost so far. Like, my mom translates even when I'm speaking to my dad!
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

With my family...with my mom and my sisters...we're so comfortable with each other, we know each other, it's like either-or and there's no big deal. Yeah, we don't even really notice which language we're speaking because it's my immediate family.
- 18 year-old female, Iqaluit

But I have a tendency to speak in just English to my parents [both Inuit] as well, and that's when they start calling me Qallunaaq...
- 22 year-old male, Iqaluit

The language behaviour of young parents, in particular, is important because they are teaching children how to speak and their behaviour provides the role model for those children:

... English is spoken a lot more than it was when I was a kid. [...] Nowadays these kids, they don't have any discipline, and they speak a lot of English now. When we were kids, we used to speak a lot of Inuktitut and nowadays they mostly speak in English. And when he said that I said, yeah, that's because we're the role models and we speak mostly English and that's why they're speaking English.
- 21 year-old male, Pond Inlet

Some young parents in Iqaluit say that they are having difficulty encouraging their children to address them in Inuktitut, even if the children are familiar with this language:

Same with [my son]...I speak to him all the time [in Inuktitut], but he doesn't really respond to me [...] Yeah, I don't know why, it's just like say, when we go to my parents... He'll speak to them in Inuktitut, and he understands what they say, but when we're at home, or at the store or something, he won't speak Inuktitut, but fully English.
- 21 year-old female, Iqaluit

Bilingualism is the heritage Inuit wish to pass on to their children, but there is some concern being expressed that bilingual children will have no need, and no real motivation, to speak their ancestral language. Overall, Inuit youth in Iqaluit describe using Inuktitut less frequently than they would like to, and than they feel they ought to. Together, these reports of language use suggest a perceived need for initiatives to promote continued use of Inuktitut, especially among younger individuals in Iqaluit.

Motivations for using Inuktitut or English are ambiguous. Sometimes the youth have no choice which language to use, for example, when speaking to monolingual elders or *Qallunaat*. However, based on their

comments, it seems that a real obligation to use one language or the other is unusual. The challenge to encouraging continued use of Inuktitut seems to be identifying the underlying factors that lead the individual to use Inuktitut or English in situations where either would be possible and acceptable.

To some degree, Inuit youth know and can explain why they use Inuktitut or English. They say, to start with, that their language choice reflects a desire to accommodate others. They tend to speak the language that the person they are talking with prefers, or is speaking, or the language that will allow the maximum number of people to participate in the conversation:

Yeah. Well, when, my Inuk friends, sometimes I talk to them in English. Maybe 'cause, sometimes I don't want to offend people? So I try not to keep them out of any conversations and stand there and speak Inuktitut and there might be four, five of us sitting around and without realizing it I don't want to speak Inuktitut when there's two of them that don't understand. So unless I know. Like if I don't know that there's someone there that doesn't understand Inuktitut, if I don't know that, I'll just speak English. But if I know we all understand Inuktitut, I'll speak Inuktitut. You know, it's just a matter of trying to keep everyone in the conversation.
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

On the other hand, using Inuktitut or English can act as a secret code, keeping their conversation private:

*[Researcher] Which language do you use when you are with your friends?
Both. Especially joking around, it's in Inuktitut. So that the white person wouldn't understand what we say, it's in Inuktitut at times. [...] Especially at work, if there's somebody that we don't like, we say, "Look at that guy" in Inuktitut or something. [...] Especially with personal stuff. Emotional stuff and stuff like that. When there's white people around we just talk in Inuktitut, but when they're gone, we go on to English. That's how it is. [...] I wish you could go on in Inuktitut, but then again, we're like, okay, they're gone, we can talk now.*
- 21 year-old female, Iqaluit

Some youth say that they speak Inuktitut simply because they are Inuk, or when they are speaking to an Inuk; it's a way to show that they belong:

Yeah, like if that person's Inuk, I'll talk to him in Inuktitut. I'd rather talk to him in Inuktitut than I would in English.
- 18 year-old male, Iqaluit

Sometimes Inuktitut or English just feels more appropriate in a particular setting. Also, at times Inuktitut or English just feels easier, or has the right word:

D10. Oh, because sometimes we don't know how to say it in Inuktitut. If we don't know how to say an Inuktitut word, we say it in English, so we can understand each other.
- 18 year-old female, Iqaluit

Other times, the youth say, they speak the language that they hear all around them (Inuktitut in the smaller communities, English in Iqaluit):

[Researcher] Why would you say that you only use English with [Inuit friend 1]. Or mainly English?

Mainly English because...it's just been like that, English. Where, when we go to work, you know, we wake up and go to school, I go to school, and then my first class is English. So...I speak English and stuff and then when she goes to work with me, you know, she speaks English and stuff, and then at the end of the day, when we see each other, it's like, "Hi," you know. I don't know why. Maybe it's because everywhere we go, we're around English, not Inuktitut.
- 18 year-old female, Iqaluit

Whereas in a small community, you speak Inuktitut. And it's good, you know. For you, you know? [...] Like I was in Pang for a month last year. [...] It was good because everywhere they speak Inuktitut there, whether it's in the store, school, outside, in the post office, bank, well, they have no bank, but you know. So you just take it all in, you know? Speak Inuktitut too. So that's good.
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

Some say that they are shy to use Inuktitut (mainly in Iqaluit) or English (some Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet youth). Even competent speakers of Inuktitut say that they sometimes use English rather than risk making mistakes in Inuktitut:

Like when I talk in Inuktitut I like to make sure I'm saying the right things. Otherwise, if I know I'm not going to say it right, I'll say it in English.
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

... because when I talk to my parents in Inuktitut, I try to think, what should I say? And to word it just right, so I stumble on words, and I'll start to speak in English, and then I'll speak Inuktitut, and then whatever I'm more comfortable with, I guess. I'm just more relaxed when I'm talking to other people, who aren't my parents.
- 22 year-old male, Iqaluit

Finally, some youth are motivated to use Inuktitut (or English) in order to learn to speak the language better, or in order to help their listeners learn:

What really disappoints me is when I'm looking after a kid and I'm trying to talk to them but they just don't understand what I'm saying? So I have to say it in English. But I make sure I say in Inuktitut either in English and then I translate it, just so they could at least hear it? That's the best I could do in promoting Inuktitut.
- 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

All of these motivations – accommodation, norms of interaction, identity, privacy, ease, habit, linguistic insecurity, desire to learn/teach – can lead to the use of Inuktitut *or* English, depending on the context.

Language Attitudes

I also spoke to the youth about why Inuktitut is important to them, in order to gain more insight into why they use Inuktitut when they do, as well as why they might want to keep Inuktitut strong. The reasons that they gave are both symbolic and practical. Above all, Inuktitut is the mother tongue, and treasured for that reason:

It's my language, it's what I grew up with and I want to keep it.

– 18 year-old male, Iqaluit

Inuit youth see a direct link between Inuktitut and Inuit tradition, expressed through their comments as well as their behaviour. They speak of Inuktitut's importance in terms of it being part of Inuit tradition, an element maintained from the past, and a tool for accessing traditional knowledge:

[Researcher] ... Why is it important to you?

For my kids to speak Inuktitut? Like I said, it's our life and we have different ways of communicating, we have different ways of understanding [...] Not that I don't think Inuit who don't speak Inuktitut aren't Inuk, but to be able to have the knowledge of our ancestors, maybe, carrying on the traditions, because, like, I'm a senior drum dancer. A lot of people when they look at tradition it's singing, drumming, how they dealt with people, but Inuktitut to me is also one of those things. If we want the government to be 85% Inuit and speaking. I might as well start somewhere if I want it to be like that, too.

– 20 year-old female, Iqaluit

Use of Inuktitut is strongly associated with participation in traditional activities and communication with elders. Here, there is a clear relationship between Inuit's expressed reasons for valuing Inuktitut, and using it, and their actual behaviour.

Inuit youth also speak about the link between Inuktitut and Inuit culture. Such a relationship, though commonly mentioned, was rarely given in the interviews as a reason why Inuktitut is valued or used, although it is given as a reason why Inuktitut should be maintained.

Inuit youth in the Baffin region clearly associate Inuktitut with their identity as Inuit and as individuals. Speaking it is associated with other behaviours that are perceived as “being Inuk”. Inuit are proud of knowing how to speak Inuktitut. Speaking to each other in the ancestral language makes people feel like

they belong; this language is perceived as a shared Inuit treasure, or inheritance. Its use reflects knowledge and respect of what is expected behaviour between members of the community; it provides a way of acting out belonging. But Inuit youths' comments also show the other side: some explain how emphasizing the relationship between being Inuk and speaking Inuktitut can also lead to feelings of inferiority, exclusion, and marginalization when individuals are losing Inuktitut, as is happening in Iqaluit:

... Just because they can't speak it, doesn't mean they're not Inuk. I've got a friend who's got Inuit parents, she's been away in school most of her teenage life, and she's about my age now, she's in university. She sort of lost it, Inuktitut, she can hardly speak it, but she can still understand it, and people would tell her, you're not an Inuk anymore. She got upset over it, she actually cried over that. So, personally, I wouldn't say that to anybody.

– 22 year-old male, Iqaluit

And people, at first, when they didn't realise that I didn't speak Inuktitut, they would give me dirty looks. ...maybe you're not an Inuk, or someone once told me, oh, I thought you were Inuk, and it's just like, okay... I just. Yeah. I don't. That's maybe why I sort of see myself, more as a Canadian, or, I don't know. I just don't identify myself so much as being an Inuk.

– 24 year-old female, Iqaluit

I say I'm more English than Inuk. ...My Inuktitut is not as strong. [...] [My boyfriend] said to me a couple months ago, I asked him, "Am I more of a Qallunaaq or more of an Inuk?" He said, "More of a Qallunaaq." "Why?" "Because you speak lots of English." (laugh) But I think he's right, I do speak more in English than in Inuktitut.

- 20 year-old female, Pangnirtung

Inuktitut is undoubtedly strongly valued as a symbol and a resource for Inuit identity. However, while the perceived link between Inuktitut and identity motivates some youth to use and maintain Inuktitut, comments such as those above bring to light potential implications of emphasizing this aspect in language promotion activities.

More frequently, when telling why Inuktitut is important to them, the Inuit youth emphasized practical reasons. They spoke about where and when they use it, and suggested that its value comes from the use they make of it. This practical value associated with Inuktitut is most evident when they speak about job searches and community integration.

To some degree, in the context of Nunavut, knowledge of Inuktitut has become a marketable skill. "Ability to speak Inuktitut" is increasingly a requirement, or an asset, in descriptions for Government of Nunavut jobs:

*[Researcher] ...Do you think it's important for young Inuit to speak Inuktitut?
Yeah, because most of the jobs now, they expect you to be bilingual, trilingual...because it would be kind of weird if a company was all Qallunaats and then an Inuk person, like an elder phones and there's no one to translate. So, it would be quite hard.*

– 18 year-old female, Iqaluit

*[Researcher] Is speaking Inuktitut important to you?
It is. [...] If you speak Inuktitut you have a better chance, of like, especially right now in Iqaluit you have a good chance of getting high paying jobs, stuff like that.*

- 18 year-old male, Iqaluit

The emphasis on knowing how to speak Inuktitut in order to get a job was particularly stressed in Iqaluit. In the smaller communities, the necessity of English was equally emphasized.

More importantly, based on Inuit youths' comments, Inuktitut is perceived as a useful language, because speaking it enhances access to all members of their local Inuit communities. The youth frequently spoke about being able to communicate with the elders, prestigious members of their communities. However, even among bilinguals, using Inuktitut can facilitate communication and increase feelings of intimacy, solidarity and community:

*[Researcher] What made you want to get back to speaking more Inuktitut?
...I don't know, elders talking to me and I wouldn't understand and then I would feel bad. Like, they're telling stories or something and I'll be interrupting them, asking someone else what are they talking about and I don't want to do that. I was raised to respect elders and keep our language strong...*

- 18 year-old female, Iqaluit

...Some people, I think they like it when I speak Inuktitut, because they want to learn, I think that helps too. [...] I think speaking in Inuktitut with our friends helps a lot and maybe if we keep using the language we won't be shy to each other and help promote it and keep it.

- 22 year-old male, Pond Inlet

When they spoke about what not being able to speak Inuktitut fluently means to them personally, Inuit youth, above all, said that they felt it made it harder for them to fully communicate, participate and integrate in the community.

The value of Inuktitut in Inuit's eyes is not in question. It is, in some ways, a prestigious language in the communities. However, even while they appreciate Inuktitut, these youth expressed their need and desire for (and the matter of fact presence of) English, which is also a prestigious language. English is symbolically valued as the language of "the year 2000", and, to some extent, as a symbol, along with Inuktitut, of a changing Inuit identity. Inuit youth affirmed that their participation in the broader Canadian and

international society requires English. Even in Nunavut, it is practically unheard of to work without using at least some English. In this way, although they are strongly motivated to maintain Inuktitut, competence in and use of English are also required and desired. To maintain Inuktitut, Inuit in bilingual communities need to find a way to balance its use with the pervasive use of English.

Language Planning

The comments from Inuit youth discussed in the previous sections make it obvious that they think that Inuktitut is important for many reasons and want it to remain strong in their communities and in their personal lives. How to keep it strong is another question. Faced with the perceived threat of losing Inuktitut, Inuit youth are pragmatic. They recognize that if Inuktitut is to survive, it will be because the Inuit have wanted it to, and have done something about it. Many expressed a personal commitment to keeping Inuktitut strong:

[Researcher] Who do you think is responsible for making sure that the Inuktitut language doesn't disappear?

... It de—. We are...every Inuk. ...[I]t's their responsibility to. If they want it, if they desire to speak Inuktitut, they should try for that. People who know how to speak Inuktitut should teach it to people who don't really know how so that they can learn and stuff, and speak it all the time. ...[I]t really depends on that person, how they feel about the language... [...] [Y]our parents have to teach you, you know. [...] [B]ut then, when you're in high school and then you start to lose it, it depends on you to gain it back, so. It really depends on the person.

- 19 year-old female, Iqaluit

[Researcher] Who do you think needs to take the initiative to promote the Inuit language?

... I think the young people. Because the elders, but we can learn from the elders too, before they go away. Because there are very few elders now, and we should start asking these elders more often, before we lose them, and young people should start using the Inuktitut language more often, before we lose all our elders and that's pretty much it.

- 22 year-old male, Pond Inlet

As these quotations suggest, the youth that I spoke with take a large degree of personal responsibility for the maintenance of their language.

Some Inuit youth are already taking action to keep Inuktitut strong. At the personal level, efforts to preserve and promote Inuktitut range from making a conscious decision to use it more frequently to organizing informal classes for Qallunaat friends or co-workers. Some youth told me they make a game of

it, trying to see who can speak only in Inuktitut for the longest period of time (although, some say, the game barely lasts a conversation):

When we speak too much English, we're like, we should speak Inuktitut, it's like, okay, let's try to do it all day, you know. So, it's sort of a game, but then, when we feel that we are speaking too much English, we try to speak more Inuktitut, and say, you know, this is our language...this is part of us, so we should speak more of it. Part game and part we should because it's what we want.
- 19 year-old female, Iqaluit

They talked about different ways that they sustain and increase their competence: accessing books, listening to others, making a point of being where Inuktitut is spoken, asking for words they do not know, and allowing themselves to be corrected:

I try and speak Inuktitut as much as possible. When I'm around my grandmother, I usually ask her to correct me when I say something different, when I try and say something and not really means the same thing, so, I ask her to correct me as much as possible. That way, I can learn more Inuktitut, how to say it correctly. And usually, when I say something, when I don't say it correctly, my mother easily makes fun of me and that's one of the ways how I can learn more Inuktitut, when she makes fun of me or when she corrects me. Usually, when she makes fun of me, it's kind of, it's embarrassing for me but the next time, I try and say it, I try and say it correctly. And that's the way I learn.
- 21 year-old male, Pond Inlet

And I've been trying not to worry so much about that [making mistakes] and just try, and if they correct me, then I'd say, "Oh, really? Oh, I won't make that mistake again." So I've been doing that a lot this year and I'm glad I'm doing that and I'm making a conscious effort to seriously just start speaking it, whether I'm, you know, if I'm wrong, then, oh well.
- 18 year-old female, Iqaluit

The comments above, typical of the Inuit I spoke with, illustrate a personal commitment to act in order to maintain competence in and use of Inuktitut. These kinds of informal, personal initiatives also target their children's or their peers' competence: encouraging others to use Inuktitut, and using Inuktitut to give others access to hear it and learn.

Most of the Inuit youth I spoke to in Iqaluit said that they participate in these kinds of activities. They said that they are motivated by a number of factors: realizing loss; being told to use the language; making a joint peer decision to use it; realizing others' interest in Inuktitut; desiring to pass it on to children or leave it in health for next generation; and having pride in their heritage. However, in Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet, where shift to English is not yet evident, such efforts to maintain Inuktitut are, not surprisingly, less common.

In terms of the success of such personal initiatives, anecdotally, a few Inuit said that they have regained their ability, or confidence in Inuktitut, after realizing that they were losing it and acting in consequence (see quotations under 'competence', above). Others, though, expressed frustration and the perception that their requests for help do not bring results.

While taking responsibility for their choices to use Inuktitut where they can, Inuit youth overwhelmingly identify a need for support in order to keep Inuktitut strong. This desire is expressed particularly in terms of institutional and parental reinforcement, which would give the youth opportunities to continue growing as competent speakers of Inuktitut. The youth are calling for higher quality Inuktitut language courses, particularly in the high schools. Although such classes exist, students call into question the amount and level of material that they cover, requesting higher standards. One representative comment illustrates this desire:

What needs to be done with the young people, well for one thing, as I mentioned before, Inuktitut should be a mandatory course, the language should be a mandatory course from grade seven to twelve, and they should offer different challenges as you go in higher grades. And for the land programs, you know, it's good to teach them how to make an igloo, or hunt, but they should also use the language, to go along with that program. And at home, you know, it starts at home. You shouldn't feel, I don't know, I can't say for other people, but you know, feel ashamed or discouraged because you can't say the word properly, you know, that's okay. That's how you learn, from your mistakes, and through practising it. And a lot of that is not happening right now.
- 21 year-old female, Iqaluit

Overall, the Inuit youth expressed a desire for support in terms of increased access to Inuktitut, including opportunities to learn, hear and use it. This reinforcement, though, based on their comments, should not come at the expense of access to opportunities to learn, hear and use English, nor should it impede individual choice. Governmental initiatives should facilitate, not replace, home and community-based efforts.

CONCLUSION

Inuit youths' descriptions of the current linguistic situation in Nunavut, particularly in Iqaluit, point to a need and a desire for Inuktitut language promotion. Although Inuktitut is fluently spoken and widely used by most of the population, loss of Inuktitut language skills is a tangible reality, or imminent threat, for many young Inuit in Iqaluit. Both Inuktitut and English are highly valued and desired languages. The challenge faced, at an individual and political level, is to find a way to balance conflicting motivations in order to achieve, or maintain, stable bilingualism.

In order for Inuktitut to remain a strong language in Nunavut, Inuit need to have the opportunity to learn this language and to continue improving in it as they grow older. The most important step in this regard is to encourage parents to pass on Inuktitut to their children. It is also important to provide opportunities for them to maintain the level of Inuktitut that they have achieved and to continue to improve. This goal could be achieved through improved and extended teaching of Inuktitut in formal education. Individuals can also help each other, by teaching or challenging each other to speak Inuktitut, or seeking out opportunities to speak with elders or participate in traditional activities, where Inuktitut is more widely used. Such grassroots initiatives to learn, use and teach Inuktitut are already providing an impetus for sustained Inuktitut language usage.

Overall, interview and questionnaire responses showed little evidence of the indifference toward Inuktitut that youth are sometimes accused of. The youth, for the most part, presented themselves as concerned and engaged in keeping their mother tongue strong. This research shows a strong foundation for the Government of Nunavut's plans to preserve, protect, and promote the Inuit language in Nunavut.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Inuit youth generously shared their insights, experiences, wisdom, feelings and perceptions, which I have attempted to represent in this paper. I thank them for their time, their candour, and their openness. I also gratefully acknowledge the financial support provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Doctoral Fellowship), the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (Canadian Northern Studies Trust Scholarship), and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (Northern Scientific Training Program) for the completion of field research in Northern Canada.

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Bringing Inuit and Arctic Perspectives to the Global Stage: Lessons and Opportunities

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INTRODUCTION

Good morning. My name is Sheila Watt-Cloutier. I am the elected Chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC). I was born and raised in Nunavik and I now live in Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut.

ICC was formed in 1977 to defend the rights and interests of the 155,000 Inuit living in Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Chukotka, Russia. The principal goals of the ICC are:

- To strengthen unity among Inuit of the circumpolar region.
- To promote Inuit rights and interests on an international level.
- To develop and encourage long-term policies which safeguard the Arctic environment.
- To seek full and active partnership in the political, economic and social development of circumpolar regions.

I am very pleased to share the plenary with some old friends and some new ones. I want to thank Arctic Institute and in particular my good friend from Greenland, Karla Williamson for bringing us together for this important conference.

THE OPPORTUNITY

The research and university community is of growing importance in the Arctic. After many years of decline there are signs that Canada's research capacity in the Arctic is increasing. The need of Inuit organizations for research and their capability to use it is increasing as well. When governments ratify the Labrador Land Claims Agreement, all Inuit regions in Arctic Canada will live in a post land claims world.

We can often have different perspectives, but Inuit organizations and Canada's research community can complement each other. Often the research world is divided into physical and social sciences and then into disciplines and sub-disciplines which, to be honest, can be quite bewildering. Many researchers explore

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one or two things in detail, whereas, Inuit generally look holistically on issues. Culture, economy and environment are all woven into our tapestry.

The Arctic and Inuit are no longer isolated physically or psychologically from the rest of the world. We are “connected” to the world in all sorts of ways. Globalization is not necessarily a bad word to Inuit. The research community and Inuit need also to “connect” more fully. This will take efforts by you and by us, but the pay-back of doing business together should be significant. Your “detailed knowledge” and our “big picture” go together well. This is not to say that Inuit do not have detailed knowledge as well, but we often see and do things holistically, embracing the spirit of our culture, economy and environment in our research and decision-making.

So, we need ways and means of communicating and connecting with each other. A partnership between us will bring our perspectives and yours to bear on issues. My remarks today will explore this opportunity and its challenges.

Inuit use and occupy huge areas of land and ocean, but we are few in number. This means I spend a lot of time on the road speaking with people who make decisions that affect the Arctic, but do so in capitals far to the South. My business is to help others to see the value of understanding “connectivity”. What I mean by this is, people have lost the understanding that their own human activity can have severe negative impacts on their neighbors, whether their neighbors are next door, in the next country or continent, and in our case in the next hemisphere. The contaminants and the climate change issues are perfect examples of this disconnect and the negative impacts that challenge our efforts to preserve in our homeland, our cultural heritage. This is what I mean by helping others see the connectivity – we are all connected, and the planet is one. Our actions affect others—sometimes we see the effect, sometimes it is far away and we do not see it and therefore do not understand the impact. Each of us can choose if our actions will have a positive or negative effect on our global neighborhood.

Why then is it important for Inuit to be heard internationally and, more importantly, why is it important for Inuit communities to know the world hears and listens to us? International events affect us more and more. Environmental protection, management of migratory species of animals, trade rules, and energy markets are all determined by decisions made internationally. In response, Inuit have to be internationalist in orientation, purpose, and activity. It is not always easy for Inuit to get into the international political game. Our ability to do so is influenced by the attitude of Governments. Many see and welcome connections with us, others don’t yet understand the growing importance of the Arctic or the value of working with us. We have had a few senior civil servants within the Government of Canada, the United

States and the United Nations see the value of connecting with us; these partnerships have advanced all of our objectives.

We all know that the Arctic and Inuit are navigating rapid changes very quickly. In the midst of this change we need to be both resilient and adaptive. The connectedness of our world demands this. I think this is another way of saying our “big picture” along with our “detailed knowledge” and your “detailed knowledge” go together.

CONTAMINANTS AND INUIT HEALTH

Let me turn briefly to the now well-known issue of long-range transport of persistent organic pollutants (POPs) to the Arctic. Chris Furgal and Eric Loring will speak about work they have done to provide community data and insights needed on the national and international stages.

As many of you know, certain POPs end up in the Arctic and bio-accumulate in the food web, particularly the marine food web. Many Inuit women have levels of POPs in their bodies well above Health Canada’s “level of concern”. We have preliminary evidence that suggests the levels of contaminants our children are exposed to **before** birth can affect their neurological and cognitive capabilities and their immune systems.

The Northern Contaminants Program (NCP) established through the 1991 Green Plan brings together four federal agencies, three territorial governments and four aboriginal peoples organizations—including ITK and ICC (Canada)—to sponsor research needed to get a handle on the problem. It also funds the communication of research results back to the communities and forward into international agencies, to persuade them to sponsor international negotiations to turn off the POPs tap. Ten years after the NCP began, more than 100 nations signed the Global POPs Convention in Stockholm. The Convention entered into force this May 17, 2004.

Negotiations began in Montreal in 1998 and were followed by sessions in Nairobi, Geneva, Bonn and Johannesburg. We used a variety of ways and means to get our perspective and concerns heard. We presented an Inuit carving to Klaus Topfer, Executive Director of UNEP, at a special event, with all the negotiators, in Nairobi. The carving of a mother and child became the “conscience” of the negotiations—we had made the connection and it resonated until the Convention was signed. An image of the carving was highlighted on UNEP’s web page, and the carving sat upon the podium at each and every negotiation session. In Geneva, we showcased sealskin-hunting clothing to illustrate our ongoing ties to the land. In

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Bonn, we were asked by the German hosts to organize a night of aboriginal cultural activities and country food. In Johannesburg we invited delegates to sample caribou and muskox jerky.

We spoke clearly and from the heart at each session, drawing upon research by Canadian scientists. With the support of the Alaskan member of the delegation of the United States, ICC drafted the following preambular clause that is now included in the convention.

“...Arctic ecosystems and indigenous communities are particularly at risk because of the biomagnification of persistent organic pollutants and that contamination of their traditional foods is a public health issue.”

This clause put Inuit and Canada on the map, and helps us to make further connections to speed implementation of the convention.

There are many reasons why this was an example of effective communication. In these global negotiations ICC helped the Government of Canada translate high quality Canadian science into international public policy. Our aim was to protect the health of Inuit and all Canadians.

The POPs story is long and complicated but important. This is why we prepared a book, “Northern Lights Against POPs: Combatting Toxic Threats in the Arctic” to document what happened and why. There are flyers for the book at the back of the room.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND INUIT HEALTH

Let me turn now to climate change. There is no doubt that global climate change is taking place in the Arctic. Inuit hunters and elders have reported, for ten to fifteen years, changes to the natural environment caused by the changing climate. Many of these observations have been published. In November 2004, Arctic Council Ministers will receive the four-year Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA) which projects by 2070 massive depletion of summer sea-ice leaving a remnant around the North Pole. The assessment projects severe disruption of marine habitat, and the likely “extinction” of polar bear, walrus, some species of seal and some marine birds. It is also foresees the “destruction” of Inuit as a hunting culture.

In the POPs debate we were able to use the Northern Contaminants Program to connect Inuit to national and international decision-making. Unfortunately we don’t have a similar vehicle in the climate change debate. When the federal government put its basic climate change policies, institutions and research

programs in place in the mid to late 1990's, the Arctic was virtually ignored and indigenous peoples were all but forgotten. We have been playing catch up ever since. We hope the ACIA—prepared by more than 300 researchers in 15 countries—will encourage the federal government to partner with us and to make-up lost ground. Last week I wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, recommending the establishment of a contaminants-style northern climate change program.

Last November I attended the Conference of Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Milan as a member of Canada's delegation. I was surprised by the interest shown by the media in the Arctic in what we had to say. This particular COP did not easily allow Arctic issues to be heard. Canada did not mention the Arctic in any of its interventions. At ICC's request Samoa raised Arctic perspectives in its plenary intervention. The common challenges of the Small Island States and the Arctic are a perfect example of the connectivity I have spoken about.

Global Climate Change negotiations are highly detailed and technical. There were thousands of delegates and I wondered how we could possibly inject the human dimension, the Arctic voice into the global debate. Had we forgotten the dramatic predictions of changes to our homeland, the Arctic; had we forgotten the Small Island States in the Pacific that may be underwater within my lifetime, had we forgotten the effects on our prairie farmers? The human impacts of climate change seemed to be lost in the technical detail.

A year ago the largest ice shelf in the Arctic broke in half, releasing into the ocean the freshwater lake it enclosed and its unique ecosystem. As the melting ice and winds of change thaw the Northwest Passage, Inuit are likely to be faced with major opportunities and challenges from international shipping. I do not believe that the Government of Canada yet appreciates or is equipped to address the sovereignty implications of climate change in the Arctic.

For the last two years ICC has been exploring the connections between human-induced climate change and human rights. In Milan we held a media and NGO briefing on this topic. The room was filled to overflowing and people from many regions of the world welcomed our attempt to recast debate and bring people and human rights to its very center.

In addressing climate change we have placed our limited resources primarily in two international activities:

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- 1) Participation in the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA). This will be the world's most comprehensive and detailed regional assessment of climate change. Of primary importance to Inuit, we intend this assessment to inform future COPs to the climate change convention. This assessment will be accompanied by policy recommendations. ICC is pressing for an amendment to the preamble to the climate change convention—similar to language in the Stockholm Convention—that acknowledges the Arctic dimension to climate change.
- 2) Submitting a climate change-based petition to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), seeking a declaration that destruction of the Inuit way of life as a result of emission of greenhouse gases, in particular by the United States, amounts to a violation of the human rights of Inuit.

We have discussed the still draft petition with civil servants from federal agencies and with David Anderson and Lloyd Axworthy, former ministers of Environment and Foreign Affairs, respectively. Paulo Pinheiro, the United Nations special rapporteur on human rights, whom I met with recently in Iqaluit, fully supports our strategy to connect climate change with human rights. In the absence of a northern climate change program we intend to use the circumpolar assessment as the information base to support our petition. The petition provides important opportunities to engage the media and to inform governments, non-governmental organizations, and the public at large of the cultural and human implications of climate change in the Arctic. Being 155,000 Inuit in the entire world fighting for our cultural heritage is not so easy; the petition is a vehicle for us to put ourselves on the political map.

ARCTICNET: CONNECTING INTO THE FUTURE

Let me turn briefly to ArcticNet, a new research initiative that has the potential to involve Inuit in a constructive and meaningful way. "The Integrated Natural/Human Health/Social Study on the Changing Arctic" or ArcticNet incorporates the Coast Guard icebreaker *Amundson* to undertake a four-year research project on the effects of global changes in the Canadian Arctic.

Through Canada's Networks of Centres of Excellence (NCE) program, the federal government will invest \$25.7 million in ArcticNet over the next four years. The ArcticNet proposal says, and I quote,

"The central objective of the Network is to translate our growing understanding of the changing Arctic into impact assessments, national policies and adaptation strategies. The

direct involvement of Northerners in the scientific process is a primary goal of the network that will be fulfilled through bilateral exchange of knowledge, training and technology.”

As there was little consultation with Inuit prior to submission of the ArcticNet proposal, ICC (Canada), ITK, and other Inuit organizations thought long and hard whether to support it. In cooperation with NTI and ITK we now sit on the ArcticNet Board of Directors. We intend that ArcticNet will evolve into an effective research and communication program mirrored on the Northern Contaminants Program.

I want to leave you with an important message—the Arctic is now acknowledged as a “barometer” of the globe’s environmental health—the canary in the global coal mine. In February 2003, the United Nations Environment Program Governing Council passed a resolution, which effectively recognized this fact. This recognition sets the scene for a new era of national and international research in the Arctic. Of course the 2007 International Polar Year will also concentrate the attention of researchers in the circumpolar region. In short, the scene is set and the time is right for new and effective partnerships between Inuit and the research community.

Productivity Studies in Greenland: Methodological Problems and Research Design.

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ABSTRACT. The aim of this report is to describe a research design in relation to a project on labour-relations and comparative productivity studies in Greenland and Denmark. As its point of departure the study focuses on the micro level of firms and on the sector level of an export oriented industry, fishing, and the domestic industry construction. In terms of preliminary results on labour-relations, we ran a case study in a Greenland fishing plant. The methodology used was a questionnaire and the results are reported in order to present parts of the design.²

At *first* I will present the productivity debate in Greenland. Often, the self evident truth aired among Danes is not one that rests on scientific analysis. It is one based on story telling and myth building. It seems that there is a higher inclination to talk about unmotivated, unstable and unproductive behavioural patterns at the workplace, the shorter a Danish employee has stayed in Greenland. This suggests the importance of studying workplace relations and productivity. As the next section will show, we have a very limited knowledge of how these important phenomena in reality are, and that the myth building is not founded on solid empirical ground.

Second, I will present the methods discussed in relation to productivity studies in a Danish and international context. Both crude and more sophisticated productivity measures are a part of this presentation. Productivity studies can be performed as macro economic studies, studies at the industry level, and microeconomic studies at the level of the firm. In this paper I will refer to generally accepted methods and refer to methodological problems related to productivity studies. Additionally, I will put this into a Greenland perspective. Summarizing the practical implications of compiling data regarding output, intermediate goods and services, value added, national income data of wages and residual incomes, labour input, depreciation, inventories, investments and capital service, an overview of stages in data compilation can be established.

Third, I will introduce the method of an empirical study containing both a questionnaire battery and quantitative data compilation of a financial character. The connection between the outcome variable of productivity and the labour-relation variables is one of incentives, both economic and workplace related. Besides payroll data, good workplace relations and employee participation in decision making and ownership are considered crucial, when it comes to commitment and motivation among employees.

¹ Ph.D., Former professor at the dept. of Administration, Ilisimatusarfik (Greenland University).

² The project 'Productivity studies in Greenland' is co-financed by the research unit of the Home Rule Department of Culture, Education, the Church and Research, the Nuna Foundation, The Employment Fund of the Greenland Trade Unions, and the Commission for Scientific Research in Greenland. I am indebted to Keld Jensen of the Self-government commission of Greenland and the Home Rule Government Dept. of Self-government who took an interest in the project and came up with interesting suggestions regarding content and literature. Moreover, I am indebted to The Greenland trade unions, and the chairman Jess G. Berthelsen (SIK) and the chief statistician Birger Poppel of Statistics Greenland, for both interest, comments and moral support, besides the financial support already mentioned from the SIK. All errors and shortcomings in this report can only be ascribed to the author. Finally it should be mentioned that MA in Administration Karoline Mathiassen did a great job regarding testing questionnaires at the first company approached in our analysis.

THE PRODUCTIVITY DEBATE IN GREENLAND

Besides the micro level of the firm and the industry level, productivity studies are performed at the macro level of the economy. In Greenland there are practically speaking no studies of productivity, and contributions to the literature are scarce in numbers. Whatever approach available, it is related to the macro level.

The Danish Supply-sider Martin Paldam introduced the measure 'production per employed' in his 1994 book on the Greenland Economy (Paldam, 1994, pp 34 – 37), focalising on a GDP measure containing value added in Greenland without any impact from the block grant from the Danish State, and a measure embracing both the part of value added due to the multiplier effect of the grant, and the multiplier effect of value added of Greenland's own production. The block grant transferred each year amounts to some 3 billion Danish Kroner.³ The block grant comes 'on top of' the GDP, i.e. the national income at disposal for consumption is approximately 40 – 45 % higher than the GDP level. In 2004 the exact national accounting figures from Statistics Greenland were for the GDP 9.2 billion kroner and for the gross national product at factor prices it was 12.4 billions.⁴

Hence a productivity measure cannot include the block grant in itself, because the national income at disposal would be a consumption possibility measure rather than a productivity measure. The two productivity measures are: the GDP per employed including the effects in the Greenland economy due to the block grant, and the domestic GDP – Greenland's own production per head – without this impact included. There is no empirical measure of the size of domestic production; of course it is less than GDP – Paldam conjectures the size of own production to be 45% of the GDP, an amount not substantiated by a data compilation. According to Paldam, the wage level in Greenland is determined by the Danish wage level, which in turn is determined by the productivity level in Denmark.⁵ Accordingly, the wage level in Greenland is too high, if one uses the value added per head in domestic production as the yardstick for, how high the wage level should be. The productivity level must then be lower than in Denmark, if a productivity measure based on value added in domestic production was used instead of GDP per head.⁶

³ The exchange rate of August 2004 was 600 D.Kr. for 100 US \$ or approximately 17 US \$ for 100 D.Kr.

⁴ Statistics Greenland, 2004.

⁵ The subsistence economy is not included in the GDP measure. Thus the conjecture is probably underestimating the value of domestic production.

⁶ The wage level in Greenland is actually considerably lower than in Denmark. The minimum payroll of unskilled labour in Greenland is some 20% - 25% lower than in Denmark. This gap between income levels is seen in other occupations as well, including academic occupations.

The shortcoming of such arguments is related to the assumption that the block grant is ‘a gift’ or in economic terms a unilateral transfer of income from the Danish State to the Home Rule State. A typical argument is, that if Denmark did not transfer income, the transfer would be available within the Danish economic circuit instead of as now in Greenland. This argument is wrong because the only alternative available within the realm of the Danish Kingdom is the situation as it was before 1979, when Home rule was incepted. In any event, back in those days the State would have expenditures related to the Ministry of Greenland Affairs, related to the operations of the Royal Greenland Trade which had the same status on the fiscal budget as the Railway system, and related to several other ministries' operations regarding Greenland.⁷ In that sense the Danish State would anyway see expenditures on Greenland.

Thus, the establishment of Home Rule and the block grant that accompanied it should be seen as a payment for a service, that was necessary and hitherto rendered by the state. Arguing like Paldam, can only be justified if Greenland was an independent and self reliant micro state, which neither a majority of Greenlanders, nor a majority of Danes favour.

Moreover, Denmark also has advantages concerning the economic relations with Greenland. Most of Greenland's imports stem from Denmark, and in 2002 we saw statistical evidence that there is a considerable outflow related to capital exports and compensation to Danish employees in Greenland and Denmark, and Danish property- and Danish entrepreneurial incomes going mainly to Denmark and, to a small degree, to the rest of the world (Selvstyrekommisionen, 2002).

In a similar discussion, four economists elaborated a ‘country survey’ for the Rural and Regional Development Program of the OECD's Territorial Development Service in 1999. They used both a measure of GDP per head and one of ‘own production per head’, assuming that this can be calculated on the basis of aggregate output and employment as in Table 1 below (OECD, 1999, p. 20).⁸

The conclusion presented by OECD, based on those figures, did not doubt that productivity in the Greenlandic economy is too low, despite methodological problems (OECD, 1999, p. 20):

‘If GDP is used as the basis for the calculation, labour productivity in Greenland is 69 per cent of the productivity in Denmark, but only 34% if Greenland's own production is used (table). Though such figures should be interpreted with great caution, the broad conclusion remains, that average productivity is much lower in Greenland than in Denmark. Furthermore, the Danish workforce in Greenland is

⁷ Before parts of the Danish Railways were privatised, and before the Danish Railways were made an independent company, it was on the State's fiscal budget as a so-called §2 enterprise.

⁸ The measure ‘own production’ was based on Paldam's conjectures. The OECD report mentions that the subsistence economy of Greenland is not included in the national income statistics figures. The value of the ‘own production’ is therefore underestimated.

among the highest paid and thereby contributes much to GDP. Thus, GDP per employee, i.e. productivity, among the Greenland workforce is even lower⁹

Although held in a cautious academic phraseology, there are still, besides what is already implicitly stated, several problems related to this conclusion. The problems are first of all the question of comparability and second problems related to measurement of productivity. I shall return to the last mentioned in the next section.

Table 1: *The OECD approach to labour productivity in 1996 (current prices).*⁹

	Greenland	Denmark
Employment, in 1000 persons	25	2.649
GDP, billions Danish Kroner	6.946	1.065.880
Own Production	3.126	1.065.880
Productivity, GDP per employee	276	402
Index	69	100
Productivity, own production per employee	124	402
Index	31	100

(Source: OECD, 1999)

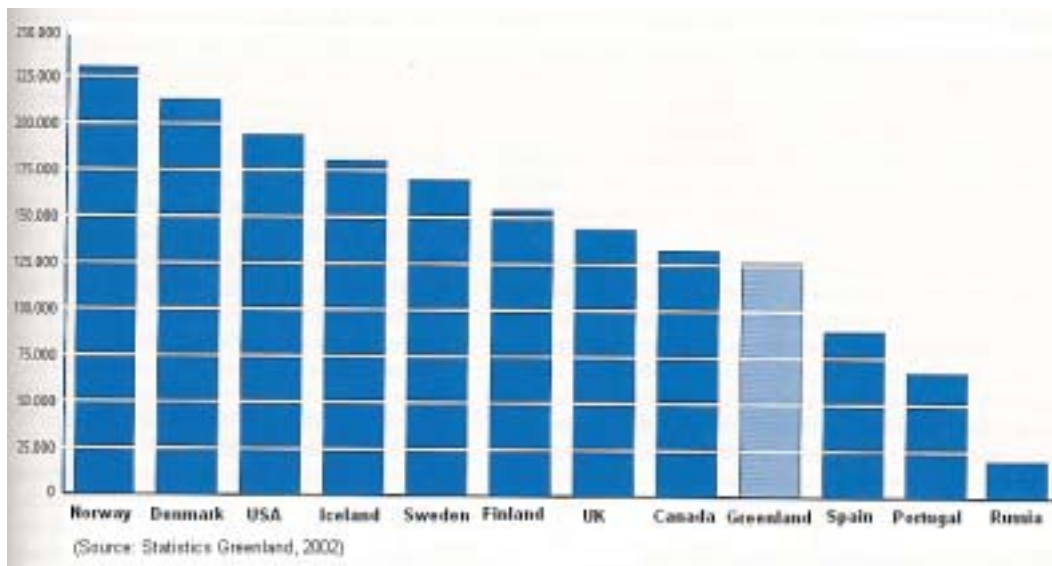


Figure 1: *GDP per capita in Greenland and in OECD countries in 1997 (Danish Kr).*

⁹ Deflating the output figures would have been a more accurate measure, in order to control the impact of inflation on the level of output. The whole question of differences in rates of inflation among the countries compared is not addressed. This problem is not dealt with either in the GDP per capita figures below in Figure 1.

Comparative empirical macroeconomic analysis is at worst a very speculative affair, because analysis often is encumbered with insecurity due to data problems or misinterpretations of the data at hand, due to confounding variables. There may be ‘lurking background variables’ forgotten or not at hand, with just as much explanatory power as the explanatory power ascribed to interpretations of the data available. Obviously, comparing an Arctic region to an OECD country may contain pitfalls due to differences in production factor equipment, due to differences in national wealth, due to differences in access to resources, due to differences in levels of human capital, due to differences in levels of technology, due to differences in taxation and subsidies, and due to very different geographical circumstances.¹⁰ That may not have as pleasing a consequence as seen in a comparative systems approach, interpreting problems of the Greenland Economy as ‘systemic’, i.e. the economic system is too collectivised. Furthermore, it is argued, that there is a dire need to roll back the frontiers of the Home Rule State, and perfect competitive markets and free pricing are necessary, just to mention a few of the OECD virtues completely in line with the neo-liberal and supply-side view of Martin Paldam. Nonetheless, it is a mistake to ascribe the low figures of GDP per employee to an alleged lower productivity if the problem instead is geographically explained, e.g. infrastructure costs both in terms of net-investments, operational cost and transportation cost are much higher in Greenland, the climatic conditions effect the costs of material inputs and construction and ownership structures and market forms are of a different kind. Regarding the last mentioned physical and economic planning, regulated markets, hierarchies and monopolistic markets have proven more viable than competitive markets in Greenland. The size of Government involvement is as in other Northern regions considerable, partly due to the take over of activities hitherto taken care of by the Danish State – in that sense big government was not a Greenland invention, but something imported in accordance with colonial customs and traditions. Hence, a lower value added is, what is often seen and that cannot be ascribed solely to lower labour productivity!

Denmark is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of GDP per capita – not to be confused with GDP per employed. Yet these figures tell us something about an economy’s ability to create wealth, the constraints mentioned taken into account. Productivity growth is important to these figures, because it is one causal factor to potential high material standards of living in a country.¹¹

¹⁰ Differences in taxation and subsidies have an effect on national income accounting and measures of GDP at factor cost.

¹¹ That is of course not to say that productivity growth and welfare growth are the same thing. The whole debate regarding human welfare, satisfaction of human needs and quality of life cannot solely be covered by an economic measure; nonetheless to exclude a material or economic measure probably should be considered a necessary precondition for fulfilling non-economic needs.

Probably Iceland and to a certain extent Canada are the most comparable economies and in this instance Greenland is closer at the GDP figures per capita (per inhabitant) measure than to Norway and Denmark. Yet the most sober comparison would of course be to compare GDP *per employed* to other arctic regions like North Slope Borough in Alaska, Nunavut and Nunavik and the new North West Territory in Arctic Canada, Northern regions of Scandinavia and to a certain extent Northern regions of Russia – the differences to the last mentioned in terms of lurking explanatory variables may still be too big. The open question remains, whether the conclusions of Paldam and the OECD report stand on solid empirical ground. Hopefully my discussion here reflects the fact that it is far from being the case.

Nevertheless such methodological problems do unfortunately not reflect the debates on productivity in Greenland. It is often presented as a fact that Inuit workers are unstable, unmotivated and unproductive, which of course can not be excluded when it comes to socially marginalized and outcast members of society. Probably that phenomenon is, although less visible, seen in other places as well.

The CEO Keld Askjær of the ‘Royal Greenland’ fishing-industrial complex in Greenland could, at a conference in the Danish parliament arranged by the Self-government Commission, tell the audience that the precondition for enhanced independence is increased productivity (Askjaer, unpublished, 2003):

‘In Greenland the goal for most people is independence. Of course – independence must be a natural demand for every people. But will we carry out the necessary changes to reach increased independence. Changes and structural adjustments require effort, goal orientation and endurance. Yes - requires courage? Are we ready for that? That is my question, because lack of courage is after my opinion the sole obstacle, to Greenland creating an increased productivity – and thus an increased independence. I refer to the latest OECD report documenting that productivity in Greenland is much lower than in the countries, we rather would like to be compared to’

Especially the last part of the quote tells us, why further empirical research on productivity is so imperative. The every day conscience of Danes in Greenland creates wishful thinking, what is not accurately analysed becomes now ‘documentation’!

Another pre-indication of lack of empirical research is related to the question of absenteeism at Greenland workplaces. Stories about people turning sick too often, either due to alienated attitudes or due to being intoxicated by alcohol or drugs, are often aired as examples of the cause of 'shirking' from the job,

what seems a self-evident truth. Inuit workers are less stable than Danish workers or workers in other OECD countries. In 2004 the Home Rule Department of Industry, agriculture and labour market relations published the result of an empirical analysis of absenteeism at Greenland workplaces (Direktoratet for erhverv, landbrug og arbejdsmarked, Nuuk 2004).

According to the report absenteeism in 2003 in a number of important enterprises, the Home Rule Administration and the municipal administration of Nuuk was approximately the same as in Denmark. Absenteeism, as the ratio of work hours lost to the number agreed upon in the collective agreement on the labour market, was 5.7%, while in Denmark it was 5% - in comparable countries like Sweden and the Netherlands it was two to three times higher than in Denmark, or approximately a corresponding amount of times as appraised in Greenland. Absenteeism is explained by 3 causes. First, it is related to personal lifestyles (alcoholism, drugs, malnutrition etc.), second it is explained by an insufficient psychological work environment and hence alienated attitudes (payroll, little worker participation, and poor management), and third the explanation lies in a broader social context. If schools and day care are malfunctioning, cases of illness among children rise. Obviously absenteeism is a societal loss and it has a bearing on labour productivity. However, the statistics at hand are not as alarming as one would suspect, considering the usual 'story telling' among Danes.

PRODUCTIVITY MEASUREMENT PROBLEMS

Productivity studies were of special importance in Denmark in the late eighties, because growth in productivity was unusually low (Gjerding et al., 1988 and 1990). These studies also gave a useful summary of methodological problems related to productivity studies – problems not reflected in the few hesitant approaches to studies of productivity in Greenland just presented. The over arching problem, both in the Paldam and the OECD approaches, is the crude 'output per employee' measure. Summarizing productivity measures will reveal many possible approaches to empirical analysis, because:

'..there is no and neither could there be an unambiguous concept of productivity, that clearly and equivocally measures unit of output per unit of input in the production process (Næs Gjerding et al., 1988 p. 7)'

The problem important to the methodological discussion launched in relation to the Greenland economy is related to the question of measuring inputs (factor of production). In the measures presented in

the Greenland context, labour input and labour productivity are considered crucial. We have several measures available here. Input can be measured as number of employed, number of work hours supplied, or number of man years supplied.

If growth in labour productivity does not take into account other inputs, one may overestimate the contribution of labour to *total productivity*. In our context, comparatively speaking, the problem is not as much related to causes of high productivity as it is to low productivity. Yet the reverse problem is that relative low productivity figures in Greenland may be attributed to a low contribution of labour, when compared to productivity measures in other economies like for instance Denmark, measured as GDP per employed. That is not an exact approach to analysis. The propensity to invest in Greenland is low, especially in the private sector and especially in the sector for tradable goods and services. Both Home Rule enterprises and privately owned enterprises export capital and income that could increase the rate of investment in Greenland. Net investments are one way to appraise the input of real capital in the production process. However, if productivity figures in Greenland are too low, it could as well be the other way around. Capital productivity may be too low due to a low propensity to invest in Greenland – in terms of wealth creation, direct investments and portfolio investment flows do not circulate within Greenland. Households and firms prefer ventures outside Greenland, and hence outflows of income, wealth and investments to Denmark and other countries are more predominant than domestic ventures!

Thus, the total productivity measure is a more exact approach than the Paldam and OECD approach.¹² In descriptive statistics a more reliable measure is a weighted measure of total inputs to production, the growth rates and the association between output and input variables. In econometrics estimation of simple production functions are used. Even so these approaches are not flawless. How is the amount of real capital supplied to the production to be measured?¹³ Measurement of labour input can be done with ease, both in physical terms and in real monetary terms, and we have a physical measure variable independent of wage. In that sense unit cost or the price of labour can be determined. The same cannot be done at the macro level for capital input, because physical measures at disaggregated levels are

¹² This is not to say that total factor productivity is always the best approach. Yet in this case where we want to appraise how much capital input contributes to total productivity in Greenland, it is a better approach. The essence of this argument is related to how much capital labour has to work with and how advanced the production equipment is in terms of embodied technical progress.

¹³ In terms of economic theory all this amounts to the ‘capital controversy’ between Cambridge Massachusetts and Cambridge UK economists. In 1953. Joan Robison raised the question of how to estimate Capital, when using the simple Neo-classical production function $Y = f(K,L)$. In production theory, pure competitive pricing and a maximizing economic behaviour creates equilibria where the relative factor prices equals the marginal rate of substitution determined by the marginal products of the two factors capital (K) and labour (L). The assumption of pure competition calls for caution especially in a Greenland context, where competitive markets do not exist.

incommensurable. Should one use tons, cubic meters or the like evaluating the physical variable (Brink, 1975)?¹⁴

In reality one is forced to rely on different proxies for capital inputs, and this causes uncertainty regarding the reliability of the outcome of analysis.¹⁵ We shall elaborate further on data proxies in the next section.

One other point of critique, raised by post-Keynesian economists regarding production function studies rooted in neo-classical economics, is related to the fact that productivity is not just induced by the supply side of the economy, i.e. the question is not just how to allocate efficiency and the incentives insuring that. Productivity is also affected by aggregate demand. Both the supply side and the demand side of the economy cause variations in productivity (Gjerding et al., 1988). Empirically, this could be done regressing the dependent productivity variables, with output and employment as independent variables, both variables in average products added of labour.¹⁶

Despite the methodological problems revealed, it could nonetheless be useful to establish measures for total productivity and its causal variables in a Greenland context, and compare the results to the first crude measures by Paldam and the OECD report. The question on how much capital proxies have contributed to total productivity, either as time series data or as cross section data for one year (the micro level of matched firms, the industry level or the macro level between countries), could illuminate alternative explanations for a relative lower productivity in Greenland? Empirical research has demonstrated that increases in industrial productivity seem positively related to growth in industrial output providing increasing returns to scale in a simple production function.

If the demand side of the economy is included in analysis we have yet another problem related to the crude productivity measure used by Paldam and the OECD report. It is comparatively speaking stated, that Greenland has a low productivity, however the impact of industry demand and aggregate demand is not analysed? It could be, that the self-evident truth of Greenland's unproductive work force is based on ignorance of a lurking variable called insufficient demand. That would of course not be explained by the

¹⁴ In micro studies of production functions, energy consumed in the production process often is considered a reliable proxy for capital inputs.

¹⁵ One may say that the same could be the case of the labour input measure. We are in reality not dealing with homogenous labour. Education and competence building of the work force may enhance educational labour cost, that are not reflected in the physical amount of labour supplied.

¹⁶ This is the Kaldor – Verdoorn approach based on 3 'laws' of growth. The higher industrial growth, the higher is 1) growth in GDP, 2) industry productivity, and 3) productivity in the other sectors of the economy. The relation between the 3 is that the higher aggregate growth is, the larger the difference is between industrial growth and aggregated growth, implying that industrial growth may spur aggregate growth (Gjerding et al., 1988: 78 ff.). Hence, data on investments could be included in analysis.

inflow of unilateral transfers from the Danish State, but it could be explained by a low propensity to invest, due to capital exports and outflows of incomes (net) from Greenland?

DATA COMPILATION IN PRACTICE

Our discussion in the section above has focussed on macro studies of productivity, because the only approach to productivity analysis hitherto has been based on the partial macro measure of GDP per employed. Yet productivity ratios may pertain to the industry level or the company level as well. The problem regarding macro data in a Greenland context is related to capital proxies that cannot be established on the basis of the national income figures established by Statistics Greenland today. Only data for gross figures are rendered, while net figures are lacking, due to the absence of depreciation data. Instead, as will be the point of departure for the data compilation of this project, we have to rely on industry data and company data available from annual reports, business directories and data bases and from interviewing of management in companies. Starting from the micro and meso level will, in a small economy like Greenland's as more and more industries are added, enable us to get figures getting closer to aggregate capital data.

However, some of the macro indicators discussed above can be found in existing databases, i.e. data on production, employment and factor incomes. Based on assumptions regarding marginal products amounting to the factor incomes paid we can get proxies to macro measures.

The productivity measure is as suggested a measure of output to inputs; it is a partial measure, a total factor measure or multi-factor measure either understood as a ratio of output to labour input and capital input, or an weighted index of the two. These methodologies are based on computations of growth rates of productivity and each factor's contribution to this growth, or as in the multi-factor approach, the rates of growth of the inputs are weighted to give one growth rate for the combined inputs (Centre for the Study of Living Standards, 1998: 8 ff.). In Greenland national income accounting we have data for both wages and gross residual income; accordingly we can on the base of time series construct a proxy.

When measuring growth in total factor productivity, this is

*...defined as the growth rate of output minus the growth rate of combined inputs
(just as labor productivity growth equals output growth minus labor input growth).
As the growth rate of capital stock is generally greater than that of employment (and
hence the capital/labor ratio is rising), the growth rate of total factor productivity
(using labor and capital as inputs) is generally less than the growth rate of labor*

productivity. This situation arises from the fact that the growth rate of the combined inputs of capital and labor exceeds that of labor alone (Centre for the study of Living Standards, 1998: 8-9) .

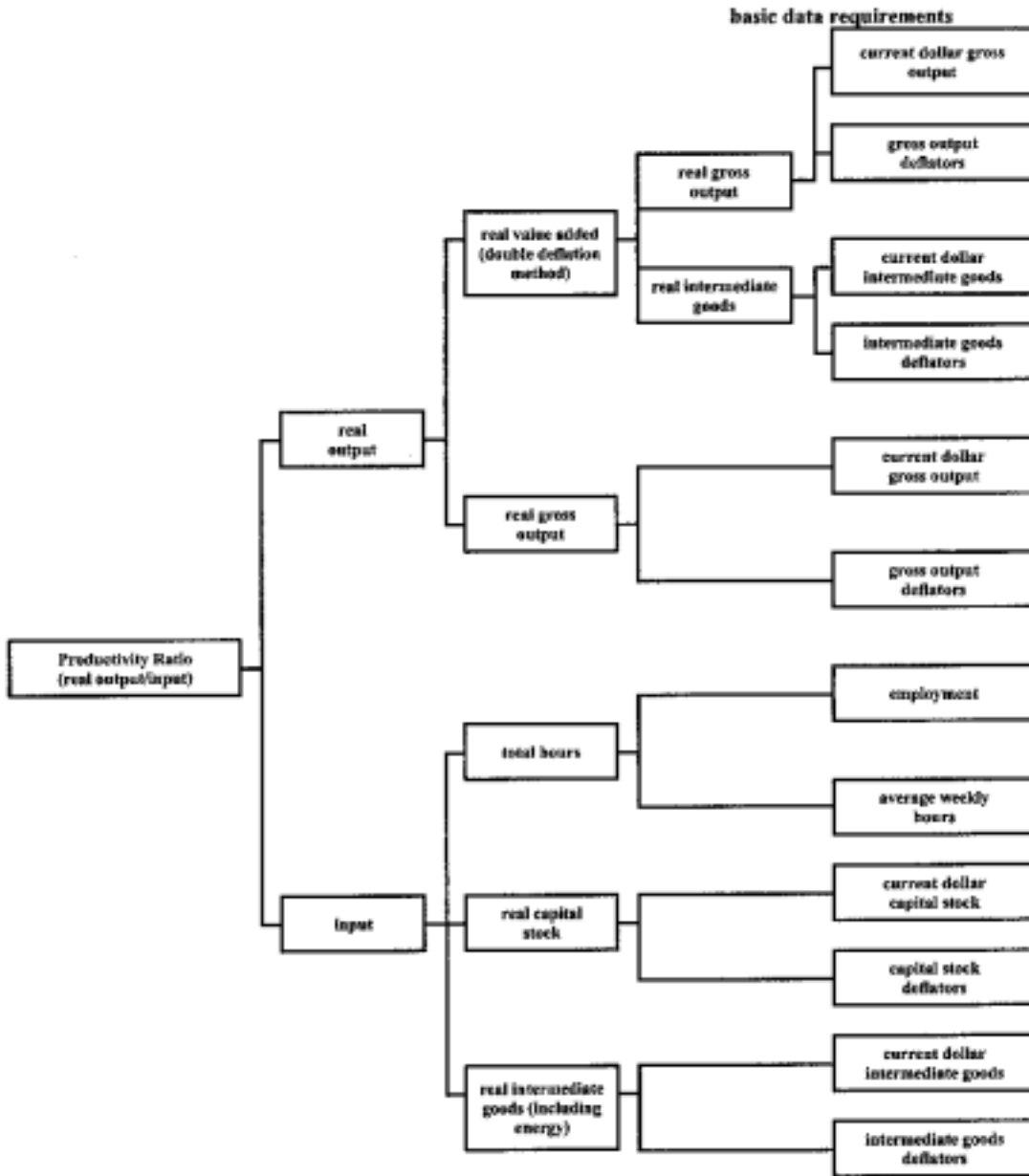
Figure 2 below is a schematic presentation of the elements of data compilation in basic real productivity analysis at the levels of aggregation – the macro level, the industry level and/or company level. In terms of output, two approaches to calculating output are suggested. Either real value added the building block in constructing a GDP measure is used or the real value of gross output is used. A double deflation implies 1) that intermediate goods and services (raw materials, other technical inputs and services into the production process) are subtracted from the value of goods and services sold (the revenues) and 2) both the value of output and intermediate goods and services are deflated with price indexes. The other measure real gross output only implies deflating the value of goods and services sold. Usually in national income accounting it is considered a less accurate productivity proxy because inputs in a chain of input-output relations would be counted several times for each stage in the processing sector. Final demand or value added is the total gross output minus total output from one industry sold to other industries as inputs in their production processes.¹⁷

The other aspect of calculations of the 3 types of productivity ratios mentioned above is related to data on inputs. These could take a physical form or an approximated physical form. In Figure 2 total hours worked are used in order to calculate weekly averages; the proxy for the real capital measure is real capital stock understood as deflated values for investments, inventories, depreciation and capital services. The third, real intermediate goods and services are, as the real capital stock, based on a price index used as a deflator. Calculations of a capital proxy then include fixed (real-) capital and inventories and intermediate goods understood as raw materials and energy.

These technical inputs may be complementary inputs or inputs that are non-substitutes for capital. That being the case, we have another proxy used in micro-studies for capital inputs, e.g. energy inputs gives us a proxy of the variance in physical capital. An increased energy input indicates an increase in capital input.

As mentioned in the section above and assuming that factors of production are remunerated with the value of their marginal products, which is equal to the income of factors of production (wages and a residual

¹⁷ The factor incomes derived from value added is corrected for commodity related taxes and subsidies and non-commodity related taxes and subsidies.



(Centre for the Study of Living Standards, 1993, p. 12)

Figure 2: Elements of the Basic Data Compilation in Productivity Studies.

assumed to cover rental incomes, depreciation and net profits).¹⁸ Real incomes of factors of production (capital and labour) equals real value added in Figure 2. The income shares of factor inputs can be used to weigh input growth rates when calculating an index of total factor productivity.

PRODUCTIVITY AND WORK PLACE INCENTIVES

One other important aspect, when studying productivity is related to workplace incentives, i.e. payroll data, data on workplace relations, and data on employee participation in decision-making and finance. The human factor is often not considered important in the productivity debate although there is mounting evidence suggesting to us that participation variables have a strong explanatory power to explain variance in value added at the level of the firm (Winther, 1995, Winther and Maren, 1997). These variables, combined with workplace relations or causing them, are often forgotten in the productivity debate, that instead stresses the arguments made in the section above. A de-alienated work force may be a very important factor when it comes to minor innovations at the work place and when it comes to further attempts to enhance productivity, when all other possible impacts have been employed in the production process. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that while the intensity of labour supplied is an important factor that does affect labour productivity, this is of less importance. The amount of capital an employee has to work with and the level of technology has often, as suggested in empirical studies, more explanatory power in relation to the variance in output. The argument on capital as a crucial growth factor was raised by the Danish economist Hans Brems during the congressional hearings on employee ownership in 1975 in a debate on the concept of capital (Op. cit. Winther, 1995; Brems, 1975). Economic theory and empirical studies on the aggregate production function conclude that capital and technological progress are main factors in increasing factor productivity throughout the century.

When including workplace incentives in analysis the marginal productivity gains due to this will only gain in importance, when we are comparing firms, industries and economies with identical conditions. Jaroslav Vanek's book 'The General Theory of Labor-managed Market Economies' stressed humanized work places as an important aspect:

Conceived as a fundamental principle of human production, labor management thus appears as a principle founded on integral, active human involvement. As such it is

¹⁸ Assuming that the marginal rate of substitution is the ratio of marginal productivity of capital to that of labour equal to the ratio of factor incomes. This is based on the neo-classical production function approach assuming constant returns to scale. It should not be forgotten that there is long living tradition of critiquing this from non-neo classical economist pointing out that the increasing and decreasing returns to scale function is more appropriate.

in sharp contrast with management and control by the owners of capital, who need not be and most often are not humanly and actively involved. The moral, psychological, and social implications of these facts are far reaching. Perhaps the most important is that we have in labor management a precondition for a truly egalitarian and classless society. Moreover, the status and dignity of human work and activity is increased and thus a more natural balance is attained with the status of ownership. Finally, in an active involvement in labor management resides a way - perhaps the only way - out of alienation of the workingman in modern industrial society (Vanek, 1970, p 5).

The implications of the egalitarian labour-managed society are quite contrary to both the trickle-down and equity-efficiency trade off arguments coming from right wing supply-siders. In part III of *General theory* Vanek analysed incentives and efficiency in a labour-managed firm, and he tries to develop a theory that includes the social psychological behavioural factors of motivation and commitment among employees participating in profit sharing and decision-making. In order to give behavioural theories an economic content he includes two types of incentives in comparative analysis. Both profit sharing and participatory decision making are incentives for supply of labour to the collective (Vanek, 1970, pp238-248). The essence of Vanek's approach is presented in a modified form in Figure 3 below. The key variables denoted L and -L refer to the situation where an employee either can supply labour (L) or he can demand it as his own leisure, i.e. he does not work (-L). The result of supplying labour, the work effort, has at least three components, that is to say duration of work measured in hours per day, intensity of work, and quality of the product or service rendered. Classifying efforts in this way is important because, comparatively speaking, both the profit sharing incentive and the participation in ownership and decision making incentive will cause a higher value added in the participatory or labour-managed firm than in any other known firm not having these characteristics, *ceteris paribus*.

In Figure 3 we are comparing a representative or average employee in the democratic firm to an employee in a conventional capitalist firm. Moving to the right along the horizontal axis from the origin **0'** increases the demand for leisure (decreases the supply of labour) and moving to the left from the origin **0** increases the supply of labour (decreases the demand for leisure). At the vertical axis the value added or income per employee is measured as both the ordinary wage and a share of profits; the curve in the plane is then an income possibility curve, and it starts at point **D** with a negative income, because the efforts

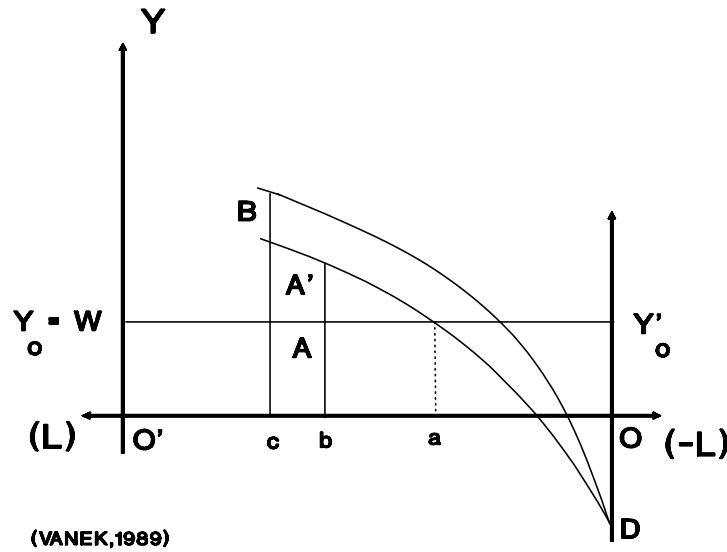


Figure 3: Comparative supply of labour

supplied are insufficient to cover the fixed costs per head. The lower income curve represents income per head without the motivational incentives attached to participative decision-making, while the upper curve depicts a participatory firm with profit sharing and the conventional firm.

The employee in a capitalist firm is hired under a contract, that fixes the payroll and the conditions under which the job is to be performed - the fixed wage Y_o (w for wage) will be constant no matter how much labour is supplied by the representative employee or how much leisure the same employee demands. The point a at the $L - L$ axis represents the zero profit equilibrium, while the point b represents a situation with an above normal profit per employee. A short run fluctuation in demand could increase profits in the capitalist firm, the distance $A-A'$ then measures the representative employee's profit contribution to the owner of the firm. Provided that the firm operates with these excess profits the distance $0-b$ represents the agreement between the employer and the employee on the minimum acceptable effort. If the employees supply less labour, to the right of b , they would be breaking the contract, and if they supply more labour, to the left of b , they would be 'eager beavers' raising peer pressure mechanisms to counteract this behaviour. In most cases we would expect an alienated behaviour resulting in exactly the point b ; no more - no less. Had we included representative indifference curves, we could have shown that the average employee in a capitalist firm had a lower total utility than the employee in the democratic firm (Vanek, 1970: 238-253). In the democratic firm, the average employee is not contributing a profit share to the owner; instead he receives his profit share after all capital costs are covered. This creates an above normal monetary reward to the representative employee in the participatory and labour-managed firm. Depending on whether the

substitution or income effect is strongest, the pecuniary effect of profit sharing in itself could lead to a comparatively speaking higher supply of labour in the democratic firm than in the capitalist firm.

In the light of the comparative systems approach put forward by foremost Paldam in 1994, systemic efficiency problems have been related to the Home Rule companies, where stock is held either solely by the Home Rule Government, or stock is partly held due to a joint venture structure. Vanek presented this model to a Czech audience in 1989, discussing how the employee in a typical 'Etatist' firm would behave when compared to a capitalist firm (Vanek, 1989: 99 ff.). If Government companies are that much less efficient than a capitalist firm, one may expect that the representative employee would lie even further to the right of **a** in the state run firm with a lower labour input as a consequence, and hence also a lower labour productivity below **Y-Y'**. Before 1989, the typical Soviet or Eastern European worker would probably lie to the right of **a**, but whether that is the case for employees in Greenland Home Rule owned firms is unknown due to lack of empirical evidence.

Including the behavioural incentives of positive labour relations and employee participation in decision-making and finance, the income possibility curve turns upward around **D** with a higher value added to share among the members of the collective of employees. Value added per employee is a micro measure of productivity, hence the theory claims, provided the firms have identical production functions and technologies and face identical prices and markets, that there is an additional productivity effect. The employee is more committed and less alienated than seen in the capitalist twin, she needs less supervision, she is more productive and creative in terms of cost savings for the firm, and accordingly she may decide to supply more labour in terms of duration, intensity and quality. If the income effect were stronger than the substitution effect, it would still imply a higher welfare than for the employee in the capitalist firm.

DATA COMPILATION IN A GREENLAND MICROECONOMIC CONTEXT

Sampling of companies in Greenland and Denmark could at least for Greenland create proxies for industry data, provided that samples of companies are sufficiently large. Comparative sampling is a cumbersome task, yet in case of a poor data base, there may be no other way than 'starting from scratch' (Winther, 1995 pp. 19 – 31).¹⁹ One simple approach to micro analysis is to do the comparative sampling as matched pairs of firms using simple indexation methods to establish variables measured in real monetary

¹⁹ Sampling employee ownership companies, as I did in New York State in 1990 – 91, had no other way than going to business directories and to compile data using questionnaires; there were no data whatsoever for New York employee ownership companies. Although the situation has improved since the eighties, this situation is quite similar to the social scientific statistical landscape for Greenland. Data are still hard to come by.

terms. When comparing Greenland companies to Danish companies within the same line of business (industry) we would have to correct for inflation using, respectively, data from each of the two.

The project on comparative productivity studies in Greenland and Denmark could then include the causal variables already discussed, applying the following research design:

- A comparative study of production plants in the fishing and food industry in Greenland and Denmark. Moreover a study of construction and house building companies. In the Greenland case this gives us the possibility to appraise differences between a less competition imposed domestic industry and an industry facing competition on Danish and other foreign markets? The study will comprise output data, data on inventories, intermediate goods and services, employment, depreciation, net investments, energy consumption, wages, rents and net profits, in order to establish a value added measure. Using these data, partial, total and multi-factor productivity measures can be estimated, either in terms of descriptive statistics of growth, or in terms of production functions in accordance with the methodological discussions presented above. Furthermore we can control for demand-side impacts on productivity. Data will be compiled wherever possible from Statistics Greenland, company reports, business directories, and databases and through interviewing of management in companies.
- The project will take the 3 levels of aggregation – micro, industry and macro – as its point of departure. This is not to create an overwhelming and impossible task. It is due to difficulties obtaining access to relevant statistical data in Greenland. Besides creating partial results, where data can be obtained, it is of importance to identify gaps and shortcomings in statistics on the Greenland economy, in order to have these problems illuminated and possibly solved as soon as possible.
- The study of workplace relations employs quantitative data compilation from business data sources, companies annual reports, and a set of questionnaires. The set of questionnaires includes one for employees and one for management. The last is in order to catch up on data not attainable in primary sources, and to get management's view on employee outcomes. The problem of asking employees is of course that it is extremely time consuming; it may be that larger samples would have to rely on employer perceptions alone, which would bias the results obtained.
- An analysis of data on personnel turnover, shirking, and work-place relations will be compiled. Moreover, data will be compiled on labour-management co-operation, employee participation and

commitment and motivation as a part of the set of questionnaires. We will introduce this in the next section.

At the theoretical level, the general analysis of causality is not sufficient to explain productivity levels. Of course of equal importance are unique Greenland conditions entailing the labour market and industrial development that may gain importance in explanations on how incentives work for both employer and employee. In order to supply the factors capital and labour as efficiently as possible, co-operation between management and employees, the workplace relations and employee participation are crucial variables in analysis. Lack of competition and imperfect markets are an outspoken phenomenon in a Greenland context, and this may be an obstacle to efficient operations of firms in both the fishing industry and in construction.²⁰

In the fishing industry, 'Royal Greenland' possesses market power that resembles a monopoly – there is one seller along with a small seller in the settlement (Nuka Inc.) and a few private smaller plants in some towns. A deficiency in terms of physical and economic planning is an impediment to an efficient utilization of renovation funds and funds for net investment on the Home Rule fiscal budget appropriated for construction.

The loss of stability, regarding both demand and supply at the labour market, coincides with pictures of alienated, pacified and resigning employees. In essence, work life is often de-humanized instead of possessing the characteristics discussed in the Vanek-model in the former section. There are system immanent factors that could enhance efficiency with the purpose of improving Greenland's competitiveness. Likewise, general incentive structures play a part (technological development, the private propensity to invest, the wage formation, the real wage level, labour relations, and employee participation).

A CASE STUDY ON WORKPLACE RELATIONS

The questionnaire was tested at a fishing industrial plant 'Polar Raajat' in Nuuk in 2003 by a dual language interviewer Karoline Mathiassen, who had translated the questionnaire from Danish to

²⁰ A fluctuating demand for labour is related to the landing of living resources to the production plants on shore. On days where landings of for instance fish are scarce, there is no work at the factory. Employees are not granted any securities for a stable and permanent income. The term seasonal worker or workers hired on a day to day basis offloading ships in docks and harbours is what best fits to the conditions Greenland employees face.

Kalaallisut.²¹ The interviews were carried through at the factory as a combination of a dialogue with individual employees and a final interview based on the questionnaire (Winther & Mathiassen, 2003).

The questionnaire is based on arbitrary scaling. The respondents were presented a line of statements involving the scaling:

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Slightly disagree
4. Neither disagree nor agree
5. Slightly agree
6. Agree
7. Strongly agree

The rate of response was 62.5% for 32 employees and the sample was self-selected.²² Some of the employees did not want to participate and some were not present at the factory in the period the interviews took place. In a factory of this type there is often a considerable number of employees hired on a temporary basis, and this may cause a bias in the replies received. For each variable constructed, several statements and questions were involved in order to control for the reliability of the answers obtained.

The results of the analysis in terms of calculated means and frequency distributions are presented in tables 2 and 3 below. The scaling 5.9 for the first statement 'job satisfaction' shows the respondents on average agree to statements regarding their 'job satisfaction'. The frequency distribution tells us that 95% of employees either 'slightly agree', 'agree' or 'strongly agree' to positive statements concerning 'job satisfaction' (footnote 2 of Table 2). It seems that employees in general at Polar Raajat are satisfied with their job. The variable contains 3 statements (one with a reversed score) regarding whether the employees like working in the company and whether they are satisfied with their job.

The second variable 'organizational commitment' measures the relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in the company. Nine statements constitute this variable. An employee can be satisfied with her job, yet that does not tell us whether she is unhappy about the organisation, management and the company in general. Table 2 confirms that employees in general both are happy about their job and that they are positive about the organization and the company – many of the employees confirmed they are proud to tell others that they work for 'Polar Raajat'. They agree to the following statements – they are willing to work more and do their best if needed, and they think that the company

²¹ The questionnaire was partly used in a project I implemented in Washington State on employee owners perceptions on their work place and their employee stock-ownership plan. The questions related to labour relations and employee participation in decision making were used at 'Polar Raajat' in a modified form (Rosen et al., 1986; Winther, 1999).

²² Seen against a North American background, the size of enterprises in Greenland is often small or medium sized.

inspires and means something to them. However, one of the statements did produce awkward answers – the statement *‘I find that my values and the organization’s are very similar’* yielded the results of respondents neither agreeing nor disagreeing. This is difficult to interpret, and one may conjecture, whether cultural determined differences of values are at play. The factory has a Danish manager, while the employees are Inuit. Nevertheless, the mean is 5.1 close to the level ‘agree’ and the frequency distribution is 75% of the respondents agreeing at some level. It does not seem that there are organizational and management related problems in this company.

Table 2: Means and Frequency Distributions for workplace variables in the company ‘Polar Raajat.

	Mean	% of respondents ¹
Job satisfaction	5.9	95% ²
Organizational Commitment	5.1	75% ³
Turnover intention	3.2	70% ⁴
Absence	1.8	85% ⁵
Too late at work	1.7	75% ⁶
Shirking	1.3	70% ⁷
Pay Satisfaction	4.8	60% ⁸

1. The Mean indicates the average score among the informants. Frequency distribution indicates how many percent of the informants who corroborate or deny statements.
2. The score 5.9 means, that the responses lie close to the score 6 (‘agree’). 95% of the informants declared they agreed, that they are satisfied with their job. They either slightly (20%), agree (25%) or strongly agree (50%).
3. The score 5.1 means, that the responses lie close to the score ‘slightly agree’. 20% are slightly agreeing to the statement of identifying own values with the company’s, were enthusiastic for the company or were willing to sacrifice something for the company. 25% declared they agreed to this and 50% were strongly agreeing.
4. On the other hand, here we asked the respondents to agree or disagree to statements concerning the probability of quitting the job. The mean 3 is beneath the level where a respondent declares, that this to a certain degree is probable (the score 4). 15% slightly disagreed that they would quit within the next year, 20% disagreed and 35% strongly disagreed.
5. 1.8 implies that an employee check a degree of absence equal to at the highest twice a year. 40% declared it very seldom (once a year) and 45% declared absence to twice a year.
6. 1.7 implies that the informants at most are late for work once a month. 65% declared that they are only late twice a year or less, 10% said it is about once a month.
7. 1.3 implies, that the informants at most are shirking one hour or less during a work day. 70% of the respondents agreed to this, while 30% agreed to taking breaks between 1 and 2 hours daily not covered by collective bargaining. None declared more than 2 hours.
8. The score 4.8 implies that the informants slightly agree to the statement of being satisfied by the payroll of the company. 20% slightly agreed, 30% agreed and 10% strongly agreed.

The answer to statements concerning ‘Turnover intention’ (3 statements) does not preclude that some of the employees are inclined towards taking the decision of finding a new job in the near future (one year). Yet, they are not sure they will do it, because the perceived attitudes reveal that they neither disagree nor

agree. A statement regarding the employees often are contemplating to quit did show that 70% disagreed to this statement or they were reluctant to say something specific about this.

'Absence' showed that the informants are absent from work twice a month or less (the mean 1,8). The answer regarding absence points to the same as revealed above in relation to the report from the Home Rule Department of Industry, Agriculture and Labour Market. It does not seem that Inuit employees are absent more than is normally the case on the Danish labour market. 'Being late at work' shows responses inclined towards twice a month, While responses on shirking were inclined towards one hour daily or less. This is also reflected in the frequency distributions. 85% of the respondents say that it is very seldom that the respondent is absent at the highest twice a year (40% checked once a year). 65% said they were late less than twice a year, while 70% of the respondents said they took breaks not agreed upon in collective agreements less than one hour daily.

Concerning pay satisfaction, the employees show a slightly lower enthusiasm than seen in relation to job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Nonetheless the results point in the same direction they slightly agree to positive statements regarding their pay and a majority of the respondents (60%) confirms a positive pay satisfaction. Pay satisfaction is of course an important variable in explaining outcome variables like motivation, commitment and productivity – here we have the three variables of absenteeism, late at work, and shirking, indirectly influencing productivity.

However employee participation is another important variable when analysing incentives. Both pay satisfaction and employee participation in decision-making and ownership are important factors in explaining variance in productivity variables. The company in question here, 'Polar Raajat', has however no employee-ownership plans, so we shall concentrate on employee participation in decision-making.

The respondents are, as was the case for pay satisfaction, more reserved in their answers to the statements of how much co-operation between management and employees and how much employee involvement there is? The employees slightly agreed that management put emphasis on co-operation and involvement, and that it is the management philosophy concerning employee participation that paved the way for involvement in decision-making. At the same time they slightly agreed that they were being treated as equals. The weakest score however was the statement of 'we can ourselves take decisions in our daily work', even though the respondents were inclined towards the level of slightly agreeing.

With respect to the central variable '*impact on work efforts, economic results and productivity*', we again received a remarkable result. The respondents declared they agree with the statement saying that a co-operational climate and employee involvement make each individual more interested in the company's

success, one works harder due to this, which is confirmed by a majority the respondents agreeing to these statements at one of the positive levels. This corroborates that the employees think, that a well functioning labour-management co-operation and employee involvement in operational decisions will strengthen the company regarding the different competition indicators in the statements. If there is a high degree of participation this should make ‘Polar Raajat’ a competitive company, when compared to other companies within the same line of business.

Table 3: Means and Frequency Distributions for co-operation and employee participation variables in the company ‘Polar Raajat’.

	Mean	% of respondents ¹
Satisfaction with co-operation and participation	5.7	95 % ²
Degree of co-operation and participation	4.9	70 % ³
Impact on work efforts, economic results And productivity	5.6	95 % ⁴

1. The Mean indicates the average score among the respondents. Frequency distribution indicates how many percent of the respondents who corroborate or deny statements.
2. The score 5.7 implies the employees agree to positive statements on co-operation and involvement. 20% slightly agreed and 75% agreed to this.
3. 4.9 implies employees ‘slightly agreeing’ that management puts emphasis on co-operation and involvement and that employees are treated as equals or that one self can take decisions autonomously during the day. 40% of the respondents slightly agreed to this and 30% agreed.
4. 5.6 implies that employees agreed that co-operation and involvement have an impact on work efforts, the company’s bottom line and productivity. 35% slightly agreed to this and 55% agreed while 5% strongly agreed.

CORRELATION ANALYSIS

In extension of Tables 2 and 3 we may ask how the variables correlate. Is a variable like job satisfaction important to productivity for instance strongly correlated to the respondent feeling she experiences a high degree of involvement in operational decision-making? Of course this does not preclude it’s the other way around that employees happy with their job also think they are participating in decision-making. Correlations do not accurately tell us something about causality, yet they may be indicative, and they may open the way for interpretations and conjectures.

In Table 4 we see some statistically significant results. Although not surprising there is a strong positive relation between employee agreement to the positive statements of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Expressed as a linear relationship this can be interpreted as: the more the respondents agree to the statement of being satisfied, the more committed they are, or vice versa. The

coefficient (.54) is one of the 3 coefficients showing statistically significant results, i.e. for this relation, there is a one percent chance that the coefficient will take the value 0 (there is no relation between the two).

The other significant result in Table 4 tells us that it may be that employees feeling committed to their work place are less inclined to quit their job within the next year. Or vice versa, the employees with a turnover intention are less committed to their organization. Again this result hardly comes as a big surprise (coefficient .57 and the probability of $r=0$ is less than 1)

In a causal analytical context one may expect that relations between pay satisfaction or a perceived high degree of involvement in decision-making at one hand, and potential outcome variables like turnover intention, absence, being late or shirking at the other, would show strong discernible relations. As the Table reveals, this does not appear to be the case. However, it should be noted that we find a mildly strong negative correlation between ‘being late’ and positive statements on co-operation with management and degree of participation (-.41). This could be interpreted as the better co-operation and the higher participation is, the less inclined are the employee to be late at work. Yet, the result is not significant, but that does not exclude the possibility of a positive result, had the sample been larger than ours. From our knowledge of European and North American studies on workplace relations and employee participation based on larger samples, this would not have been surprising. Often labour sociological and economic studies reveal that employee participation in decision making has a positive effect on different labour relation variables and economic variables (Blumberg, 1968).

Table 4: *Pearson correlation coefficients.*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Job Satisfaction	1.00									
2. Organ. Commitment	.54 ^a	1.00								
3. Turnover Intention	.00	-.57 ^b	1.00							
4. Absence	.07	.07	.31	1.00						
5. Too Late at Work	.00	-.34	.59 ^c	.39	1.00					
6. 'Shirking'	-.12	.09	-.04	-.07	-.07	1.00				
7. Pay Satisfaction	.40	.26	.11	-.07	-.09	.16	1.00			
8. Participation Satisfaction	-.20	-.08	-.02	.31	-.25	-.24	.01	1.00		
9. Degree of Participation	-.30	-.15	-.21	-.03	-.41	.07	.10	.23	1.00	
10 Impact on Performance	.16	.05	.20	.32	.16	-.26	.04	.22	-.23	1.00

a) $p(r=0) = .01$

b) $p(r=0) = .008$

c) $p(r=0) = .0056$

The third of the discernible results does not alter the impression of results not being particularly ground breaking. Respondents with a low expectation regarding the time horizon of staying in the company are also most often arriving too late at work, or the people who want to stay longer are less inclined to be late at work.

THE TANNENBAUM METHOD ON DISTRIBUTION OF INVOLVEMENT

Another way of 'measuring' the employees' perception of their participation in decision-making applies Arnold Tannenbaum's control curve method (Tannenbaum, 1968). The method was introduced by Tannenbaum and has been used extensively among others in the international project of Industrial Democracy in Europe in the eighties that involved 11 different countries in Western European and Israel and former Yugoslavia.

The Tannenbaum approach is partly founded on respondents' perception on how influence is distributed among different occupational groups, and partly founded on how the respondents think influence ought to be distributed? Hereby one can obtain two graphs – one for the actual distribution of influence and one for the ideal distribution. The grouping of staff is: top and middle management, supervisors and foremen, administrative lower level staff (clerks), skilled workers, semiskilled and unskilled workers. That can be divided into three or more groups. In our study we simply operate with: top management, middle management (including supervisors and foremen), and the residual is then employees at the lower level in the hierarchy. The arbitrary scaling is divided into levels of no influence (1), some influence (2), much influence (3), and very much influence (4).

The 'Tannenbaum approach' is often illustrated as in Figure 4 below. The figure illustrates four different types management philosophies. On the horizontal axis the different occupational groups are ranked with top management closest to the origin and lower ranked employees in the hierarchy to the right. At the vertical axis influence levels are depicted starting with no influence closest to the origin. Obviously the result of a negatively sloped curve depicting a traditional hierarchy is often seen – a tendency describing traditional bureaucratic and hierarchical organizations. The curve for the ideal distribution is often found higher than the actual curve.

The figure describes the four management philosophies:

- Hierarchical management.
- 'Anarchic' management.
- Polyarchic management
- Employee management or worker's self-management

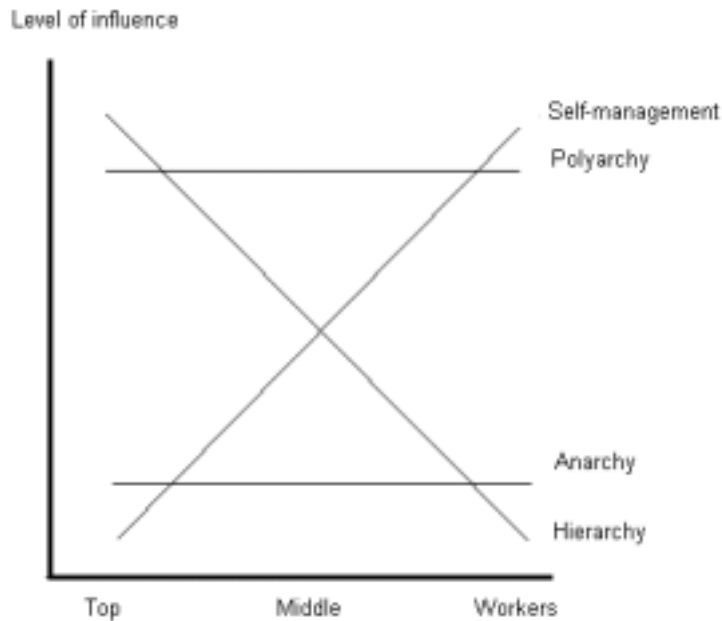


Figure 4: *Tannenbaum-Control curves*

Hierarchical management refers to an organization based on subordination and well defined rules for who can take decisions, what they can take decisions on, and who is to execute the decisions made. Each occupational group's area of decision is well defined. Top management takes strategic decisions and they take tactical decisions towards competitors in the market place. Furthermore, they define long- term goals of the organization, while middle management decides how decisions are carried through at the operational level – employees at lower levels execute the decisions and instructions ordained by management.

The second, 'anarchic' management suggests an organization in disorder, where 'the rules of the hierarchical game' are not clearly defined or abided by. 'Worst case' scenario is the lowest influence level in which none of the occupational groups can exercise any influence. In essence this probably means that management is weak or there is low conscience of democratic values among employees, i.e. given the option to self-manage employees prefer to shirk due to alienated attitudes acquired as employees in former hierarchical organizations. Another explanatory factor could be related to deeply rooted conflicts among top management and key personnel. In order to avoid conflicts, this may lead to evasive behaviour resulting in a 'muddling through' based on mainly operational and mid-term orientation, instead of long-term goal orientation, planning and implementation of adopted procedures and means for securing fulfilment of goals.

The third management philosophy, polyarchy, suggests an organization where every one has a high degree of influence. With the 'new economy' and the upcoming knowledge-based organizations this type of

organization gains momentum. Everybody has a high education or has established comprehensive competence. Hence, in terms of autonomy and the possibility of self-determination, everybody is equipped with a high degree of influence due to knowledge and professionalism.

The fourth type of organization refers to workers management or self-management. Employees decide in a democratic way, in accordance with the democratic principle of one person – one vote. The board is democratically elected and employees have a high degree of influence on all decision types. Management at different levels is only management due to professional knowledge. They are responsible to the employees instead of a board of stock holders.

In Figure 5 it is evident that the two curves are closer to each other and less steep than normally seen in similar analysis in other countries. This is interesting, recalling that the respondents are working in a fishing industrial plant and not a knowledge-based organization. The employee response is close to the horizontal model of polyarchy at influence level 3 – all employees and management should have ‘much influence’.



Figure 5: *Tannenbaum curves in Polar Raajat*

First, it is 'baffling' though that the respondents rather see influence removed from top management to middle management and that ordinary employees raise their degree of influence close to the level of top and middle management. Second, we see a negative slope for the actual distribution of power, yet it is not

that steep, that one can say that the employees feel they have no influence whatsoever. This paints a picture of a workplace not that hierarchical organized.

The result confirms Table 3 above – expectations of some of the inherent advantages suggested above in the Vanek model of the effect of participation can be justified. Of course the data obtained on job satisfaction, organizational commitment and pay satisfaction may be of equal importance in explaining causal variables.

Nonetheless, Figure 5 suggests labour relations of specific character that need further elaboration and analysis. The question that comes to mind is: Do we find special workplace relations rooted in Inuit philosophy and culture? Co-operation and egalitarianism are more important parts of Inuit culture than seen in European and North American management philosophies.

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ABSTRACTS

for Presentations at the Conference for which no Paper was submitted for the Proceedings

**Pigiarvik Video Project:
Promoting Inuktitut through the Use of Video**

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When television was introduced to the Canadian Arctic, it was primarily for a Southern audience. Very little of the programming (less than half an hour a week) was broadcast in Inuktitut. This fairly recent advent of media to Arctic communities has had great implications for Inuit language and culture. The Inuit, however, have proved their resilience by converting this modern technology to their benefit. This paper examines a recent endeavor undertaken by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Inuit Communications Systems Limited. The Pigiarvik Video Project brings together youth from 13 communities in Nunavut to Iqaluit for a training program in video production. These organizations have also facilitated a contest for Inuktitut Uqauttin Week open to youth across the Qikiqtani region for the best Inuktitut language video. Can the use of video promote Inuktitut among the younger generation?

(Session - Inuktitut Uqauttin Weeks: Promotion of Inuktitut in Nunavut)

Illustrating Inuit Wayfinding: Challenges and Possibilities.

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The knowledge and skills that Inuit hunters in Igloolik possess for traveling and orienting through large extensions of tundra, sea ice and open water involve some important aspects of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (Inuit knowledge, also known as IQ) that have only recently become the focus of research and documentation.

During my several trips to Igloolik, between 1998 and 2002, local elders and other experienced hunters repeatedly manifested their interest for the data I was collecting on wayfinding techniques, orienting practices, knowledge of the sea ice, place names, etc. They also expressed their concerns for the lack of essential environmental knowledge that younger generations show when they go out on the land. Some hunters manifested the importance of incorporating some of this information into formal education, and of finding new ways of teaching traditional knowledge and practices.

This presentation will describe a project consisting of the creation of a multimedia CD-ROM to illustrate some important aspects of the environmental knowledge of the Igloolik Inuit, with a focus on wayfinding, astronomy, use of trails, spatial orienting, and place names. A section on Inuit knowledge and use of the sea ice will also incorporate data from Kinngait (Cape Dorset) and Pangnirtung, providing an overview of regional variations in sea-ice use and terminology within the territory of Nunavut.

This project developed as a result of concrete community concerns, regarding the loss or deterioration of some aspects of IQ that have been used since time immemorial. It is believed that such knowledge and skills are still of great importance to younger generations, not only for cultural reasons but also for making traveling and hunting on the land safe.

The project is the focus of ongoing postdoctoral research which I am undertaking at the Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études et de Recherches Autochtones (CIÉRA) at Université Laval. Community cooperation will be ensured through the participation of several institutions and individuals of the hamlet of Igloolik.

(Session - Inuit Knowledge Transfer)

Story Maker - Unipkaaqtualiurut CD-ROM

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From a discussion with the Elders from the Department of Education in Arviat on how to encourage students to write in Inuktitut an idea was formed. Create a computer program that allows students to create their own stories with pictures that can be printed out as a book to be shared. The program would be called Unipkaaqtuliurt or the Story Maker and the entire interface would be in Inuktitut.

An animated Inuksuk guide speaks these words in Inuktitut:

“Stories are made by thinking about them in your head and imagining they are happening, by making something that is not real to look like it really happened. Good stories make you want to listen when a person is telling it and makes you imagine it really happened. No one has ever heard animals talking and singing like real people, or able to do things as we do. Let’s see you tell a story from your imagination.”

He also offers assistance to the students as they write text and create pictures to illustrate their story. The program is supported with graphics drawn by the Elders and with their voices as they also provided the audio. The students will be able to save their stories and return to continue to work on them later. They will also be able to print their stories out so they can share the work they have completed.

The program will also allow for development in additional dialects. Now fully functional the program is ready to be tested in Nunavut schools this September.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)

**The Bridging of Cultural Barriers:
Communicating Science in the Far North - Insights and Lessons Learned.**

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The Nunavut Wildlife Health Assessment Project (NWHP) is a joint project involving three Inuit communities, World Wildlife Fund Canada, and Trent University. In this collaborative effort local hunters and community members are involved as front line workers who document the current status of wildlife health, providing reference to *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* (Inuit traditional ecological knowledge). Local hunters are in a unique position to observe subtle changes to wildlife health that may be otherwise missed by conventional research surveys. The intimate knowledge of Inuit hunters regarding wildlife health is merged together with the scientific capabilities of research scientists, in an effort to assess the effect of anthropogenic compounds on wildlife living under harsh Arctic conditions. Successes and ongoing challenges related to the transfer of knowledge and the bridging of cultural barriers will be discussed.

(Session - Inuit Knowledge Transfer)

"Their Powerful Spirit: Inuit Women in a Century of Change"

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This photographic essay/PowerPoint presentation traces gender relations from "the time before", when Inuit lived out on the land, to the creation of Nunavut, with its unique challenges. Although marginality and the residual impacts of rapid social change on a fragile but persistent culture remain, Inuit women are working to make the twenty-first century their own.

The presentation is based on dozens of interviews and focus groups with Inuit women in Pangnirtung, conducted by Janet Billson and Kyra Reis between 1988 and 2000. Our purpose was to document the impact of the dramatic changes experienced by Pangnirtung and other Baffin Island communities, especially on gender roles and the balance of power in female/male relationships. For more than decade, we conducted interviews and lived with Inuit families in order to explore how life for Inuit women has altered since the mid-1800s. In keeping with Inuit tradition, we conducted most interviews in small groups, often over tea. Females from thirteen to 100 years old reminisced about the past, spoke of the present, and tried to puzzle out the future.

Although we focus on the relations between women and men, and the changing roles of women, both are inextricably intertwined with the broader framework of Inuit life. Inuit women engaged with us in a dialogue of interpretation and analysis of several broad questions: What are the most important sources and consequences of social change in the community? What are their strengths as aboriginal women? What special issues mark the relationships between women and men? How do the Inuit go beyond adapting to or coping with often trying circumstances? How are they shaping an age-old culture that is at once fading – and evolving toward southern lifestyles – and regenerating? What difference is the creation of Nunavut making for their future? Their voices help us understand the common threads of Inuit life throughout Nunavut. The research was carried out with the permission of the Pangnirtung Hamlet Council and the (former) Science Institute of the Northwest Territories. All articles and books resulting from this research were reviewed by Inuit respondents.

(Session - Inuit Ilirquusingi: Inuit Speech, Customs and Modern Cultural Expression)

Possibilities for Future Inuit Housing

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A relatively large body of research has been conducted on the history of Inuit housing. Researchers have studied the effects of modern single-family housing on Inuit familial relationships, sense of identity, and need for privacy. Through this paper I suggest ways that Inuit housing could be improved to accommodate Inuit cultural needs. A design proposal using a collaborative housing model that allows for extended family groups to live together is suggested. While not ignoring the high demand for housing, the proposed housing works on a standardized system where specific site conditions and occupant choice modify the design to allow for individualization of each housing unit. This paper presents a new approach to housing for Arctic communities. The design proposal is just one possibility of how fundamental design changes can facilitate the required flexibility of Inuit spatial patterns.

(Session - Inuit Health and Well-being)

Igloolik's Art of Community-based Film-making

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In this paper, Cohn and Kunuk, co-founders of Igloolik Isuma Productions, discuss the concept and history of community-based filmmaking as a tool for political, artistic, and social change. The discussion will include video extracts from Isuma's internationally acclaimed programs, including *Atanarjuat The Fast Runner*, winner of the Camera d'Or at Cannes 2001.

"Can Inuit bring storytelling into the new millennium? Can we listen to our elders before they all pass away? Can we save our youth from killing themselves at ten times the national rate? Can producing community TV in Igloolik make our community, region and country stronger? Is there room in Canadian filmmaking for our way of seeing ourselves? To try to answer these questions we want to show how our ancestors survived by the strength of their community and their wits, and how new ways of storytelling today can help our community survive another thousand years. Our name Isuma means 'to think,' as in Thinking Productions. Our building in the centre of Igloolik has a big sign on the front that says Isuma. Think. Young and old work together to keep our ancestors' knowledge alive. We create traditional artifacts, digital multimedia and desperately needed jobs in the same activity. Our productions give an artist's view for all to see where we came from: what Inuit were able to do then and what we are able to do now."

(Zacharias Kunuk, artist's statement)

(Session - Inuit Iliqusingi: Inuit Speech, Customs and Modern Cultural Expression)

Which Home is it?
How bringing Knowledge “Home” to the Inuit
Changes what we bring back to our “Home”

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Bringing knowledge home to the Inuit to whom it belongs in the first place has become a major request over the last decade at least. Scientists realised that sending articles and books made little sense if they wanted to really share something of their work and views. This led to the creation of new products on the part of the scientists and this, I shall argue, changed the science itself, at least in the realm of social sciences. My discussion will draw on three experiences of knowledge sharing, that extend from 1991 to 2004 and concern the Inuinnait of Canada’s Central Arctic (Nunavut and NWT).

The first experience is that of putting Inuinnait’s place names on Canada’s official maps, as part of an academic research project on Inuinnait geographic knowledge, for which fieldwork was conducted mainly from Sept. 1991 to June 1992.

The second experience is that of producing a video movie on Inuinnait elderly women perspectives on moving from igloos to multi-room houses, as part of a research project on Inuinnait’s domestic spaces, for which fieldwork was conducted mainly in April 1998.

The third experience is that of producing a video movie about the geopolitical issues surrounding place naming and recognition of indigenous place names in the Canadian Arctic from the mid 19th century to the end of the 20th. This project derives from the hazards of a private visit to the Inuinnait village of Holman in August 2003 which saw the holding of a last-minute planned meeting for final approval of place names collected ten years earlier. A short version of that video will be shown.

The discussion will focus on the different ways the research agenda and the Inuinnait oriented product were linked in the three cases, and on how this influenced the scientific knowledge that was eventually produced. It will also present how these experiences have nurtured my own scientific approach to human geography and its 21st century agenda.

(Session - Inuit and Qallunaat: Cross-Cultural Communication, Modes of Sharing)

Aging, Inuit Life Stages, and Rethinking Culture Change in the Canadian Arctic

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An examination of secular change and life-course construction in the community of Holman, NT, suggests that social scientists working in Northern communities need to reconsider the impact of secular change on Inuit culture. This paper examines career paths and cultural priorities among members of the 1955-1970 birth cohort. Social scientists have typically perceived the values and behaviour of this cohort as dramatically different from those of their elders, best explained as the result of “acculturation”. The paper argues that differing priorities are the result not of changes in how Inuit have redefined culture but rather the result of secular changes that have lengthened Inuit life stages. The paper concludes that the willingness of researchers to label the behaviour of younger Inuit as acculturation is the result of researchers’ identification with and romanticization of what is perceived to be “traditional” Inuit culture.

(Session - Outside Science Returns to the Inuit)

**Longings of the Heart:
The Women of St. Luke's Mission Hospital, Pangnirtung, 1930-1972**

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The Anglo-Canadian women who worked at St. Luke's Hospital in Pangnirtung as missionaries and nurses from 1930-1972 developed subtle relationships with the community through their ministry and nursing roles.

The Inuit women who worked at the hospital alongside the nurses provide a contrapuntal voice to the archival record. Their stories of personal experience as nursing assistants and participation in the Woman's Auxiliary activities reveals the importance of the women missionaries in terms of deeply valued and uniquely precious experiences.

(Session - St. Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung: Missionary Nurses and People)

Inuit Historicities in Transition: Examples from Greenland and Nunavut

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No one will dispute that Inuit and *Qallunaat* senses of their own, and others', « history » are not identical. But, beyond a few stereotypes framed as oppositions between written and oral, history and myth, etc., one only has faint ideas about the ways in which they differ. All historical consciousnesses are historically situated, and Inuit historicities are also undergoing changes. What role does the education of Inuit schoolchildren, students, and researchers in Western scholarly traditions, play in the redefinitions of Inuit historicities ? And the fact that increasingly, Inuit read, and construct their own history, on the basis of data collected and interpreted mostly by outsiders? I will present a few remarks based on examples from West Greenland and from Nunavut.

(Session - Inuit and Qallunaat: Cross-Cultural Communication, Modes of Sharing)

History of Inuktitut Uqauttin Weeks through Press Coverage

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This paper focuses on language promotion in Nunavut between 1999 and 2004. The data we discuss were obtained through archival searches (of newspapers and magazines at libraries and on the internet) and email contacts with a number of liaison officers in Nunavut. The content analysis we conducted provides information on a number of points. For examples, we compare activities proposed over the years for Inuit to celebrate their language. We also present the various agencies supporting the event through time, that we were able to identify. We consider potential linkages between language policies in Northern Canada and lobbying efforts at the national and international levels regarding language preservation.

(Session - Inuktitut Uqauttin Weeks: Promotion of Inuktitut in Nunavut)

Rural Development and Community Healing in Alaska

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The University of Alaska Fairbanks Department of Alaska Native and Rural Development is committed to place-based education that takes a holistic approach to developing leadership and management skills for Alaska's indigenous communities and organizations. The Rural Development program is based on three foundations, a historical background and context for development issues facing indigenous peoples, such as the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, tribal challenges and the Alaska economy. The "toolbox" component provides professional skill building such as grant writing and business plan development. A third has recently been added that provides students personal and professional development in the area of community healing and wellness. Development is successful if there are healthy organizations run by healthy leaders. If one is healthy personally, professionally and culturally, healthy organizations will follow. This paper examines the historical background of assimilation and its negative impact on indigenous individuals and their communities.

(Session - Ilinniarniq: Inuit Future through Education)

**Labrador's North Coast communities:
Where Communication and Environmental Contaminants Converge**

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Research has shown that Labrador Inuit are exposed to contaminants in their traditional diet of wild foods (sea and land mammals, birds and fish). Due to the relationship between Inuit and these foods, and the cultural, nutritional and social value of a diet rich in traditional foods, it is vital that there is a dissemination and discussion of accurate information about the risk of contaminant exposure through this diet. Further, being aware of the risks of raising fears or creating confusion in the communities is imperative. The paper will identify the challenges in the communication process and include Labradorimiut perspectives. This project used both informal meetings with community individuals via a community tour, and a mixed quantitative and qualitative survey conducted with individuals from the communities in order to assess the awareness, comprehension, perception and response to the issue of contaminants in Labrador among the Inuit population.

(Session - Local Food and Contaminants)

How Will Nunavut Speak to the Future? Changes to Nunavut's Official Languages Act

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This paper will explore the research that led to the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut's recommendations to amend Nunavut's *Official Languages Act*, including the need for an *Inuktitut Protection Act*, as well as present research being done by the office on dialectical differences in Inuktitut spoken in Nunavut and around the circumpolar world.

With the first Nunavut Legislative Assembly set to dissolve in the New Year (2004) and with it the term of Nunavut's first Languages Commissioner, Eva Aariak, Nunavut faces a year of many changes. Some of the most significant changes, namely how Inuktitut will be recognized by law, rest in the hands of the Special Committee to review the *Official Languages Act*. The Committee was scheduled to table its report and recommendations during the final sitting of 2003. At this time, Nunavummiut have no idea how the committee and, ultimately, how the next government will act on these recommendations. The Office of the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut conducted in-depth community consultations as part of its research, which showed that Nunavummiut have overwhelmingly placed a priority on the protection and enhancement of Inuktitut and its dialects. Have their voices been heard? That is a question this office – and this paper – will answer. As such, this research is a work in progress, much like Nunavut. Nunavut's action(s) on Inuktitut language issues will greatly influence Inuit and Inuktitut across Canada and the North. In reporting on the fallout from the government's action or inaction, this paper will, finally, examine what role Nunavut will play on the world stage with regard to Inuktitut.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)

Language and Identity after the Advent of Nunavut: Some Enlightened Opinions

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Bringing knowledge home includes providing local and regional Inuit authorities with research results that may help them devise more efficient social policies. This is precisely the objective of a collaborative project between Université Laval and the Nunatta Campus of Nunavut Arctic College, which aims at understanding how Inuit living in Iqaluit, Igloolik and Kimmirut perceive the role and position of Inuktitut now that the territory of Nunavut has been in existence for some years. Our research data should help Nunavut decision makers to better understand the language situation in the eastern part of the territory.

The present paper will briefly introduce the project and, then, proceed with the analysis of five interviews conducted in Iqaluit in October 2003, with individuals professionally involved in language matters. The opinions of these professionals will be compared and contrasted, and some preliminary conclusions will be drawn concerning their perception of the evolution of language usage since the advent of Nunavut. The paper will enable the audience to have a glimpse on how people directly involved in the preservation and development of Inuktitut assess the situation and future of the language five years after Nunavut was established.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)

Telling Science Stories

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Inuit communities often find themselves at the receiving end of a disconnect between media workers and social and scientific researchers. Although researchers may want to avail themselves of local communications networks as a way of communicating research results and perspectives back to host communities, journalists may not want to see themselves as the conduits for researchers' messages. Social researchers and scientific practitioners are engaged in fundamentally different enterprises than are journalists. Several differences are fundamental, while several are misunderstandings. Moreover, there are also points of possible conflict between the needs of Inuit communities--who want to share in and engage with research results--and local and outside media, both Inuit and non-Inuit.

This paper will be based on the author's experiences in Northern Labrador covering the development of the Voisey's Bay project and the flurry of research surrounding it, as well as subsequent years spent as an environmental and cultural writer in Atlantic Canada.

(Session - Outside Science Returns to the Inuit)

**Fast-Slow, Active-Passive, Wet-Dry, Hot-Cold:
Differences between Inuit and Biomedical Approaches to
Dealing with Accidents and Injuries.**

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This paper is drawn from information gathered during an applied research project, undertaken in three communities in Nunavik, to collect, analyse, and re-disseminate Inuit knowledge and practice concerning First-Aid measures. Some of the basic features of the Inuit system of treating accidents and injuries will be described, as will the constraints on persistent use of the Inuit system. In many cases Inuit and biomedical approaches to the mechanics of injury management are quite similar, the Inuit description of reducing a broken leg, for example, would not be out of place in a textbook put out by the St. John Ambulance organization. However, in several instances there are considerable differences between the two systems. The management of frostbite, healing of cuts, and approaches to drowning victims are all approached very differently within biomedicine and Inuit traditions, a state of affairs that can lead to inter-cultural tensions and which emphasizes the power dynamics embedded in all forms of healing. The analysis of the differences indicates that 1) the ecological conditions in which injuries occur must be considered prior to making determinations of medical efficacy 2) Inuit practices are grounded in empirical observation that favours effective practice and 3) both biomedical and Inuit approaches are infused with broader cultural knowledge and history.

(Session - Inuit Health and Well-being)

**ArcticNet: A newly funded Network of Centres of Excellence of Canada to Conduct
the Integrated Natural/Health/Social Sciences Study of
the Changing Canadian Coastal Arctic.**

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ArcticNet brings together scientists and managers in the natural, health and social sciences, and their partners in northern communities, federal and provincial agencies, and the private sector, to study the impacts of climate change in the coastal Canadian Arctic. Over 90 ArcticNet researchers from 21 Canadian universities and 4 federal departments collaborate with research teams in the USA, Japan, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland, the United Kingdom, Spain and Belgium.

The central objective of the Network is to contribute to the development and dissemination of knowledge needed to formulate impact assessments, national policies and priorities, decision making, and adaptation strategies to help Canadians face the environmental and socio-economic impacts and opportunities of climate change and globalization in the Arctic. A primary goal of the Network is to involve Inuit organizations, communities, universities, research institutes, and industry as well as government and international agencies in the scientific process, through the exchange of knowledge, training, resources and technology.

(Session - Outside Science Returns to the Inuit)

Knowledge in Action : The Northern Contaminants Program as a Model for Communicating on Research with Communities

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The Canadian Arctic Contaminants Assessment Report (CACAR II) was produced in 2003 to report on the status of knowledge of contaminants in the Arctic environment. It consists of a Highlights report and four technical documents: human health, biological environment, physical environment, and knowledge in action. The Knowledge in Action report is a document describing the processes that the Northern Contaminants Program has developed to engage and work with communities on these issues, communicate research results, and forward community concerns at the domestic and international levels. The assessment report of the program's processes and communication products is a description and review of one model of how national research programs can involve and communicate with communities on complex scientific issues facing the North today. A review of the communication structures, processes, methods and materials utilized under this program have identified the following key elements:

- 1) a strategic yet balanced and flexible program design with a basis in sound science and responsible research;
- 2) partnerships that form links across conventional boundaries;
- 3) open communication networks that get information to those who need it the most, and are able to listen to concerns and needs at various levels;
- 4) ongoing processes of capacity-building using a variety of approaches; and
- 5) a commitment of resources to support these activities.

A review of these aspects of the program, and recommendations to address current challenges on this issue will be presented.

(Plenary Session - Knowledge Crossing Cultures)

Nasivvik Centre for Inuit Health and Changing Environments

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To enhance Inuit community capacity in addressing environmental health issues, a Centre focussing on education, training, research and the enhancement of communication abilities has been established. As Inuit share a variety of unique issues, this Centre engages all Canadian Inuit regions. Funded by the Canadian Institutes for Health Research – Institute for Aboriginal Peoples Health, Nasivvik Centre will enhance Inuit research and communication/information capacity, through providing experiences and training for students and communities to be engaged in such issues at all levels.

Under the following themes: changing environments and health, Inuit knowledge and science for health research and education, and environmental health surveillance and monitoring, Nasivvik Centre will conduct education and training activities for students, as well as small pilot-type projects. An overview of the Centre's objectives, structure and activities as a model for supporting the development of Inuit capacity in the areas of environmental and public health research and communications will be presented.

(Session - Inuit Health and Well-being)

**When the weather is Uggianaqtuq:
Using Interactive, Multimedia Technology
to Document and Communicate Inuit Knowledge**

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The focus of this presentation is the demonstration of an interactive, multi-media CD-ROM entitled, “When the Weather is *Uggianaqtuq*: Inuit Observations of Environmental Change”. The CD-ROM links together video clips of elders and hunters speaking about their observations, maps drawn by elders and hunters about environmental changes, photos, text, and music, to present two communities’ perspectives on recent environmental changes in Nunavut. The collaborative project behind the CD-ROM will also be discussed, as well as the impetus for the CD-ROM, and the lessons learned during its production. The CD-ROM is an example of one type of alternative research product that can be created for use in the community, as well as by researchers, decision-makers, educators and the public. The imagery and structure of the CD-ROM help maximize the meaningfulness of bringing research results home for use in the community.

(Session - Inuit Knowledge Transfer)

Taitsumanialukasak Kimmirumi: 1960-2000

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In 1960 DIAND sent me to evaluate the status of the village of Kimmirut, NWT, most of whose Inuit had emigrated to Iqaluit; the nursing station and Anglican mission had closed, and the HBC and RCMP were considering leaving. I reported that Kimmirut was a healthy community/region, that Ottawa should reassure the Inuit and start a Coop store if the HBC closed, and should assist Inuit to return from Iqaluit. Kimmirut was not closed and the population is now over 400.

I returned in 2000 with 165 B/W photos: albums for families, slides for the community, and a CD-Rom for the school. They were immensely popular: I showed the photos in households, the slides four times in the gym, and a video I made with Minnie Audla Freeman in Berkeley at the school. Young and old were eager to see, especially photos of past family and friends, and pictures of ancestors they never knew or remembered. However, not all people recognized themselves or even their children, especially since in 1960 they did not have photographs and therefore had no stable basis for fleeting memories. This paper examines (a) which people were recognized and why, (b) how Inuit recognized people in pictures which were distant, dark, less focused or showed only parts, and (c) how and by whom arguments about identity were resolved. It throws light on the processes of visual memory and cultural salience.

(Session - Retrieving Arctic History from Archives)

Inuit Oral History and the Writing of *Arctic Justice*

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With the oral history project associated with the writing of *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923* as a case study, this paper will examine the rewards and challenges that resulted from communicating research results to the participating elders and the community at large. Beginning with a brief outline of the research methodology and resources used, the primary focus will be on my return visits to the community and the various means used to communicate the results of my research. Aside from my gaining invaluable insight into Inuit perceptions of circumstances and events, continued interaction with the elders gave them a sense of ownership and pride in the project. In effect, they became my advisors and I, their scribe -- each respecting the other's specific knowledge and limitations.

(Session - Inuit and Qallunaat: Cross-Cultural Communication, Modes of Sharing)

**A Regional Approach to Managing and Communicating
Environment, Health and Nutrition Issues in the North:
The Nunavik Nutrition and Health Committee**

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The Nunavik Nutrition and Health Committee (originally named the PCB Resource Committee) was established in 1988 to deal with issues related to food, contaminants, the environment and health in Nunavik. Since its inception, the committee has broadened its perspective to take a more holistic approach to environment and health issues inclusive of both benefits and risks. Today, the committee acts as the authorized review and advisory body for health and nutrition issues in the region and includes representation from many of the organizations and agencies concerned with these issues, as well as those conducting research on them. The committee provides guidance and acts as a liaison for researchers and agencies, from both inside and outside the region, directs work on priority issues, communicates to and educates the public on health and environment topics and research projects, and represents Nunavik interests at the national and international levels. All activities are conducted with the goal to protect and promote public health in Nunavik through more informed personal decision making. The Committee has engaged with the communities in various forms of two-way communication and dialogue on issues being faced related to environmental change and health. Cases presented here will include the issues of neurodevelopmental impacts of PCBs and lead exposure on infant development, mercury and health, as well as traditional food safety and zoonotic diseases. The committee's structure, membership and mandate have evolved into a process which provides a regionally specific approach to addressing these issues and engaging regional and local organizations and people in the issues that affect them. Critical aspects of the committee's operation and evolution and their impacts on the outcomes of these events will be discussed.

(Session - Local Foods and Contaminants)

Inuit Youth and Identity Change: The Nunavut Sivuniksavut Experience

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Rapid social change in the Canadian Arctic has led to circumstances which make it increasingly difficult for young Inuit to develop and maintain a distinct cultural identity. Inuit, and many other Aboriginal groups in similar circumstances, are looking to education to play a role in cultural maintenance and revitalization. This study explored the experience of Inuit youth in Nunavut Sivuniksavut, a post-secondary program for Inuit youth from Nunavut. The findings indicated that the students experienced positive changes in all areas of ethnic identity, developing attitudes of pride and respect for their culture, an increased sense of belonging to it, an understanding of their cultural history, as well as an understanding of the relationship of Inuit with the majority society. The findings also identified program elements contributing to this change. The study develops a framework for viewing ethnic identity development in other settings and presents a model which describes how students developed a valuing of their cultural distinctiveness in a contemporary context.

(Session - Ilinniarniq: Inuit Future through Education)

**The Watkins Gospel Selections:
The First Book Published in Inuktitut Syllabics.**

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The Syllabic writing system invented for the Cree was first introduced to the Inuit in 1855 by Rev. E. A. Watkins at Fort George and Little Whale River on the James Bay and Hudson Bay coasts. In that same year Watkins prepared a small book of gospel selections in syllabics and sent it to Rev. John Horden in Moose Factory, who printed it on his mission press. This small book is one of the earliest items printed on Horden's press, and the only one printed in Inuktitut. Only one copy is known to have survived.

This paper will examine early missionary efforts to develop literacy for mission purposes among Inuit, including the printing and distribution of this small volume

(Session - Inuit and Qallunaat: Cross-Cultural Communication, Modes of Sharing)

Reinterpreting Inuit Children Drawings of Landscape to Facilitate the Transfer of Inuit Knowledge of the Land

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This paper will discuss how a set of Inuit drawings created by schoolchildren from Quaqtak in Nunavik, Northern Quebec have been utilized to articulate how Inuit perceive the arctic environment. A set of some thirty landscape-related drawings, created by students aged between 11-17, have been interpreted and codified to give western designers an appreciation of one way in which Inuit youth translate the environment around them into tangible form. In addition to revealing how Inuit youth graphically represent landscape elements, the drawings also describe Inuit systems of wayfinding in a landscape that is difficult to decipher for those who do not live there. Mindful of the Inuit traditional knowledge inherent within the drawings, the information extracted from the drawings through the analytical stage has been enriched with information pertaining to similar navigational techniques used by other indigenous cultures from around the globe. The reformatting of Inuit navigational knowledge for a curriculum unit at the School has also been enriched with western-scientific navigational techniques insofar as to provide Inuit with a contextual understanding of the gamut of navigational skills and methods.

(Session - Inuit and Qallunaat: Cross-Cultural Communication, Modes of Sharing)

Arts and Crafts in Pangnirtung: A Third-of-a-Century Review

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Like most of the twentieth-century settlements in Nunavut, Pangnirtung grew up around an RCMP post, Hudson's Bay store, and Anglican church. Government services, withheld from camp dwellers, provided a powerful incentive that led to the virtual abandonment of life "on the land" during the 1960s. With the exception of producing stone carvings, however, the new residents, once in the settlement, found little employment and few opportunities to apply their traditional talents and skills. Experiments to help alleviate the problem included the introduction of additional arts and crafts, and the early success of James Houston's work with Inuit printmaking at Cape Dorset sparked interest throughout the eastern Arctic.

Only a year after the first catalog of limited-edition prints was issued at Cape Dorset, a weaving program for women was introduced at Pangnirtung. Simultaneously, men were encouraged to experiment with printmaking, and the first print catalog appeared in 1973. I visited Pangnirtung during those years of experimentation, and I have returned annually to observe the remarkable success of both programs. Among the locals whose works I began collecting was a youngster named Andrew Karpik (now Qappik), who at age 14 produced five cataloged prints and who later emerged as a leading Inuit artist. In 1999 he was selected to design the flag, coat of arms, and logo of the new Territory of Nunavut, and he has since been elected to the Royal Canadian Academy of Art. Meanwhile, the weaving program has also gained international recognition, particularly through the major exhibition, "Nuvisavik," at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Qappik is but one of many men and women who have contributed to the popularity of limited-edition prints and weavings produced first by the local Co-op and since 1992 by the Uqqurmiut Centre for Arts and Crafts. Having been present to witness and photograph the vicissitudes of these programs in the early years and their successes in recent years, I propose to present a twenty-minute retrospective of arts and crafts in Pangnirtung during the past third of a century, using slides for visual effect and statistics to substantiate the importance of art to the economic base of the hamlet.

(Session - Inuit Ilirqusingi: Inuit Speech, Customs and Modern Cultural Expression)

Inuit Snow Terms: Folk Wisdom or Linguistic Fact?

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That Inuit languages have extensive terminology to describe different types of snow was long held as a commonplace of linguistic anthropology since it was first brought up by Boas in 1911. This often repeated proposition was meant to illustrate how the physical adaptation of a people to its environment could be reflected linguistically.

The claim came under examination in the 1980s when several linguists and anthropologists revisited it to assess its truth value and show how it has attained status as a sort of folk wisdom, promulgated in articles, textbooks and the popular press, even though it was on shaky ground as a verifiable fact. Indeed, before Pullum, no one seems to have consulted with linguists or Inuit who would be in a position to provide accurate information on the subject. The issue is linguistically complex and extends far beyond making a simple count of words, as some would have us do. This paper intends to add information based on Inuit linguistics to this long-standing discussion and also to begin to provide a scientific view of the question, based on consultation with a glaciologist familiar with Arctic weather conditions.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)

**Transmitting Results to Inuit:
Identifying our Audience and Research Constraints**

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If information obtained on Inuktitut Uqauttin Weeks in Nunavut is of interest, a discussion of relevant formats to present it becomes useful. Indeed, efficient formats for a given group of individuals might not work as well for others from the same community. Even if ethnographic assessments of needs and potential uses of the information would prove essential in the process of bringing back results home, current research regulations in the Canadian academic milieu hinder such training and reasearch collaborations involving human beings.

(Session - Inuktitut Uqauttin Weeks: Promotion of Inuktitut in Nunavut)

**The Case of ITK:
An Organizational Perspective on Communicating to Inuit**

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The experience of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK – the national Inuit Association of Canada) in communicating its political, environmental, and health messages to Inuit has been via a variety of formal board meetings, community meetings, English and Inuktitut language radio and television interviews, and to a limited extent articles in the written press. Essential to all is fundamental comprehension of the Inuit world view in order to ensure the proper transference of information. Mere “translation” of information is no guarantee of communicating intended messages, and in fact may cause alarm, and hinder the communication process depending on the nature of the message

(Friday Luncheon Address)

"Negotiating Research Relationships" – A (draft) Guide for Researchers

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The conduct of scientific research has been a source of contention between local communities and visiting researchers in the North for many years. Inuit frequently complain that researchers do not adequately inform local communities about their work. Inuit communities also feel that they have lacked sufficient control over how their knowledge is obtained, interpreted, communicated, and applied by outsiders. Inuit and researchers alike are acknowledging these problems, and recognizing that there is a critical need to find new ways for both groups to work together. A booklet entitled *Negotiating Research Relationships – A guide for communities* was previously developed in a joint Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)/Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) effort. Its purpose was to help Inuit communities understand, and negotiate, their rights and roles in northern research projects. This presentation will discuss the content of an updated and improved booklet that aims to support researchers in: i) setting research priorities; ii) determining the appropriate level of community involvement; iii) proposing projects to, and negotiating relationships with, Inuit communities; iv) research licensing procedures; and v) knowledge-sharing options and opportunities. We will outline the draft guidelines in hopes of sparking further discussion and refinement of the final booklet content.

(Session - Outside Science Returns to the Inuit)

Application of Computer Assisted Linguistics in Relation to Inuit Language of Greenland.

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Applicability of computer assisted linguistics has been challenged by the fact that Greenlandic Inuit language typologically has distinctive features which foster research into special applications of technology and software. Collaboration with the Nordic Language Council has motivated a desire to look into various linguistically systemic forms of organization in applying preexisting computer programs.

In the presentation there will be given a review of the methodology and practical applicability of linguistics in relation to the Greenlandic Inuit language. A Greenlandic interactive word list will be presented and the work behind the spell check and the written corpus will be reviewed. A case will be made to demonstrate that application of technology is crucial for the survival of the language.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)

**"Then the Bargaining Began":
Pangnirtung, the Museum, and the Dr. Jon A. Bildfell Collection**

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In the fall of 1942, Dr. Jon A. Bildfell and his family left Pangnirtung where he served as medical officer, and in their baggage they included an impressive collection of ivory sculptures carved by the Inuit of the area; written journals, reports and letters; and a series of photographs and 8mm film. It is a collection, like all collections, with multiple contexts that stem from the Inuit-doctor engagement in a producer-buyer relationship. The process at play here is "transculturation" where the doctor was engaged in collecting Inuit sculptures for his own sense of value and record, while the Inuit were engaged in producing sculptures as commodities in a well established trade-oriented economy. The collection, now housed at the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, Ontario), is a record of this engagement, or shared history. Borrowing from James Clifford, the phrase "contact zone", where museum and community meet, addresses the reciprocal relations between the Museum and the community of Pangnirtung that are currently manifested in the development of an exhibition and a virtual museum website, and echoes the earlier relationship sounded in Dr. Bildfell's statement, "Then the bargaining began".

(Session - St. Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung: Missionary Nurses and People)

**Finding the Right Words:
Communicating Scientific Information through Community Tours**

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The experience of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK - the national Inuit Association of Canada) in communicating complex contaminant information from the Northern Contaminants Program (NCP) to Inuit has been a challenging and complex process. In order to deliver messages to specific target audience's community tours were developed. These tours brought a team of experts to many communities in the Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Nunavik and Labrador regions between 1999 and 2004 to present information about contaminants and related topics.

Our experience has shown that mere "translation" of information is no guarantee of communicating intended messages, and in fact, directly translated information may cause alarm, and hinder the communication process depending on the nature of the message. In an attempt to improve communication, ITK has begun to train Inuit presenters who are equally in tune with northern community life to: communicate complex contaminant related information back to Inuit; to understand when the audience has heard enough; to keep the talks short and visually interesting; and to provide locally relevant information. We have found that, to be successful, the presentation content in each community must be flexible, depending upon the characteristics and needs of the audience. This talk focused on the lessons learned in developing and delivering contaminant information of crucial scientific importance back to Inuit communities in a manner that is culturally appropriate, interactive, and informative in order for people to make difficult decision about their food choices.

(Session - Local Foods and Contaminants)

**“Why Don’t They Get It?”: Talk of Medicine as Science,
St Luke’s Hospital, Pangnirtung, 1933 –1938**

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It can be argued that in the 1930s, following the discovery of antibiotics, medicine was increasingly regarded as a science and less as a ‘healing art’. Using diaries, clinical notes and other sources, the paper explores the interaction between physicians and Inuit at Pangnirtung, Baffin Island in the 1930s. Drawing on records – particularly those kept by Drs. J.A. Bildfell and Thomas J. Orford – we deconstruct their writing of physician/Inuit interactions.

This is a conflicted record. Science and technological advances in medicine are seen to have the potential of addressing many of the medical problems diagnosed among Inuit. Bildfell notes that Inuit, despite the curative powers of scientific medicine, are reluctant to embrace them. He appears to be caught between the promise and potential of the profession, and a shirking admiration of Inuit practices.

A deconstruction of these texts suggests that the construction of the Oriental ‘Other’ can be understood not only as a heuristic device that ultimately imbeds itself in *Qallunaat*/Inuit relations (as in superior/inferior), but constitutes a severely reluctant recognition by *Qallunaat* of their powerlessness in an environment they could not master and circumstances where they were entirely dependent, for example, on the ship arriving once a year, as well as Inuit skill.

(Session - Retrieving Arctic History from Archives)

Long-range Transport of Information: Contaminants Perceptions in Northern Communities

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Contaminants research has taught us about the extensive pathways that transport contaminants to the circumpolar North, and attempts have been made to communicate information about this issue to northern residents. Northern peoples have had to come to terms with the concept of contaminants and with their effects on northern lifestyles, health and food security. Despite extensive programming to inform northerners about this issue however, it seems that Long Range Transport of Contaminants is more easily achieved than LRT of Information. This paper reports on an evaluation of contaminants perceptions and comprehension in four communities in Nunavut and Labrador. It is clear that science and communications have not been successful in creating clear public understanding of the issue and its implications. We attempt to identify some of the factors leading to this lack of communication.

(Session - Local Foods and Contaminants)

Wordlist for the Psychology Working Environment in Greenlandic

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I will show how we are working with the terminological wordlist of the psychology working environment at the Secretariat for the Greenlandic Language Board, especially what our working method is. The overview of the terminology working method is: Computer as a resource, use the text corpus from the whole special subject field, including terms from the rest of society; expose the psychological specialists to the terms and their definitions; and, finally, consult the Greenlandic Language Council about the Greenlandic terms.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)

**Animal Stocks and Sustainability:
Misunderstandings in the Communication and Expression of Science
in Greenland**

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In Greenland, the channels of communicating the results of scientific research on living marine and terrestrial resources to the wider society have long been open. The results of research carried out by Greenlandic and Danish institutions are often written in reports that are translated into both Greenlandic and Danish. As examples, the following descriptions of three recent projects involving local hunters and users, demonstrate how the results have been communicated back to the communities:

1) *Integrating local knowledge about eiders in Greenland - a feasibility study.* This project involved local hunters and resulted in the *Long term monitoring programme of eider ducks in Ilulissat, Uummannaq and Upernavik municipalities.* The pilot project used local knowledge about mapping, distribution and numbers of colonies of the common eider in West Greenland. The origin of the project was a request from hunters for participation and recognition of their knowledge of population dynamics and size of common eider colonies.

2) In connection with oil exploration in West Greenland, local knowledge was collected in 1999 about fish spawning and feeding in the coastal zone, since there are concerns that fish will be particularly exposed to the impacts following any oil spill in the event of oil production eventually taking place in Greenlandic waters. The main objective of the study was to map areas important to spawning and fishing for capelin and lumpsucker. Arctic char was also included in the study, since it is feeding at the coast. Data were collected by means of a questionnaire/interview study.

3) In connection with data collection of local knowledge to *Kalaallit Nunaani Isumalluutinin Umassusilinnik Pinngortitamullu Eriagisassanik Nalunaarsuineq (registration of living resources and natural amenities in Greenland)* H.C. Petersen visited all municipalities in Greenland, collecting data over several periods (1960 -1984, 1985 - 1999, except 1987). The methods he used were semi-directive interviews and mapping. The tapes from the interviews have been digitised and are available to the public.

As well as the digitised tape, a CD containing the documented local knowledge, has been published in pdf-format, also available to the public in both languages.

However, despite this accessibility and dissemination, misunderstandings about both the nature of scientific research and the communication of research data continue to cloud the political and public debates about the sustainable use of resources. Biologists play a central role in the debate about the management of resource use - they act as expert advisers to the Home Rule administration and their research is highly influential in the way the concept of ecological sustainability is being understood and defined. By taking the three examples outlined above as a departure point, this presentation considers some of these issues, in particular by looking at how scientific research on the animals that Greenlanders depend on for making a living is organised and presented as scientific data to Greenlandic society. It argues that, while the channels for the translation and communication of scientific knowledge are open, the very expression of that knowledge is sometimes a barrier to the integration of scientific and local knowledge which is crucial to the extremely critical political and cultural debate about the contemporary uses of living resources.

(Plenary Session - Knowledge Crossing Cultures)

Greenland Language Policy Review

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The Greenland government asked for a Greenland language policy review in 1999. The Greenland Language Secretariat did the review and held a hearing about it after half a years' study. The conference came up with several recommendations to the Greenland Parliament and Greenland government. The Greenland Language Secretariat issued a report called: "... but the word."

I will review the report and the recommendations and how the situation is for Greenlandic language as an official language in the modern world, and as a language of culture as well as language as a political instrument.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)

Atuarfitsialak: Greenland's New School

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This paper examines an effort to improve the academic performance of the students through a whole school reform initiative in Greenland starting in 1998. Then the Minister of Education in Greenland stated that “*children are our most important resource*” and “*children are our common future*”. Presenting the report on a proposal for the school reform the Minister wrote: “*We can’t afford to loose our credibility in the public school area*”. The Minister of Education concluded expressing the purpose of the Cabinet in Greenland for the reform work: “*We want the best school in the world – no more – no less*”.

The Greenlandic school reform got the title: Atuarfitsialak (the Good School). Different significant change agents were playing important roles throughout the work with the reform both from insiders and from outsiders view. The paper will give a brief introduction to the characteristics of the context of the reform process concerning the Public School Education in Greenlandic as well as it will provide a short description of educational, cultural and innovative elements borrowed from others build in the new legislation on the public school education. The paper will also review and examine new initiatives started recently to create Atuarfitsialak (the Good School) in Greenland.

(Session - Ilinniarniq: Inuit Future through Education)

**The Criteria for Anthropological Science,
as Conceived in the Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-24).**

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In diverse ways, Danish anthropology in the inter-war period reached its peak in the Fifth Thule Expedition. Here the ethnographical and culture-historical ambitions of the “Danish school” were to be tested and substantiated. Collections of material and “spiritual” culture were frenetically piled up - in Copenhagen. Parts of these collections have, in often complicated destinies of reception, played an important role in Inuit identity constructions. My contribution does not (only) focus on the necessary critique of the theoretical presuppositions of this dated “Eskimological” endeavour, but tries to reconstruct them in a perspective, guided by a history of science approach. The argument is, simply put, that only a grasping of the material in its very production, and in the conditions of this production, is allowing for a genuine and reflective reappropriation of both artefacts and non-material documents.

(Session - Retrieving Arctic History from Archives)

Toponymy in Nunavut

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The paper will provide an overview of current place names research, policy issues, as well as the production of Inuktitut maps in Nunavut. One of the Inuit Heritage Trust's (IHT) mandates, under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, is to review traditional place names in order that these names become official.

All places on the land that have ever had any significance to Inuit are named. Place names represent an aspect of traditional environmental knowledge, a source of tangible baseline information that is a good starting point for further investigation. This information is at its most useful if it is represented on maps. One of the most frequently cited reasons by Inuit for having "Inuktitut maps" is for navigation and communication amongst travelers on the land. The paper will explore the myriad challenges that IHT has encountered researching in communities, finding the needed expertise for the production of maps, and working with the Government of Nunavut towards making traditional names official.

(Session - Inuit Knowledge Transfer)

The Anglican Archival Record: Acquisition and Research Potential

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The diocese of the Arctic archival fonds and related manuscript collections have been acquired, described, preserved, and made available for research at the Anglican General Synod Archives in Toronto. Collecting began in 1956 with the acquisition of the Edmund Peck papers by the first archivist Dr. Thomas R. Millman. In addition to ongoing legal and administrative value for the diocese and the wider Church, these archives are held in trust for the communities, parishes and individuals whose lives are documented in printed books, manuscripts, maps, photos, films and microforms.

This paper will analyze the process by which the collections were acquired, their contents and some of the as yet unexplored research potential for local communities. It will attempt to locate the nature of the trust relationship that exists between the repository and local communities and individuals, and will examine strategies for sharing this abundant heritage.

(Session - St. Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung: Missionary Nurses and People)

Experiences with Communicating Research Results in Two Research Projects in Greenland.

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In 2001 and in 2003 two research projects based on transgressive methods (Patti Lather: *Getting Smart*, 2000) were carried out among 101 youth of 12-19 years of age and among 35 tweens of 10-12 years of age. We gave each person a disposable camera and an enclosed diary and asked them to describe in pictures and words their life with media. In line with the theory of empowerment the young people in both projects completely took over the project and described primarily their lives and then their lives with media.

In presenting these projects we – my colleague, Birgit Kleist Pedersen and I (the 12 -19 years old) and a group of students (the tweens) are trying to present the pictures – give them back to the informants and the society – in a manner of post-positivistic Visual Ethnography (Sarah Pink: *Doing Visual Ethnography*, 2001) in which we are deconstructing the hierarchies of yesterday of the written word opposite pictures, making a non-linear exhibition in which all the senses are challenged. This exhibition is planned to run from the 21st of May for ten days in Nuuk, and is funded by the Home Rule. My paper will relate these projects, the transgressive theory and the result from that exhibition.

(Session - Outside Science Returns to the Inuit)

**Autochthony and Governance:
Symbolic Appropriation of the Land among the Inuit of
Nunavik and Nunavut**

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The relationships that a people have with its land are complex and multidimensional. The case of Canada's Arctic is a good example. I will be mainly examining these relationships from the standpoint of the Inuit, who over the past thirty years have entered into a process of reappropriating their land, first of all economically and politically and then symbolically. Although the Canadian State considers them a "first nation" on the lands they occupy, the Inuit have always recognized that other peoples preceded them in the Arctic, whom they call the "Tuniit." These peoples left vestiges of their occupation and many myths refer to their retreat or extinction. Other myths also refer to other peoples, still present on the land, but invisible to the average person. Some of these peoples are monstrous whereas others are gifted with shamanistic powers, with whom the shamans could make contact, before Christianity came and severed this relationship. To understand the symbolic appropriation of the land, we must consider the link that each person establishes with his or her birthplace and with each place where he or she has stayed. We must also consider the presence of graves, meat caches, stone corrals on the ground for caribou hunting or in watercourses for Arctic char fishing, and cairns on mountains and major headlands. Some sites, such as remote islands, strategic headlands, and certain lakes, are inhabited by spirits who may keep a new visitor from venturing further. Such obstacles may be overcome through special rituals. The key to a harmonious relationship with the land therefore lies in what the elders know. This knowledge also includes myths that recount the heroic feats of great ancestors who lived at specific places on the land. Place names are one form of this knowledge, but they acquire meaning only through the tales, rituals, and beliefs that accompany them.

(Session - Modes of Analysis of Inuit Self-Determination)

Arctic Communities and Environmental Change: A Participatory Research Approach

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This paper outlines a component of the ArcticNet research program that is designed to address several widely recognized needs in Arctic science: 1) the integration of natural sciences and social sciences to provide comprehensive insights relevant to decision-making; 2) the substantive involvement of Inuit as true research partners; and 3) the effective dissemination of research findings, particularly to the communities themselves. ArcticNet's Project 4.2 is about *Reducing Human Vulnerability to Environmental Change in the Canadian Arctic*. The approach aims to assess implications of changing environmental conditions and to identify adaptation options. The proposed framework, that has been successfully applied elsewhere, builds on existing knowledge and is focused on community involvement. The research model engages community members and organizations at the outset, from the preliminary project feasibility assessments to the final results. Therefore, community views and priorities are incorporated throughout by: a) identifying current exposures and adaptive strategies; b) assessing future risks and adaptation needs; c) disseminating findings; and c) building capacity in northern communities and organizations.

(Session - Outside Science Returns to the Inuit)

**What Counts as Inuit Subsistence?:
Cash, Kinship, and Obligation in the Light of Self-Governance.**

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The importance of subsistence and sharing is often stated as an article of faith in any discussion of Inuit culture and social life. It is also frequently repeated that wage labour and the cash economy complicate, and often undermine, traditional sharing practices and the Inuit social relations that are embedded within sharing and subsistence.

Using a Canadian case study this paper suggests that subsistence is often defined more narrowly in academic and political discourse than contemporary sharing practices would indicate. There is nothing inherent to cash *per se* that makes it different from the goods that are regarded as subject to sharing. Rather, the author argues that it is the alien institutions of governance, which support Eurocanadian notions of the family and household, that discourage the circulation of cash in subsistence sharing networks. The author proposes that various indigenous self-governance opportunities in Canada provide a chance for Inuit to radically redesign these alien institutions in ways that support specifically Inuit values of sharing even within a cash economy.

(Session - Modes of Analysis of Inuit Self-Determination)

**So Many Papers, so Much Time:
Inuit Social History, Recording the Writing and Writing the Record**

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The National Archives of Canada contain, in a number of record groups, an extensive array of texts that document the social history of the eastern Arctic. The records are so detailed that changing circumstances affecting the health, education and the general well-being of Inuit can almost be noted on a day-to-day basis.

For over fifteen years, the authors have collected this material, principally from the National Archives of Canada, supplemented by material from other collections. The materials have not been easy to locate. The finding aids for the National Archives – and other collections - are not sufficiently specific to permit the identification of individual items. Thousands of hours have been spent combing through boxes of material, identifying key items that, for each file, tell a story. The result is a collection of over 7500 items, commencing with material dealing with territorial game laws from the 1880s through to resources documenting historical events (particularly the devolution of health care systems) from the late 1980s.

How should this material be presented and made more accessible to other researchers? The authors have undertaken a project to produce abstracts of these resources and to place them ‘on line’ where they can be accessed by Inuit and Inuit institutions, as well as others interested in Arctic and Inuit social history. The paper describes the process of cataloguing these materials and discusses concerns related to their use.

(Session - Retrieving Arctic History from Archives)

**"Our Use for the Land is Changing" :
Incorporating Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit into Environmental Assessment for
a Proposed Mineral Development in Nunavut**

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"The proposed project is very important to me. In the past, we have used the land as hunting and trapping grounds. We weren't aware of minerals underneath. Nowadays the hunting and trapping aspect is almost gone. It is like our use for the land is changing." – *Steve Anavilok, Iqaluktuuttiaq*

"There's going to be ongoing studies around the area, right? Inuit would have access to those studies, because down the road, we'll have to make sound and educated decisions." – *Phillip Kadlun, Kugluktuk*

An exploration company plans to construct and operate a new gold mine on Inuit owned land in Nunavut. To assist the company in incorporating *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ) into their Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), Golder Associates Ltd. collaborated with the Kitikmeot Heritage Society to carry out a three-day workshop and a series of personal interviews in Iqaluktuuttiaq in September, 2003. The workshop and interviews focused on: definitions for IQ and an understanding of climate change, air quality, noise, landscape and terrain, hydrology and water quality, aquatic organisms and habitat, vegetation, terrestrial wildlife and habitats, archaeology, cumulative environmental effects, and valued ecosystem components. In addition to IQ related to each of these topics, workshop participants and interviewees put forth eight recommendations to the company.

This paper will discuss the community-based processes through which workshop participants and interviewees were selected, ways in which high-school students were invited to participate, key findings related to workshop focus areas, methods of giving results back to communities, and ways to encourage spin-off IQ initiatives from a primary project.

(Session - Inuit Knowledge Transfer)

**Modern Greenlandic Art:
Communication of Research Results on
a Greenlandic Museum Web-Page.**

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In the presentation I discuss Internet as a way of communicating research results to the Inuit. Collaborating with the Greenland National Museum and Archives on developing my idea of a Virtual Art Museum as part of their Homepage, I find it possible both to establish a dialog with the Greenlandic scientific community on research on modern Greenlandic art in relation to identity communication, and to provide a platform for communicating the results to the Greenlandic Art World and Greenlanders in general. Using interactive elements of the Internet gives the Greenlanders the opportunity to react on the results and how they are communicated. The fact that results will be accessible worldwide can increase the knowledge of the Inuit and their societies – but also makes it important for the scientist to acknowledge the power he possesses when he chooses what to communicate and how.

(Session - Inuit Ilirqusingi: Inuit Speech, Customs and Modern Cultural Expression)

St. Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung: Creation and Context

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This paper will provide an historical overview of the history of mission and medical activities in the Cumberland Sound region. It will examine the use of medical services by the first Anglican missionaries at Blacklead Island between 1894 and 1905 as an incentive for Inuit to convert to Christianity. It will then examine the reopening of the mission at Pangnirtung in 1926 in the context of the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police presence in the area. Finally, it will look at the work of Dr. Livingstone as the first government health worker in the region and his struggle with the Canadian Government and the Anglican Church to build the hospital in Pangnirtung.

(Session - St. Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung: Missionary Nurses and People)

Accessing Stories through Ethnographic Film

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This paper presents a unique collaboration between Inuit, Triad Film Productions and Saint Mary's University for the collection, preservation and transmission of Inuit knowledge through documentary filmmaking and archives. For years, writer/director John Houston has been researching and revealing Inuit memories through documentaries such as *Songs in Stone*, *Nuliajuk*, and, about to be released, *Diet of Souls*. Inuit are the storytellers; they carve out the context in which the stories are told, shape the direction of the filmmaking, and speak prominently in the films. Saint Mary's University provides ethnographic support and a repository for the hours of audio and video tape collected. Triad Film Productions brings the stories back to the North (also to the Canadian and international public) in the form of moving, vivid, documentary films. The vision of the Saint Mary's-Triad partnership is to eventually establish the collection of Inuit stories from around the circumpolar North, captured during research, in a Northern location for future study.

(Session - Inuit Knowledge Transfer)

Greenlandic terminology

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I would like to argue that the Greenlandic language does need terminology. I will put forward bilingualism, diglossia and domain loss as arguments for extending terminology work in Greenlandic.

Two languages exist in Greenland: Greenlandic and Danish. Some people only speak Greenlandic, some people speak both Greenlandic and Danish, while some people speak only Danish. The costs of bilingualism are the following; *diglossia*, *domain loss* and *the placing of the Danish language in the law of the Greenlandic Home Rule*.

Diglossia is a phenomenon that shows up between two languages, and is demonstrated by people who can express themselves in their mother tongue while they are with their family and friends, and can better express themselves in their second language when they are at work.

Diglossia is one of the consequences of bilingualism of the society. Many Greenlandic people are educated in Greenlandic in public schools. When Greenlandic students start high school, then they will be educated in Danish, except when they have Greenlandic as a subject. Greenlandic is a compulsory subject in high schools.

Other training places, for example Teacher School (Ilinniarfissuaq), and commercial training (Niuernermik ilinniarfik), offer instruction in Danish, because materials are in Danish and the teachers are Danish. Danish teachers come to Greenland to cover the shortage of teachers who can speak Greenlandic.

Danish-language education results in educated people who can better express their knowledge of their subject in Danish, even though they have Greenlandic as their mother tongue.

Domain loss occurs when a subject area cannot satisfactorily be expressed in one of the languages. For example in Greenland, computer terminology and science vocabulary are Danish. Most of the terms are direct loanwords from Danish.

Loan of concept brings either *neologisms* or *loanwords*. Since Greenlandic is a polysynthetic language, formation of new words in Greenlandic is easy. Even though Greenlandic has many neologisms, direct loanwords are still relatively common.

(Session - Use of Inuktitut Languages: Traditional Material and Modern Methods)