

# Inuvialuit Culture and the Rules of Traditional Times



- refer to  
Briggs, Aspects of  
Inuit Value  
Socializ  
(1971)

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## Table of Contents

Section	Page
<b>Part A: Literature Review . . . . .</b>	<b>1</b>
Introduction . . . . .	3
The Ethic of Non Interference. . . . .	4
The Ethic That Anger Not Be Shown . . . . .	10
The Ethic Respecting Praise and Gratitude . . . . .	15
The Conservation/Withdrawal Tactic . . . . .	17
The Notion that the Time Must Be Right . . . . .	19
Conclusion . . . . .	22
 <b>Part B: Analysis of the Inuvialuit Culture Questionnaire . .</b>	 <b>25</b>
The Questionnaire. . . . .	27
Analysis of the Questionnaire. . . . .	28
Conclusion . . . . .	38
 <b>Appendix A: Inuvialuit Culture Questionnaire . . . . .</b>	 <b>41</b>
 <b>Bibliography . . . . .</b>	 <b>71</b>

**Part A:**  
**Literature Review**

## Introduction

Dancing with a Ghost provides compelling evidence of Rupert Ross' struggle to both understand Native culture and to illustrate how dramatically it differs from Euro Canadian culture. Ross defines five rules that he believes typify Native culture: the ethic of non-interference, the ethic that anger not be shown, the ethic respecting praise and gratitude, the conservation-withdrawal tactic, and the notion that the time must be right. Ross clearly states, however, that his experience is derived primarily from observations of the Cree and Ojibway peoples of northwestern Ontario (p.xxi). This literature review is the first part of an attempt to determine whether these rules hold true for Native people in another part Canada, that is, the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic.

Geographically speaking, the Inuvialuit are defined as Inuit who have traditionally lived along the coastline of the Arctic Ocean, trading with the Inupiat of Alaska and the Inuit of the central Arctic. Inuvialuit settlement in this area can be attributed to the abundant resources of the land and sea (Pokiak, p.256). Migrating caribou provided food, clothing and other items necessary for survival. The Mackenzie River (or "Deh Cho", literally translating as Big River), is one of the largest in the world and teems with fish. As the river flows north to the sea it branches out into a delta rich in edible plants, berries and roots. The Arctic Ocean, narrowing into the Beaufort Sea, is home to not only fish but also polar bears, bowhead and beluga whales, and seals.

Despite the ample resources in the settlement region, survival was neither easy nor taken for granted by the Inuvialuit. The extreme changes in climactic conditions, and the dependence on the land to provide all that was necessary for survival, had a great influence

on the structure of Inuvialuit society. Rules and patterns of behaviour were established, all with the goal of ensuring smooth community life and the survival of the people.

In the following review, the rules of traditional times as mentioned by Ross are discussed in turn. Examples comparing Inuvialuit patterns of behaviour to these rules are brought forth from eight works that are either written by Inuvialuit (*The Restless Nomad; I, Nuligak*) or whose main subject area is the Inuit (*Never in Anger; The Central Eskimo; The People's Land; Issumatuq, Kabloona, and Northern Voices*). Penny Petrone (1988) indicates eight main cultural groupings among the Inuit. While the isolation of the north has ensured that differences exist among the various cultural groupings, it has also worked to create certain commonalities among the different groups. The books that were chosen for this review give examples from Inuit culture throughout the north, although an effort was made to choose writings and examples referring specifically to Inuvialuit.

### **The Ethic of Non-Interference**

Ross illustrates the Ethic of Non-Interference with a quote from Dr. Clare Brant, a Mohawk Indian:

This principle of non-interference is all-pervasive throughout our entire culture. 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, p.13)

The books reviewed give a great deal of credence to this principle, both directly and indirectly. Hugh Brody (1975) tells the story of a non native teacher in one of the settlements who was charged by the RCMP with molesting some of the young boys in the school. From his discussions with various people in the community, Brody found that the

attitude of the non native community was on the whole one of moral outrage over the entire affair. The attitude of the Native community was quite different. Native members of the community felt that they should have been able to handle the matter themselves, without interference. As Brody notes, "Attak was indignant at the way the school principal and other officials had taken the matter entirely into their own hands, and he was firm in his feeling that the RCMP should never have been involved. The police had far more important things to do than to interfere with a teacher whose activities were the Eskimos' concern (p.12)." Along with the rest of the Native community, Attak, who was the father of one of the boys who had been molested, was indignant not about the actual offence, but rather the lack of respect with which the affair had been handled and the direct interference into an affair which he felt should have been handled solely by the Native community.

Boas (1964) notes that even though traditional families in camps lived together in cooperation, they exerted very little control over each other.

If the distance between the winter and summer settlement is very great or when any particular knowledge is required to find out the haunts of game, there is a kind of chief in the settlement, whose acknowledged authority is, however, very limited. He is called the pimain (i.e. he who knows everything best) or the issumautang. His authority is virtually limited to the right of deciding on the proper time to shift the huts from one place to the other, but the families are not obliged to follow him. At some places it seems to be considered proper to ask the pimain before moving to another settlement and leaving the rest of the tribe. He may ask some men to go deer hunting, others to go sealing, but there is not the slightest obligation to obey his orders (Boas, p.173)

This idea that Inuit society did not encourage leadership as distinct from the group is confirmed by Jean Briggs (1970), who spent seventeen months living as the "adopted daughter" of an Inuit family at Back River, close to Gjoa Haven. Referring to her adopted

father, Inuttiaq, she notes that in a different society, "he might have been a leader; but Utku society allows little scope for would-be leaders. The Utku, like other Eskimo bands, have no formal leaders whose authority transcends that of the separate householders. Moreover, cherishing independence of thought and action as a natural prerogative, people tend to look askance at anyone who seems to aspire to tell them what to do." (p.42)

Briggs mentions an occasion when Inuttiaq tried to influence people in the community to knock on each other's doors when they went visiting, saying that "Jesus says we should knock on iglu doors before entering when we go visiting." (p.57) However, people either ignored the edict or else, "when instructed, merely murmured 'eeeeee (yes),' indicating with the customary bland impassive smile that they heard." (p.58) However this custom, amongst others that Inuttiaq tried to impose, was never adopted.

It is interesting to note that while Inuit did not normally proffer advice or feel obliged to take instructions from other Inuit, the situation may have changed in their dealings with Euro Canadians. When Briggs landed in Back River, she carried with her letters of introduction that had been written for her by an Inuit deacon and his wife. The letters advised the Utku that Jean was a bit shy, and that "they need not feel, as they often do feel towards kaplunas [white people], that they had to comply with [her] every wish (p.19). This was praise indeed. It almost appears that the Utku were being informed that Jean did not need a great deal of extra attention. In other words, her wishes did not need to be fulfilled as the wishes of a child would need to be fulfilled.

The ethic of non interference is particularly evident in regards to attitudes towards children. Within limits children, especially young children, are allowed to do as they

please, so long as they are not putting themselves or others in danger. As Briggs (1970, pp.111-112) notes, the process of growing up and conforming is a process of the child acquiring the ability to reason:

Utku consider, I think, that the growth of ihuma is internal and autonomous to a degree. They believe that ihuma needs to be informed, instructed, in order to develop along proper lines, but that there is no point in trying to teach a child before he shows signs of possessing it. So in many respects the child is permitted to time his own social growth. The belief is that the more ihuma the child acquires, the more he will want to use it. Adults just wait for him to conform, or say "I told you so" when he burns himself or is bitten as a result of ignoring warnings. (p.112)

On a number of occasions, Briggs indicates that she felt she was regarded as a child by the Utku, and as such was watched over, albeit in such a way that she did not realize what was happening. If she wandered away while twig-gathering, her adopted mother, Allaq, sent her sister after her to make sure that Briggs did not lose her way (p.64). This was done in such a manner that Briggs never noticed; it was the sister who later told Briggs what had happened. Although Briggs wanted to improve her land skills, "somebody was always at my elbow to do the difficult job for me. On numerous occasions I tried to subvert the tendency to treat me as a prima donna or a child by taking it upon myself to do things that were usually done for me and by refusing the help that was always quietly proffered." (p.250) Briggs also notes that her numerous questions were tolerated as the questions of a child would be tolerated (p.180). Another woman, Niqi, also asked too many questions, "as a child would do," and so was thought to lack patience and circumspection (p.198).

Typical answers to what were perceived to be unnecessary questions were "I don't know," or "It could be." Brody (1975) recounts the views of an overly impatient Oblate

missionary who misconstrued the reasons for these evasive answers, and who arrogantly concluded as a result that Eskimos were incapable of intellectual thought.

More than once I asked an Eskimo an explanation of his way of acting, of a rule in grammar, etc... an explanation calling for an intellectual effort on his part.

The first reply is evidently: 'Amiashook' (I don't know).

I insist ...

The Eskimo looks at me for an instant and ends by saying: 'Why? because we do it thus... because it is like that.' Certainly this not a rational answer... These people, with so little intellect, are always happy. They soon forget their past miseries and ignore the plans and cares for the future. They live from day to day without worry... He has no trouble falling asleep even when he knows he has no food for the morrow, and famine lies in wait for him and his family (p.24).

It seems that the missionary was blind to the cultural differences separating himself and the Inuit. Gontran de Poncins, a young Frenchman who spent fifteen months travelling and living with the Inuit in the late thirties, attempts to give their point of view and agrees with Briggs that the Inuit often thought of non natives as child-like.

The Eskimo, you will exclaim, has the mind of a child. Agreed: but is it not interesting that to the Eskimo it is we who seem like children? We are impatient; we ask a thousand useless questions; as soon as things go wrong we show our discontent without fear of losing face. The Eskimo feels himself constantly obliged to sooth us, placate us, as if we were children who would fly into a rage unless we had our way. (p.169)

De Poncins goes on to relate a story showing how the ethic of non interference would prevent an Inuk from commenting directly on the activities of another person:

I remember that I took Utak's wife to the Store, to pick out of my stock of caribou hides a few to be sewn up into socks. I spread them on the floor, and immediately there came into her face a look half pity and half scorn. The reason was not that the skins were poor: they had been carefully chosen for me by the shrewdest woman in Coppermine. It was that she had seen me on the trail, where I had stumbled, where I had proved that I did not know how to tie their kind of knots in the strips of sealskin of which their

lashings are made, and had in other ways displayed my ineptitude. As a matter of fact the Eskimo takes it for granted that the white man does everything badly. But he never interferes or gives advice, as we do. Instead, he waits until you have done the job--lashed the sled, for example; and when you have finished he comes calmly forward, undoes your work, and does it all over again. (pp.169-170)

Nuligak, an Inuvialuk born approximately in 1895, mentions his mother's husband (I. Nuligak, 1966) as he relates the story of a trip, and indicates clearly that interference into other peoples' business was not appreciated:

My mother's husband was almost an old man. He must have been about fifty or sixty. I had never seen him before this trip, as I was too young and did not meddle in other people's business. Anyway in those days Eskimos did not attach much importance to their neighbours' private lives. (p.25)

As advice was not proffered, children learned through observation and through imitation, with little if any interference from the adults around them. Nuligak writes of building igloos with his friends when he was young: "As young children we amused ourselves by trying to build igloos. Thus did I learn that art." (p.53)

Alice French (1992) writes about her life as a young Inuvialuit woman in The Restless Nomad. On one occasion her stepmother was sent away to be treated for tuberculosis, and she took on the role of the eldest female in their household. Although she made mistakes, her father did not interfere, seeing these mistakes as part of the necessary learning process.

... we did miss Onalena and sometimes it hurt me to see my father miss her so. Like the time he had to remind me to mend something for him, or the time he had to go into town to buy more supplies when he thought we had enough to see us through the spring. There would have been, with careful management, but since I did not know how much to use of this or that, we had run out of some items. He never scolded me about these things

because he knew we were all learning the importance of fending for ourselves. (p.81)

As indicated by the above examples, the ethic of non interference appears to pervade Inuit culture, affecting not only how adults would interact with each other but also how children would be raised. Evidence from Briggs, Nuligak and French indicates that children develop at their own rate, and at the appropriate time take on adult roles. As shown by Boas and Briggs, adults live in a relatively free society, with each household taking responsibility for its own survival. The ethic of non interference thus acts as a code of behaviour, understood by all members of society, that allows for mutual respect. The examples from Brody and de Poncins indicate that an attitude of respect was maintained even in the face of a culture that made no effort to understand this ethic.

### **The Ethic that Anger Not Be Shown**

In his discussion on anger, Ross (p.29) draws a parallel between the situation faced by Native people during traditional times and that faced by soldiers during wartime. Faced by a common enemy, soldiers are forced to submerge their individual likes and dislikes. The same principle applied to Native people, except that their common enemy was starvation. As Ross notes, "each isolated, extended family group in the wilderness had to count on the fullest cooperation of all its members. There was simply no room for the playing out of interpersonal antagonisms or jealousies." (p.29) Ross' discussion indicates that not only anger, but also other emotions had to be controlled in order to ensure the survival of the community. He specifically mentions grief and sorrow, as these emotions

could also incapacitate an individual and hence threaten the group if they became too strong.

Briggs (1970) notes that she learned most about how the Utku expressed emotion through her adopted father, Inuttiaq, a man who showed he was deliberately controlling his emotions.

It was his very atypicality that made it possible for me to learn from him what the proper patterns are. Most other Utku were so well controlled that my untutored eye could not detect their emotions. But Inuttiaq was, if I have read him correctly, an unusually intense person. He, too, kept strict control of his feelings, but in his case one was aware that something was being controlled. The effect of his control was caught in the flash of an eye, quickly subdued, in the careful length of a pause, or the painstaking neutrality of a reply. (p.42)

Briggs also notes that "control of temper is a cardinal virtue among Eskimos, and Inuttiaq never lost his temper." (p.46) At another point, she speaks of Inuttiaq's control with his children.

Inuttiaq's warmth was most evident when he was with his own children. Eskimos are reputed to be devoted to their children and very indulgent of them, and the Utku are no exception. But Inuttiaq had an unusual reputation for even-tempered affection. Both his wife and his father-in-law told me several times what a good father Inuttiaq was: "He loves (naklik) his children deeply; he is never angry (ningaq, urulu) with them." "Inuttiaq is the only parent who is never angry with his children," Allaq said. And Pala said that because Inuttiaq was never angry with them, his children loved (unga) him very much. It was highest praise. (p.69)

Control was admired not only over anger, but also over love. Inuttiaq and his wife Allaq admitted they loved their second daughter, Saarak, "a little bit more" than they loved her older sister or the baby (Briggs, p. 135). However, Inuttiaq characterized his love for

Saarak as "uncomfortable", whereas his love for the other two girls was "comfortable and good." It seems that feeling any emotion too strongly was to be avoided.

As a result of her own volatility, Briggs herself experienced some difficulties in her dealings with the Utku:

I was acutely aware of the high level of control valued, and to a large extent achieved, by Utku, and with secret discomfort I contrasted that control with my own tempery reactions to minor misfortunes. Though my reactions were well within the bounds set by my own culture, in an Utku setting they did not seem so harmless. (p.258)

The Utku response to Briggs' outbursts varied. Sometimes the reaction was one of withdrawal (p.259), or to treat Briggs as a child (p.252). Some Utku however recognized the difference between anger in their culture and anger as it appeared in Euro Canadian culture. In a letter written by a mutual friend to the sister of Briggs' adopted mother, the writer noted that "Kaplunas, and some Eskimos, too, get angry at themselves, sometimes, rather than at other people. If Yiini [Briggs] is angry, leave her alone. If an Eskimo gets angry it's something to remember, but a kapluna can get angry in the morning and be over it by afternoon." (p.261)

Briggs was not the only one to experience difficulty in controlling her emotions. In The Restless Nomad, Alice French writes of the difficulties she underwent on returning to her family and a new stepmother after having spent time in a residential school.

I would just have to forget for the time being all the things I had learned in school and relearn the philosophy of my ancestors. Mamiana, it cannot be helped. I learned this saying and kept saying it. I also learned to hide my feelings and work harder to understand and please her. Emotionally I was so tired. I trained myself to work hard physically so that I was too tired to be troubled and bothered by any of it (p.21).

One of the main goals of the elders was to train children to be able to control their anger. Alice French noted in regards to her grandfather that "We knew that it hurt him more than it hurt us when he had to correct us, and so in this way we learned to curb our outbursts when hurt or angry." (p.56)

The ethic that anger not be shown was so strong that it was adhered to even in situations in which one person might be taking advantage of another. De Poncins relates the story of a destitute Eskimo and his wife, who for one reason or another seemed unable to provide for themselves, but who survived due to the efforts of others:

But they, the man and his wife, did not die. There was always an Eskimo to lend them a snow-knife, another to repair their sled for them on the trail, a third to house them because the man could not build a possible igloo. And never--it was this that was so admirable--never would you have heard a single impatient or angry word spoken about these two. Of course they were teased a bit at night in the igloo, and great tales were told of the man's comical futility; but they were unfailingly taken care of. The others would say, "He couldn't get there because of his sled": they would never say, "The man doesn't know how to get over a trail." When tools were lent him and he broke them, nobody complained. (pp.115-116)

It seems clear that in a culture dependent on close cooperation for survival, negative emotions could not be openly displayed. Kit Minor (1992) notes that "the Inuit recognized that simple physical survival must claim priority over all other concerns. All energy had to be expended in their will to survive the elements, and skills were developed and utilized to reduce emotional discontent or trauma." (p.33) In her discussion of the role of the shaman, Minor points out the importance of the shaman's ability to restore harmony to the group.

The skills of the shaman were critical in recognizing when an individual or individuals had caused displeasure among the spirits and thus affected the survival of the group. The shaman knew how to appease the spirits and could thus effectively solve the matter that was causing concern

to the camp members. The Inuit simply could not waste time in despair or yearning, for each day they were faced with the reality of searching for food and finding shelter. The skills of the shaman in reducing anxiety and knowing how to gain the blessings of the spirits were critical to camp well-being. (p.36)

Minor identifies three factors important to the psychology of the Inuit: "(1) acceptance of things that cannot be changed, (2) silent acceptance and (3) seeking and gaining advice when a matter can be changed." (p.53) Things that could not be changed, such as the death of a loved one, might be regretted but the expectation was that the individual would overcome his/her loss and move on. Any negative emotions were potentially life threatening and had to be controlled.

In traditional Inuit culture, silent acceptance of the situation was paramount in times of grief or stress. Ajurnamat (here used to denote the act of employing silence) provided the individual with a way to release tensions and emotional attachments and provided the group with the knowledge that the silence of everyone else indicated concern and understanding. The background expectancy was that the matter was to be accepted and life would continue. (p.54)

Calmness and acceptance of the situation one found oneself in meant that individuals could assess and think their way through life threatening situations out on the land. In Penny Petrone's Northern Voices, Felix Nuyaviak tells the story of his father-in-law, Mangilaluk, when he and a group of hunters were caught out on an ice pack in a blizzard. In contrast with the extreme weather conditions and the dangerous situation of the hunters, Mangilaluk's calmness is remarkable.

Chisak, Kaobviak and Sitorana huddled themselves up to Mangilaluk, who placidly and without showing any emotion tried constantly to pierce the surroundings and the limited horizon. Suddenly, Mangilaluk jostled his near companion. No words were uttered at this time, words are useless and out of line, and with the other hand, pointed only to something,

which looked like land. All looked ahead and lo, there it was, a high bluff? An iceberg? They were all tense and aghast, staring at that mass ahead of them and travelling its way toward them. Was it the end of their ice floe and a cold jump in the sea? They tried to guess and figure out what would be the next move from Mangilaluk. But as usual, he didn't show his emotions. (p.185)

Trained to hold his emotions in check, Mangilaluk was able to save himself and his companions by jumping onto the approaching ice floe. If he had panicked, the result would assuredly have been death. Strict control over one's feelings may seem harsh and unhealthy in our society; however, in traditional Inuvialuit society this ethic acted to increase cooperation between individuals and actually saved lives when people were out on the land.

### **The Ethic Respecting Praise and Gratitude**

Ross points out that in traditional times, sharing and working hard were expected of everyone, and so were not particular cause for praise (p.35). This ethic is not as clearly in evidence in the literature as the two previous principles; however, some documentation does lend support.

Briggs notes that while praise was often expressed in her adopted family, especially towards the children, it was often at a distance, and the signs of affection could easily be missed.

Often it was the little signs of her growing up that elicited the affection. When she offered for the first time to fill the big tea kettle with water from the river, her mother watched from a distance. Seeing Raigili, small and inept, slip on the stones at the river edge and spill the water half out again, Allaq called to her: "Rai! That's enough!" And watching the child approach across the gravel, tilted heavily to one side under the weight of the half-empty kettle, she murmured, while the child was still too far off to hear, a warmly amused "vaaaa!" When Raigili went fishing in three feet of water with a hookless string for a line and a stone that refused to stay in place for a sinker; when she wandered off to hunt ptarmigan, as small groups of

children often did, but this time going by herself much farther than children of her age usually cared to go; when, staggering and falling, she carried a nearly adult-sized load of plants for fuel up to the lichen-fed fireplace--her parents, her uncles and aunts, her grandfather, noted her behaviour from a distance with affectionate murmurs: "Vaaaaa! "Eeee eeeee!" "Naaaaaklingnaqtuq (she is lovable)!" (p.122)

Alice French writes that when her family returned from the bush, her grandmother took over the duties of eldest female and Alice no longer carried the heavy responsibilities she had taken on previously. Her grandmother did not openly praise her for her efforts, or even ask how things had gone.

I noticed, though, that she looked at me and smiled a lot. She did not ask how I had managed. She was just so sure that things went well and that made me feel proud of myself. But in the next breath she was telling me that I seemed to need someone to tell me when to do something all the time. I knew then that I was back home for sure! (p.89)

Paulosie Kasukluak (Petrone, 1988, p.180) an Inuit carver with works on display in the National Gallery in Ottawa, could be excused for praising the work of northern artists. However, in his statement of why he and other artists carve, he is almost self-deprecatory.

We carve the animals because they are important to us as food. We carve Inuit figures because in that way we can show ourselves to the world as we were in the past and as we now are. That is why we carve men hunting and building igloos and women making something that they will use, maybe kamiks or clothing or using an ulu. No matter what activity the carved figure is engaged in, something about it will be true. That is because we carve to show what we have done as people. There is nothing marvellous about it. It is there for everyone to see. It is just the truth. (p.181)

The message seems to be that whether an individual is working in camp, providing for one's family, or carving animals and scenes from everyday life, he/she is only doing what is necessary, and as a result, there is no need for excessive praise.

### **The Conservation-Withdrawal Tactic**

Once again, Ross relates this principle to survival strategy. According to his observations, in times of danger or stress a Native individual would withdraw to conserve energy and to think through a situation. As with the previous principle, evidence supporting the conservation-withdrawal tactic is not as readily found as for the first two ethics, but the evidence that does exist is compelling.

Briggs observes that silent sulking was a tactic often employed by Raigili, one of her adopted sisters, who was about six years old. Raigili, and other children her age, appeared to use this tactic rather than displaying overt hostility.

I had never imagined that sulking could be such an aggressive act, that one could feel so directly attacked by inertness. In such moods Raigili might stand for an hour or more facing the wall, her arms withdrawn from her sleeves--the latter pose a characteristic Utku expression of hunger, cold, fatigue, and grief. If her mother tried to tempt her with a piece of jammy bannock she dropped it or ignored it. If her father tried to move her she was limp in his hands. Only gradually, very gradually, would the mood lift, and when she finally turned around in acceptance of a cup of tea her wet face would betray her silent tears. And Raigili was not the only child who behaved this way; I was struck by how little overt hostility was expressed by Utku children of Raigili's age and older, as compared with our own children (p.138).

Allaq, Raigili's mother and Jean's adopted mother, also withdrew under stress.

Dependent on her husband for much of her activity, she withdrew almost completely when he went on a trip.

She became a different person; her passivity was beyond belief. She never boiled fish, rarely brewed tea, and never lit the lamp to dry clothes--any of which activities would have heated the iglu. Neither did she go out to warmer iglus to visit. She just sat in her corner of the ikliq, waved her feet, blew on her hands, and endlessly observed that the iglu was cold. (p.103)

Briggs notes that close to the end of the two years she spent with the Utku, Saraak, Inuttiaq's second daughter, was starting to exhibit this same withdrawal in the face of grief or adversity (p.175).

[Saarak] had fallen and hit her chin on the gravel floor of her grandfather's qaqmaq, and there I found her, in the company of Amaaqtuq, sitting motionless on the edge of the ikliq. Her legs in their caribou trousers stretched stiffly out before her, her sleeves dangled limp while her arms were wrapped around her body, her dark eyes stared at nothing, and her face was still streaked with tears. Amaaqtuq was sewing silently beside her. I was not amused this time; Saarak's expressionless face was desolate. "Saraaaak," I said, offering the only solace I knew, "come sit on my lap." Saarak signified by the faintest wriggle that she had heard and accepted, and when Amaaqtuq helped her off the ikliq, she trotted, as if propelled without will, her empty sleeves flapping, across the qaqmaq to the oil drum where I sat; but in my arms she lapsed again into inertia; only the warmth of her little body and the rise and fall of her breath were alive. (p.175)

Yet another example is offered by Petrone, who records the tale of Bessie Andreason, a young woman left by herself in camp after her parents died of measles. After many long days alone, Bessie was rescued by a group of people travelling on to her parents' original destination, Wilmot Island. When Bessie first realized that she was no longer alone, her first reaction was one that quite literally held her immobile.

For me, a mixture of various feelings filled me, rather difficult to analyze now. Joy and happiness of course, also a certain fright towards the unknown, to seeing human beings again after so many long days, lonely days. At that precise moment I just couldn't move. It seemed that I was glued to the stool on which I sat. I was even afraid to take a look through the portholes. (p.197)

A final example of withdrawal in the face of adversity is found in Boas' The Central Eskimo, when Boas describes the reaction of the community when food has run low and bad weather prevents hunters from going out.

While in times of plenty the home life is quite cheerful, the house presents a sad and gloomy appearance if stormy weather prevents the men from hunting. The stores are quickly consumed, one lamp after another is extinguished, and everybody sits motionless in the dark hut. Nevertheless the women and men do not stop humming their monotonous amna aya and their stoicism in enduring the pangs of hunger is really quite wonderful (Boas, p.166)

From this description, the conservation-withdrawal tactic seems to be closely tied to the ethic stating that anger and other strong emotions should not be shown. Both principles indicate the turning inward and subjugation of emotions. Although an individual might be depressed and angry at a situation, these emotions could not be expressed for fear they might endanger the group. The conservation-withdrawal tactic appears to engender a withdrawal so complete that individuals are physically affected. Both mental and physical energy is conserved while the individual withdraws and analyzes the situation.

### **The Notion that the Time Must Be Right**

As with the previous four rules, Ross relates the notion that the time must be right to survival and to living on the land. In his words, "people had to wait patiently until the time was right, until all the variables came together to provide the best results which were likely to accrue that season." (p.38). At that time, people would take action, and often would continue gathering or hunting food until conditions no longer made the activity possible.

Alice French reinforces the need for people living off the land to gear themselves to nature and not to an artificial notion of time.

Living off the land is not a hit-and-miss type of thing to us; we know what we need to do to survive in our northland, and nine to five is not it. If we did that we would not have the good life, since a lot of work during the

seasons depends on what time of year or day we need to gather the crops that nature provides for us. The whales do not say, "It is nine o'clock in the morning and the Inuit need to hunt us in order to live," or say, "It is five o'clock and time to quit." The herring that run at certain times also do not wait on men to say it is time to gather them in, but run at a time that they know is right to start up the rivers. Our times are geared to what nature decided to do and not to the regular working hours of white people. (p.92)

Nuligak (Metayer, 1966) also speaks of living off the land, recounting when he had joined up with some hunters at Nalroreak.

These inland Inuit were eager hunters of the beluga. So in fact were we. We hardly ever slept when whales were about and the hunt was in full swing. From time immemorial this has been our life, we Inuit. (p.121)

As Nuligak constantly reminds the reader, life on the land was not easy. It was a life of constant preparation and searching for food and shelter. Sometimes, despite the immense preparation, food was still not to be had.

I must tell you just what I think about hunting. The wild animals are not caught just like that! It takes effort, and lots of it. Perhaps you young men and young ladies who are reading my stories think, "In those days game filled the country; hunting for them was just play!"

I must tell you, my friends, that you are quite mistaken. From time immemorial the Inuit have looked for something to eat and have gone hunting for it. How many hunters have remained in the bush for days and days and come back without a single caribou! Forty or fifty below zero at times, and sometimes colder than that, and having left home without eating they had to stay two or three days without food. There were caribou, but not a cloud in the sky--no way of getting near them. (p.133)

French (1992) and Nuligak (Metayer, 1966) speak of waiting for the right time for gathering food. Waiting for the right time was also necessary in terms of social growth. As mentioned previously, Briggs (1970) comments that the Utku felt that children would develop the ability to reason (ihuma) at the proper time (p.112), and that there was no sense in forcing a child to conform before he/she is ready. The notion of "the right time" also

dictated acceptable social practices between adults in society. De Poncier felt that he constantly showed himself to be a barbarian through ignorance of the proprieties, as demonstrated in the following story.

Next morning I was out of my sleeping-bag before my hosts, and had begun to pack my things. They lay staring at my agitation. Once more the barbarian, the Kabloona that I was, showed itself unfortunately. With the white man's impatience, with the white man's stupid distortion of true values, I blurted out crudely that I must be off to see Ka-i-o. I would be back, I said, but I could not linger. Also--see to what depths of gracelessness the white man can descend!--to make matters worse I added that later I should want a man and sled to take me back to King William Land and was ready to pay two foxes for the service.

I had said exactly the wrong thing. My words were met with silence. They stared at me from their sleeping-bags in a silence so long that it almost unnerved me. I felt as if I were in their eyes an insect disrupting with its aimless and angry buzzing the tranquil peace of their igloo. Finally an old man said with a mocking and yet gentle smile: "Sleep. There is time enough." (p.236)

De Poncier's first offence was to show his haste, and then to add insult to injury with his peremptory request. Later, de Poncier was informed that he had "forgotten" to visit the other members of the small community before leaving, and his departure was delayed even further as the necessary courtesies were rendered.

It seems clear that the notion of "the right time" is another rule that pervaded Inuvialuit society and played a role in key aspects of Inuvialuit life. The notion of the right time was operative not only during food gathering activities out on the land, but also played a role in child rearing practices and in determining what was considered socially acceptable practice in a community.

## Conclusion

The eight books used in this literature review give evidence supporting the presence of the rules of traditional times in Inuvialuit culture. The two rules that appear to have the greatest support are the ethic of non-interference and the ethic that anger not be shown. It is possible that these two ethics are the easiest for a person from Euro Canadian culture to recognize as they differ so obviously from behaviour in that culture, and for this reason have been more extensively documented.

There was less evidence to support the ethic concerning praise and gratitude, that is, that praise and gratitude are usually not expressed, as an individual's best effort was expected as the norm. The examples found seem to indicate that while praise is expressed, it may not be expressed as directly as it is in Euro Canadian culture. Briggs' examples seem to show that praise would be given to family members for their contribution; however, it would likely be given at a distance and therefore would be easily missed.

The examples found to support the conservation-withdrawal tactic show that this tactic was learned at a young age and was used by children and adults alike. In some instances it might be used to conserve energy when food supplies were low; in other instances it was used to express sadness or as a substitute for hostility.

Examples supporting the notion that the time must be right reveal the dependence of the Inuvialuit on the land, and the tenacity that was and remains a part of survival out on the land. This notion also played a key role in the rearing of children. As children grew, their reason (ihuma) would develop, but it would develop "at the right time." The social development of a child was not something to be rushed, but rather something that would

take place at the appropriate time. It would appear that social practices among adults were also governed by the notion that the time must be right. Individuals who ignored accepted social practices were considered to be rude and self-centered.

From this literature review, it appears that the traditional rules observed among the Native people of northern Ontario also hold true for the Inuvialuit. Further investigation will be necessary, however, to determine how pervasive these ethics remain in contemporary Inuvialuit society.

**Part B:**  
**Analysis of the**  
**Inuvialuit Culture Questionnaire**

## The Questionnaire

The second stage of this study on Inuvialuit culture was developing and administering a questionnaire, with the goal of trying to determine whether the traditional rules discussed by Ross are characteristic of present-day Inuvialuit culture.

In developing the questionnaire, it seemed most appropriate to create open ended questions that would allow each participant to respond from his/her experience and knowledge. The questionnaire was previewed by two Holman elders, Robert and Agnes Kuptana, before it was passed on to potential participants. Initially the intention was to administer the questionnaire using an interview format, but it was soon apparent to the author that the barriers of culture, distance and time would make this difficult, if not impossible. The assistance of a local contact person was therefore used in distributing and collecting the questionnaires. For some elders, the contact person not only gave out the questionnaires but also recorded responses.

It must be recognized that this study is limited by its format and method of delivery. The written questionnaire allowed people anonymity and time to reflect on their responses. An interview, however, would have allowed for dialogue and would have generated more detailed responses. In common with other Native cultures, the Inuvialuit are from an oral culture whose values and beliefs have been handed down for generations by the elders. This questionnaire would have been accessible to a larger number of people had it been possible to use interviews with all participants.

This kind of study would also have more impact and relevance if it were performed by an Inuvialuk. An Inuvialuit researcher would be more likely to have an understanding of

references to places, people and events that I can only guess at. As an outsider "looking in", my hope is to record some of the more obvious facets of present-day Inuvialuit culture. I extend my appreciation to all Inuvialuit who had the time and patience to share a part of themselves and their culture.

The questionnaire contains responses from participants in all six of the communities in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, although the proportion of participants varies. Out of the thirty responses received, seven came from Aklavik, two from Holman, six from Inuvik, ten from Paulatuk, four from Tuktoyaktuk, and one from Sachs Harbour. Six of the respondents were youth ranging from 15 - 25 years of age, nine respondents were in the 25 - 35 age range, four were in the 35 - 45 year range, two were in the 45 - 55 year range, and nine were over the age of 55. Age ranges were recorded to test for the possibility of differences in responses with age. All responses quoted can be found in Appendix A.

### **Analysis of the Questionnaire**

Questions one, two and ten ask participants to discuss the strengths of their culture, to comment on differences between Inuvialuit and Euro Canadian culture, and to identify which values of Inuvialuit culture the participant would like to see passed on to coming generations. Three main themes emerge from the responses: the strength of the family unit, cooperation, and reliance on and respect for the land through knowledge gained from elders. One elder seems to summarize the feelings of a number of participants when he writes "Family is really important. Lived with only my family and depended on each other. We lived off the land." (Section E, 1e.) Language is another important theme; however, comments on this issue are mixed.

One elder notes with some bitterness that "our Inuvialuit language was the strongest part of our culture--and the white people took it away when we went to school." (Section E, 1i) Another participant agrees, commenting that "The biggest difference is language--we are slowly losing our dialects to southern ways. No one will be able to teach us how to talk Inuvialuktun soon." (Section B, 2c) However, another participant is optimistic, indicating that language is a cultural strength and saying "we have kept our language." (Section C, 1a) Although at least one respondent in every age group named language as a value they wanted to see passed on to new generations, the three remaining themes--a strong family unit, cooperation, and reliance on the land--were the predominant themes mentioned throughout the questionnaire.

The themes of cooperation and sharing are strong. As one respondent put it, "To survive up here, sharing is a must and is used as a form of respect." (Section B, 1a) Another respondent mentions "an incredible level of acceptance" (Section A, 1a), and gives the example of custom adoption as an example of all children being accepted in Inuvialuit society, with both mothers being involved in the upbringing of the children. (Section A, 2a) A third respondent mentions forgiveness: "No matter what someone does people usually don't hold grudges for long periods." For another respondent, cooperation was implicit as he wrote about living and surviving in the cold north, working together on the Final Agreement, looking after Elders, and planning the future of the youth. (Section D, 1a)

Judging by the responses to the question on differences between Inuvialuit and Euro Canadian cultures, the Inuvialuit culture is not as strict as European culture. One respondent noted the following:

The Inuvialuit are a more carefree and easy going people by nature, whereas the people of the European culture are more aggressive and assertive. The Inuvialuit do not discipline their children as much as the European culture does. (Section B, 2a)

Another respondent seems to agree:

I think the Inuvialuit are more trusting. They usually welcome strangers into their homes for tea or a meal (ie. tourists). Also the ways some discipline their children. Many Inuvialuit feel intimidated by white people. They are more likely to treat white people with respect. Also white people are usually more outspoken. (Section B, 2e)

A third response again mentions a more relaxed attitude and the difference in the way children are raised:

Inuvialuits life is different; we have a much easier way of life and our kids grow up free whereas the European culture's way of life is a much more stricter way of living." (Section B, 2h).

Another respondent notes the freedom given to Inuvialuit children and the trust placed in them, commenting on "the way we treat our children in allowing them to go hunting and handling firearms." (Section E, 2a) One final example expresses most succinctly the differences between Inuvialuit and European culture as perceived by Inuvialuit:

We work, plan, play, dance and meet together in between communities. European. They may have all the above, but they seem to be at war all the time. (Section D, 2a).

Reliance on the land is still strong, as is evidenced by the number of times that land and land related activities such as hunting and fishing are mentioned. Half the respondents mentioned living off the land. Three respondents below the age of 35 also mentioned the

importance of the elders and their knowledge of the land: "When elders and the youth work together and when the elders teach them how to live off the land" (Section A, 1c); "They [the elders] teach you what they experience a long time ago" (Section A, 1d); "Living on land like our grandparents used to do" (Section B, 1d).

Responses to questions one, two and ten appear to support the ethic of non-interference and the ethic that anger not be shown. The ethic of non-interference is supported most strongly in regards to child rearing practices. The answers reveal a fundamental difference in the way people of Inuvialuit and Euro Canadian culture view children. Inuvialuit children are given more freedom than their Euro Canadian counterparts, and their parents wonder at the control that seems to be so unreasonably placed over children in our culture.

The responses also give support to the ethic that anger not be shown. A number of the responses point with some disfavor to the aggressiveness of Euro Canadian culture. It seems that Euro Canadians may gain attention and outward respect through aggressive behavior, but the ethic of non interference and the ethic that anger not be shown may actually mean loss of respect for individuals who are not able to control themselves. It is also clear from the responses that cooperation and sharing are vital elements of present-day Inuvialuit culture. These elements can be considered to be the opposite side of the coin: a society that restricts the expression of anger and other negative emotions is one that will show increased cooperation and sharing between its members.

Questions three to seven are situation questions. In question three, the situation in which two children are fighting with each other, most respondents indicate that they would

talk to the children who were fighting and tell them to apologize. In the second situation, a scenario with a teenage niece or nephew who is partying too much, most of the respondents again advocate direct intervention, ranging from talking to the person to issuing an ultimatum. A few responses favor an indirect approach, ie. asking the parents to talk to the person, or setting an example for the young person, and a couple of responses seem to favor taking no action.

Results from questions three and four seem to contradict the ethic of non interference by advocating direct intervention. However, these results could be inconclusive due to the ambiguity of the questions. Question three may have been less ambiguous if the antagonists had been portrayed as adults, and if the question had been phrased simply to indicate that two adults were arguing as opposed to fighting. Results from the second situation question are at first consideration more surprising. From Ross' story of the young man who was carousing with his friends at four in the morning (Ross, pp.17-18), a less interventionist approach would be expected. However, a number of respondents interpreted the question to mean that the teenager was involved with alcohol. Although alcohol has been present in the north since the whalers first arrived, the situation as given may have been interpreted as a non traditional situation. The responses may simply be modern responses to a non traditional situation.

Question five asks how assistance would be shown to a grieving friend. Respondents were unanimous in indicating they would assist in whatever way possible, although most indicated non verbal assistance. The majority indicated they would offer comfort through their presence and by performing actions intended to assist the friend.

Some would assist with children, bring over baking, or help with the burial, but the emphasis was on helping simply by being there for the friend. One person mentions the expectation that the friend would "have to go on with their own life" (Section A, 5d). Ross (p.29) and Minor (p.53) both indicate that in traditional times, negative emotions would have to be controlled, and this statement seems to accord with their observations.

Question six was intended to test the ethic respecting praise and gratitude.

According to Ross, praise would not necessarily be forthcoming for helping the family, as this would be expected behavior (p.34). Briggs (p.122) notes that praise was often expressed with her adopted family, but it would be at a distance. Responses to question six, which asks how the participant would react if a son come home with fresh meat, favor indirect as opposed to direct praise. It is interesting to note that responses which at first seem to offer direct praise are always qualified. One young participant says he would "congratulate him *with a big smile* and ask if it was a wonderful experience. Tell him that he is a great hunter, *by shaking his hand*." (Section A, 6d. Emphasis added) Other respondents indicate praise would be expressed by telling the son he is a great hunter and a good provider for his family, or by talking about his trip. The son would be hugged and asked to keep his skills. As Ross notes, "the traditionally proper way to show appreciation was to ask the other person to continue with his contribution rather than offer vocal expressions of gratitude." (p.34) A number of people indicated that the meat would be shared, or else cooked and then the meal would be shared with friends and family. It is important to note the differences in communication style between the Inuvialuit and Euro Canadian culture. Both cultures exhibit praise, but in a different fashion.

Question seven asks the participant to imagine a situation in which he/she is out on the land and is lost. The participant is asked to give his/her first reaction. By far the majority of respondents indicated they would stay put and wait until the bad weather was over. The responses seem to indicate that most respondents are familiar with being out on the land and that they would not be intimidated if they were caught in a dangerous situation. In this traditional setting, the conservation-withdrawal tactic seems to be upheld. Further observation in different settings would be necessary to determine the extent of this tactic in present day Inuvialuit society.

Question eight asks respondents what they like best about being out on the land. The dominant theme in their answers is that of freedom and independence. Phrases such as "being your own boss," "independence," and "freedom" occur frequently. One respondent seems to speak from the heart when he replies, "Freedom!! Being out on the land is like seeing a medical doctor, a head shrink and your best buddy all at once." (Section B, 8a) These comments appear to support Briggs' observation that Inuit little appreciate being in a position subordinate to a leader (Briggs, p.42)

Responses to questions 8 also give some credence to the rule that the time must be right. This rule specifies that work will be completed, but at the appropriate time. While waiting, time is spent in mental and physical preparation for the tasks to be completed (Ross, p38) The following responses indicate an awareness of living life according to the rhythms of the land as opposed to following an artificial time construct:

I have lived the better part of my life on the land. You are your own boss and if the weather is not right you can always roll over and go back to sleep. (Section E, 8a)

It's free, quiet and peaceful. You don't have to rush. It doesn't matter what time it is as long as you get your things done." (Section E, 8d)

When you are out on the land you can see all the animals that stay around and to hear the birds in the morning is music to your ears. It is such a peaceful place to be. You do not have to go by the time on the clock. (Section B, 8i)

You're free and you have lots of time to think and plan what you want to do when you get home. You let the time fly by. Let you be yourself, any way you feel. (Section D, 8a)

Some responses to question nine, which asks questionnaire participants to identify the most important thing they have learned from living on the land, also support the ethic that the time must be right. One participant writes that the land teaches "how to work in preparing for different times of the year" (Section E, 9a). Another notes the following:

The most important thing I have learned is to be patient with myself and others. How to survive on the land is the most important thing one can learn. (Section A, 9c)

This last response seems to indicate that patience is achieved and character is developed through the continual process of waiting for "the right time."

The last question in the questionnaire asks respondents to tell their favorite story from being out on the land. Many of the stories that appear tell of family and friends working together on the land and performing traditional activities such as camping, hunting, fishing, and picking berries. The stories often reinforce points revealed in previous questions, such as close knit families, sharing between family, friends, and community; and living with the rhythm of the land. One respondent talks of going muskrat hunting with his grandfather (Section B, 11d) and another tells about hunting with his father and father-in-law (Section E, 11a). Another says "My mom used to teach us. If

someone else was coming and asking for food we have to give them food--we have to share with them so everyone has some food." (Section E, 11f). A third respondent writes about going muskrat hunting with the whole family, starting in the evening and hunting all night and the next morning (Section B, 11e). Another writes simply:

Camping with the family. Boys fishing and hunting. Girls, skinning seal, filleting fish, make dry meat and fish (Section D, 11a).

It is in question eleven that the limitations of a written questionnaire are fully evident. One participant notes, with some regret, "There's a lot of stories I know but can't write." (Section D, 11b). Another comments, "Too many stories to reflect on." (Section C, 11d) And, in reading some of the contributions, an inner voice cries out to know more details of the polar bear hunt or the stories told by elders. For this question especially, an interview format would have helped to capture the richness that lies behind many of the diffident short paragraphs.

It is clear from some of the responses in this study that Inuvialuit culture has not gone unchanged by contact with Euro Canadian culture. One elder comments that things are "different now.. Not like it used to be. Long ago people really get different, things really changed." (Section E, 1h) Another elder, when asked about values to be handed down to great grandchildren, responded, "Food from Inuvialuit country foods. It makes me feel sad when kids only want stuff from the store." (Section E, 10e) A third respondent notes that people do not share as much as they used to.

One of the things I have noticed is the differences from years ago until now--long ago, everyone shared their catches with each other, now that time has caught up with some people. The feeling of sharing is not there. (Section C, 2b).

A fourth participant comments on language, but seems to be saying that it is now the mainstay of Inuvialuit culture:

"The language now plays the biggest part left of the Inuvialuit culture. We do not live the lives that our great grandparents or our grandparents did years ago. The way they lived is dead and gone forever, no one will turn back time to live as they have." (Section B, 1i)

And finally, the following response gives a glimpse of how contact with Euro Canadian culture has brought change:

Inuvialuit had no schedule before... we did things as they needed to be done. When my daughter was younger, we hardly sent her to school. We thought she was too young anyway! Now we see the importance of school and education. (Section C, 2a).

While some responses reveal anger and bitterness towards the dominant Euro Canadian culture, a few responses show traditional Inuvialuit acceptance combined with practicality. In thinking through the differences between Inuvialuit and European culture, one elder made the following analogy:

They don't have same mind. The ways their kids want--they don't get along together. They have a different way to have their mind. White people try to do it their own way. Eskimo want to do it a different way. Like one has to be high and one has to be low. They each have to do their own way. (Section E, 2f)

Another elder notes that the two cultures "should be both used because we learn from both to make a living and it's good for the future." (Section E, 2g). A third participant appears optimistic and certain of the strength of Inuvialuit culture, saying "I feel our culture can meet and understand the differences that are created." (Section C, 2d)

## Conclusion

The responses given in the Inuvialuit Culture questionnaire appear to show some correlation between Inuvialuit culture and the rules of traditional times as discussed by Ross, although the correlation is stronger in some areas than in others. The uncertainty may be due to questionnaire methods, changes that have occurred in Inuvialuit culture, and/or differences between Inuvialuit and Ojibway/Cree cultures.

The ethic of non-interference in Inuvialuit culture is clearly demonstrated in the responses about child rearing practices. From this study, Inuvialuit believe in more freedom and less discipline for their children than is shown by their Euro Canadian counterparts. Participants also expressed a strong desire for the personal freedom and independence that they feel when they are out on the land.

Responses to the question asking how respondents would deal with a family member who was potentially headed for troubled waters would seem to contradict the ethic of non-interference. However, a different question or a question phrased in a different fashion may not have shown the same results. It is also possible that Inuvialuit culture has changed to the extent that in this particular situation, individuals would deal directly with the troubled individual. A third possibility is that individuals from Inuvialuit culture would deal with the situation in a different fashion than those from the Cree and Ojibway cultures. Evidence from the literature review would seem to favor the second option; however, further study would need to be performed to clarify this issue.

The ethic that anger and other negative emotions not be shown is supported by the comments regarding Euro Canadian aggressiveness. A number of the responses indicate

that Inuvialuit culture is a more relaxed culture. In the eyes of the respondents, aggressiveness and outspokenness indicate loss of control and are not qualities to be admired. Indirect support of the ethic that anger not be shown is provided by comments that many of the respondents made in regards to sharing. As previously discussed, restricting the expression of anger and other negative emotions would promote cooperation and sharing in society.

Comments about the son who brought home caribou meat show that while praise is freely expressed in Inuvialuit culture, it tends to be indirect praise that encourages the individual to continue with his activities. In at least this traditional situation, the ethic respecting praise and gratitude was upheld.

The conservation-withdrawal tactic was also shown to have some validity; however, the situation given is out on the land, in an environment familiar to many Inuvialuit. Ross has been able to provide evidence of this learned response when Native people have been put into foreign or threatening environments (pp. 36 - 37). Further study would be required to demonstrate that this is a rule typical of present-day Inuvialuit.

The rule that the time must be right is supported by Inuvialuit attitudes towards rearing children and by respondents' comments about following schedules. As Briggs notes, Inuit give their children considerable freedom, and trust that their children will grow and acquire adult characteristics as the time is right (p.112). A number of respondents point out the restrictiveness of following an artificial schedule, while others enthusiastically write about the freedom that comes from being out on the land and doing things as they need to be done.

The close tie of modern Inuvialuit to the land dominates the responses in this study. Perhaps this is the key both to the maintenance of traditional Native rules in Inuvialuit society today and to the continued survival of Inuvialuit culture. The values that allowed Inuvialuit to flourish for so many years--strong family ties, close cooperation, reliance on and respect for the land--are the values that will enable Inuvialuit to bridge the gap between the past and the future and to meet upcoming challenges in their own inimitable way. In response to the question on what values should be passed on to great grand children, one elder looked to the future and responded, "Inuvialuit living still and school education and good training for job." (Section E, 10g) Given the resilience Inuvialuit culture has shown thus far, this goal will undoubtedly be achieved.

## **Appendix A: Inuvialuit Culture Questionnaire Results**

### **Section A Age Range: 15 - 25**

- 1. What do you feel are some of the strengths of your culture? Please explain.**
  - 1a. A strong family environment, a great set of values and beliefs, an incredible level of acceptance.
  - 1b. Hunting and fishing. From November - January, drum dancing is very good. I have just revived my drum dancing.
  - 1c. When elders and the youth work together and when the elders teach them how to live off the land. Going camping and doing traditional activities keep the children busy. This gives the children responsibility.
  - 1d. The main part of our strengths is the elders. They teach you what they experience a long time ago. They know what's going to happen next.
  - 1e. No response.
  - 1f. I feel that our strength is going out on the land, hunting and fishing.
- 2. What do you feel are some of the principle differences between Inuvialuit and European culture? Please give specific examples if possible.**
  - 2a. As I said we are very accepting, for example, if a woman put her baby up for adoption she would want to forget about it and I'm sure the adopting parents wouldn't want the child to know about his/her natural mother, but here the people are very open and honest in saying, "This is your real mother" and both parents are very involved in bringing up that child.
  - 2b. No comment.
  - 2c. I believe there is not much difference because everyone just wants to survive. The Inuvialuit families must learn to talk more about family concerns. In Inuvialuit culture is mainly survival on the land.
  - 2d. The Europeans believe in our culture more than theirs.
  - 2e. I can't really tell because I don't know about the Europeans.

- 2f. No response.
- 3. **Two children have been fighting with each other. One of them has a black eye. What do you say to them?**
  - 3a. Tell them that fighting is no way to solve any problems and that it's better to talk things out and make them apologize to each other.
  - 3b. Stop and say sorry, apologize.
  - 3c. I would say that it is not right to fight and that our parents teach us that we must work together.
  - 3d. Well, I would tell the one who made a black eye to the other child to say "sorry" to him, and tell them how serious fighting can be to each other.
  - 3e. Apologize and say you're sorry. Tell them to go home.
  - 3f. It isn't good to fight with other children. If someone teases you, just ignore them or matters could get worse.
- 4. **Let us say that your teenage niece or nephew, who is living with you, is spending too much time going out partying. You are concerned. What action if any would you take?**
  - 4a. If she is getting really wild and crazy I'd probably tell her that I'm worried and may have to move her somewhere else if she can't improve, but if she's trustworthy and doesn't drink, but just wants to have a good time, I would trust her to make the right choices.
  - 4b. Get your act together and get help right away.
  - 4c. I would try to talk with them, but usually teenagers do not want to listen. One way is by example, that is to set an example.
  - 4d. Tell them that they are doing too much alcohol and drugs, and spending a lot of money, also what could happen when you don't remember.
  - 4e. Sit down in a quiet place and talk it out. Explain what she is doing wrong.
  - 4f. I would try talk to him/her about what would happen if an alcohol involved person would get into trouble or an accident.

**5. The spouse of a friend of yours has just passed away. Your friend is grieving. What would you do to assist your friend?**

- 5a. Just let her know that I'm there for her night or day and if there's anything at all she needs she can come to me even just to talk.
- 5b. Give a friend all the support. Help her in every way.
- 5c. I would try to fill up my friends time and keep him or her company. Also just to listen to any concerns they may have.
- 5d. It would be very difficult to handle but you tell them that they have to go on with their own life.
- 5e. Be a friend and be there to listen and comfort.
- 5f. Get the family to help her by staying with her and talk about the spouse's death, makes it easier by talking about it than keeping it inside you.

**6. Your son has just come back from hunting with his father/uncle. He has shot a caribou. How do you show your pride?**

- 6a. People here are very generous, so I'd probably give pieces of the meat out to family and friends and tell them that he was the one that got it.
- 6b. Give him a great compliment and say that's very good you are feeding your family.
- 6c. I would cook him a good meal from the caribou they killed and share this meal with friends and family.
- 6d. I would congratulate him with a big smile and ask if it was a wonderful experience. Tell him that he is a great hunter, by shaking his hand.
- 6e. Praise him and offer support on going out again.
- 6f. Tell him he's a good hunter and talk about his trip, make him feel comfortable about his hunting trip.

**7. Imagine a situation in which weather conditions are bad, and you have lost your way returning from your camp. What is your first reaction?**

- 7a. Panic: I don't go out camping much so I wouldn't know what to do.

- 7b. Prepare yourself for warmth and shelter and try to stay warm.
- 7c. I would keep calm and then set up a shelter or make a fire if I am cold.
- 7d. Never panic. You can look at land marks that look familiar to you or stay put and make a shelter.
- 7e. To stay where I am if I can't go back
- 7f. I would ask around for directions or look for the nearest shelter..
8. **What do you like best about being on the land?**
  - 8a. Just being out there, with everything so peaceful and not having any worries at all.
  - 8b. The land itself.
  - 8c. I enjoy the peace I feel when I go out camping. The hard work from hauling wood is good for the spirit and body.
  - 8d. I love just being out there. I love the smell, the existence of wonderful nature and wildlife that allows you more knowledge of the land.
  - 8e. I don't like being on the land.
  - 8f. When I'm on the land I like the scenery, the smell of being out where there's no machines (trucks or loaders, etc.) Makes you feel more safe and you feel like you're really living a good life.
9. **What is the most important thing you have learned from living on the land?**
  - 9a. That the most important things come from within and being able to live without any T.V.'s or phones and alcohol and drugs.
  - 9b. To feed your family, and to survive.
  - 9c. The most important thing I have learned is to be patient with myself and others. How to survive on the land is the most important thing one can learn.
  - 9d. The most important thing about the land is just to get out there and have fun, also to get away from technological civilization.
  - 9e. No response.

- 9f. I learned about how my grandparents lived long ago in tents and how to cook and sew.
- 10. What values from your culture would you like to see passed on to your great grand children?**
- 10a. - value of family. You may have some great friends and all, but family should always be your top priority.  
- always believe in yourself even if no one else does, just be true to you.
- 10b. Hunting, fishing. Recycle. Drum dance and language.
- 10c. To respect and love one another.
- 10d. That I would like for my great grand children to have the experiences out in the land and language.
- 10e. The language.
- 10f. I would like to see my great-grandchildren going out on the land and hunting, cooking traditional meals (caribou, fish) and sewing.
- 11. Tell your favourite story from being out on the land. Please include as many details as possible.**
- 11a. I remember a few years ago our family went out all together out camping. And we had a great time, I learned how to filet fish, skin a seal, and a little about sewing. We played games, told and listened to stories. I remember that particular summer fondly because never one time did I remember us arguing or fighting or any other hassles that are here in town.
- 11b. I like travelling to first creek to go hunting rabbits and ptarmigans, the land is very beautiful. I like to make fire and have some hot tea and lunch. After you finish hunting and the weather is great in the spring time.
- 11c. My first hunting trip took place on June of 1993 at Connie Lake. I went hunting with two cousins of mine for caribou. We killed three caribou and were hauling them to the boat. We were just getting ready to haul the meat down to the boat when I saw a big grizzly bear coming down the shore. It was heading straight for us so I called my two cousins. They came to me right away and they began to soot towards it. They didn't want to kill it, just scare it away. Unfortunately, they

wounded the bear, so we had to go and kill it. So we packed up and went to kill it. We found it about 1 or 2 miles down the river. It was a very scary experience.

11d. I'll bring in a story soon.

11e. No response.

11f.

My favourite story from being out on the land is that time I went out with my dad and his family. I got to help pluck geese and help cook the geese and make dry meat. I also got to go around the land by skidoo and walking. It was so peaceful (going for walks). Makes you feel good to be out on the land.

**Section B**  
**Age Range: 25 - 35**

1. **What do you feel are some of the strengths of your culture? Please explain.**
  - 1a. Family - They are close knit groups.  
Sharing - To survive up here, sharing is a must and is used as a form of respect.  
Land and wildlife - Our people are conservationist in the purest sense of the word who take great care of the land and wildlife.
  - 1b. Families - sharing of ideas/games/food, etc. Hunting for traditional animals, living on the land.
  - 1c. Families come first. The support and confidence come first before other needs. We are closely knit and look after other members in the family.
  - 1d. The strength of our culture is hunting for our food and clothing. Living on land like our grandparents used to do. We have to teach our children our culture to keep our culture strong.
  - 1e. Family - Most families stand strong together. They usually take good care of each other.  
Forgiveness - No matter what someone does people usually don't hold grudges for long periods.
  - 1f. Go out hunting.
  - 1g. Knowledge--experience. Know what you're doing out on the land?
  - 1h. I find that I enjoy the outdoor life and that it is very important to our life here in Paulatuk especially with such a beautiful country.
  - 1i. The language now plays the biggest part left of the Inuvialuit culture. We do not live the lives that our great grandparents or our grandparents did years ago. The way they lived is dead and gone forever, no one will turn back time to live as the have.
2. **What do you feel are some of the principle differences between Inuvialuit and European culture? Please give specific examples if possible.**
  - 2a. The Inuvialuit are a more carefree and easy going people by nature, whereas the people of the European culture are more aggressive and assertive.

The Inuvialuit do not discipline their children as much as the European culture does.

- 2b. No response.
- 2c. The biggest difference is language - we are slowly losing our dialects to southern ways. No one will be able to teach us how to talk Inuvialuktun soon. The next would be food - we are losing our main sources of food because of pollution or bans on one thing or another.
- 2d. Our great-grandparents lived on land and depended on the land for food and clothing. The European culture is a little different, they also work for their food and clothing. The European culture doesn't depend on land as much as we do.
- 2e. I think the Inuvialuit are more trusting. They usually welcome strangers into their homes for tea or a meal (ie. tourists). Also the ways some discipline their children. Many Inuvialuit feel intimidated by white people. They are more likely to treat white people with respect. Also white people are usually more outspoken.
- 2f. No response.
- 2g. No response.
- 2h. Inuvialuits life is different; we have a much easier way of life and our kids grow up free whereas the European culture's way of life is a much more stricter way of living.
- 2i. No response.
- 3. **Two children have been fighting with each other. One of them has a black eye. What do you say to them?**
  - 3a. I would say, "What is going on here? You two should be able to talk this out instead of fighting."
  - 3b. Ask them why they were fighting; explain to them that it is better to get along with one another and explain that it is better to compromise their disagreement.
  - 3c. That they should apologize to each other and find out what started it and see if we can come up with a better solution than fighting.
  - 3d. Just to stay away from each other as much as possible or apologize to each other.

- 3e. I will probably talk to them about respect and treating others the way you want to be treated. I will also probably talk about the law and what could happen--also about not starting a fight.
- 3f. Stop fighting and be good to each other.
- 3g. If they don't want to be happy with each other, set them apart.
- 3h. That it is not the way to grow up and that we should live a much more closer and live in peace with each other.
- 3i. I would not say anything until I found out what happened between the two children. Then I would deal with the problem.
- 4. **Let us say that your teenage niece or nephew, who is living with you, is spending too much time going out partying. You are concerned. What action if any would you take?**
- 4a. Firstly I would set them aside and try to find out why they have been behaving in this manner. Then I would try to help them to the best of my ability and get them to seek professional help.
- 4b. Explain to them that I am concerned for their health and safety; that they should stop this and be there for them.
- 4c. I would try and involve them in more productive things. Talk to them about the effects of alcohol abuse.
- 4d. I'll ask them to try and stop drinking and think of responsibilities.
- 4e. Since I don't party I don't think I would stand for it--I would let them know--it stops or they go.
- 4f. Head of the house hold should take charge. Let them know.
- 4g. Bring them out on the country or land and teach them.
- 4h. I would sit her/him down and explain that life isn't really made to have fun but to have meaning to life.
- 4i. I would first speak to him/her and find out what the problem is and try to help them with whatever is bothering them and tell them that partying is not the solution.

5. **The spouse of a friend of yours has just passed away. Your friend is grieving. What would you do to assist your friend?**
  - 5a. I would spend time with them, help them, and lend a shoulder and an ear.
  - 5b. Comfort them by talking, crying, laughing with them. Just being there for them.
  - 5c. Visit them as often as possible, bring them food, take the children out for awhile (give them some time alone). See them after the funeral (a few months) and offer them help in terms of grieving.
  - 5d. No response.
  - 5e. I probably wouldn't say much--I would sit with them. I just try to be there in case they want to talk.
  - 5f. Just be happy!
  - 5g. Keep him or she company.
  - 5h. I'd probably talk to her/him that life is very fragile and shouldn't be played around with. And I'd comfort her/him until she or he feels better.
  - 5i. I would spend as much time as I can with the family and help them in any way I can. Our people have given support to families and have always succeeded in doing this.
6. **Your son has just come back from hunting with his father/uncle. He has shot a caribou. How do you show your pride?**
  - 6a. By cooking a large meal with the caribou he shot. I would probably phone my friends and relatives and invite them for supper.
  - 6b. Tell him I am very proud of him getting a caribou.
  - 6c. Show him how the meat is cut and saved. How it is prepared for meals, tell him he has done a wonderful thing in terms of showing he can support a family.
  - 6d. Our culture is to give a big feast for him and the family to show him you are proud of him for achieving something important to his culture.
  - 6e. I would have him tell me about how everything happened--I would share this with close family and friends. I would probably share the meat too.

- 6f. Let them know that you're proud.
- 6g. A great hunter should always be respected and ask him about the hunting.
- 6h. I'd probably prepare a meal for him and tell him that he know a small part of survival for a way of life.
- 6i. I would show my son how proud I am by cutting up the meat and putting it away for eating, and tell him that he has become a hunter just like his father.
- 7. Imagine a situation in which weather conditions are bad, and you have lost your way returning from your camp. What is your first reaction?**
- 7a. To stay calm. If it is winter I would feel the snow drifts because they always have a narrow high point on the east side and a low and wide beginning on the west side. Check wind and the stars.
- 7b. Scared, then try not to panic.
- 7c. To find or make a shelter until weather clears up and wait!
- 7d. Stay put, try and make a shelter to keep warm until weather improves or help comes.
- 7e. I probably would get very scared--I can't think of what I would do. Probably cry?
- 7f. Set up camp and lay over.
- 7g. Wait till the weather gets better, or unless you could see the land marks???
- 7h. To stay put and wait for help. And stay warm.
- 7i. My first reaction would be to stay in that very spot until the weather has gotten better and that I can see where I am.
- 8. What do you like best about being on the land?**
- 8a. Freedom!! Being out on the land is like seeing a medical doctor, a head shrink and your best buddy all at once.
- 8b. Family time spent together in the evenings telling stories on what they got or what happened and playing games.

- 8c. the peacefulness and scenery. The noise is beautiful (birds, water, wind, bugs). No modern technology sounds to be heard.
- 8d. Hunting, scenery, fresh air, especially the exercise you get when working on land.
- 8e. I like the quiet and peacefulness. It also brings people closer together.
- 8f. Sight seeing.
- 8g. Sight seeing, land, hills, rivers, canyons. The best part is the land.
- 8h. I really enjoy life on the land because you're free and life is cleaner out on the land but should stay clean and free of trash/litter.
- 8i. When you are out on the land you can see all the animals that stay around and to hear the birds in the morning is music to your ears. It is such a peaceful place to be. You do not have to go by the time on the clock.
- 9. What is the most important thing you have learned from living on the land?**
- 9a. To have respect for the land and wildlife. Also to keep a constant eye on the weather.
- 9b. What or how to work on the animals that you have caught.
- 9c. The dependence on yourself for food and living. Good mental health.
- 9d. When you get lost, you know what to do when you are raised on the land.
- 9e. I haven't been out on the land for a long time--but I know we have to show a great deal of respect for it. Never take chances or be careless.
- 9f. Plenty. I learned a lot!
- 9g. Many, many things. Cultural.
- 9h. A way of survival, also a healthier way of eating, especially with the native foods.
- 9i. I found that living on the land has taught me a lot about raising my children and teaching them the basics of living and how to survive when they are out on their own.

10. **What values from your culture would you like to see passed on to your great grand children?**
- 10a. Family togetherness.  
Sharing.  
Respect for elders.
- 10b. The wonderful time spent on the land, traditional songs and dances.
- 10c. The respect and sharing of each family member to do the same to each one you meet. You will always learn from someone new.
- 10d. The values of hunting, skinning, getting wood, providing food for the family and sewing.
- 10e. Caring for family.  
Respect for elders.
- 10f. Living off the land.
- 10g. No response.
- 10h. Just to have a problem free life and to stay on the land whenever possible.
- 10i. The language and the ways of living off the land.
11. **Tell your favourite story from being out on the land. Please include as many details as possible.**
- 11a. Any time I go out on the land is my favourite time. To tell you one story would diminish my respect for myself and the land and its inhabitants.
- 11b.

"Unknown Mother"

My most favourite story was when my family and I were out at Husky Lakes. One of my two sons was asked what was his Dad's name? He said it, then he was asked what was his brother's name? He said it, and then he was asked what was his mom's name? He looked up at me and said, "Mom who are you?" My son was three years old at the time.

- 11c. When I was 13 -14 years old, we were at Reindeer Station with an elderly family. They showed six to seven teenagers how to live off the land. We went to set traps

for muskrats (looking for push-ups in lake). Once we caught some, we had to skin them ourselves, clean the meat and skin, tan the skin, cook the meat for our meals. That was something!! Not being able to shower or bathe became a task to get used to. Getting water from the creek, heating it and filling a tub up. You sure appreciated it once you knew how hard it was. Walking around the camp and looking for old artifacts or pieces of whatever, and talking about what you thought it was used for. The neatest thing was setting down after dinner and getting ready for bed. Candles everywhere, fire going and we would sit around listening to old time stories or the Eskimo singing. We got to take our muskrat skins home. What a neat talk piece it was.

- 11d. I never forget about the time my grandfather and I went walking to the nearest lake from our bush camp. I would look for the push-ups (muskrat house) and set traps for muskrats in April. Other times my grandfather and I went to the nearest creek and set a mink trap. He showed me how to make a house for minks and set a trap inside with the bait. I went muskrat hunting with my grandfather. After breakup, we hunted all night. When we got tired we set a camp, rested for about four hours, got up, had something to eat and hunted some more on the way home. We also used to set snares for rabbits in the winter. And ice fishing in the winter and jigging in the fall. In the summer we would go to the coast and hunt for whales.
- 11e. As I said earlier I haven't been out on the land for a long time. When I have it was just a day's trip (which wasn't too often). However, when I was very young we did spend long periods at our bush camp. I usually really enjoyed spring--especially after break up (muskrat hunting season). The sun would shine all night. The whole family would get in the boat--about 9 pm and we'd go muskrat hunting. We would hunt all night. We always stopped somewhere to make a fire and eat and sleep. We'd return to our camp--usually by noon the next morning and sleep. Then we did it over again the following day or the day after.
- 11f. My favourite story is when we were out in Tsoko last fall. We travel a lot. It's good to be out on land. When we were in Tsoko we get a lot of caribou and wolverines and wolves.
- 11g. Walking in blowing weather. Can't see few feet in front of you.
- 11h. Just that you enjoy your life and be happy.
- 11i. No response.

**Section C**  
**Age Range: 35 - 45**

1. **What do you feel are some of the strengths of your culture? Please explain.**
  - 1a. We have strong family values. We are always working together and sharing. There is a lot of helping out between relatives. We go out on the land. Also, we have kept our language.
  - 1b.
    - Knowledge of land skills.
    - Knowledge of traditional foods.
    - Ability to communicate with various groups.
  - 1c. Consideration for each other's feelings. Especially during grief for the loss of loved ones, etc. Family gatherings during Christmas etc.
  - 1d. Preservation and control of our land and lives.
2. **What do you feel are some of the principle differences between Inuvialuit and European culture? Please give specific examples if possible.**
  - 2a.
    1. Food
    2. Different habits. Inuvialuit had no schedule before... we did things as they needed to be done. When my daughter was younger, we hardly sent her to school. We thought she was too young anyway! Now we see the importance of school and education.
    3. Different attitudes. I saw a lot of prejudice while staying at Grollier Hall. Even now, I feel funny when I hear other people speaking French or another language. Some people say that Eskimos don't get mad, but that's not true. I've seen enough of that. Everyone is the same when it comes to being upset.
  - 2b. One of the things that I have noticed is the differences from years ago until now-- long ago, everyone shared their catches with each other, now that time has caught up with some people. The feeling of sharing is not there.
  - 2c. No comment.
  - 2d. I feel our culture can meet and understand the differences that are created.
3. **Two children have been fighting with each other. One of them has a black eye. What do you say to them?**

- 3a. I would ask them to stop fighting. I would ask them why they are fighting. I would talk to them and ask them to settle their differences and make up.
- 3b. "Was it worth it? Why not talk about it?"
- 3c. How would you feel if you had a black eye?
- 3d. Give them time to reflect on what they have done and tell them to talk over their problems.
4. **Let us say that your teenage niece or nephew, who is living with you, is spending too much time going out partying. You are concerned. What action if any would you take?**
- 4a. I would give a curfew, and be strict. This is because of my religious and moral beliefs. I hope that eventually the teenager would learn to make the right choices.
- 4b. Speak to them with concern. If not response, have them speak to an elder regarding values of life.
- 4c. I would sit them down and ask them why they are doing this sort of stuff? Then I would give them ultimatums: either find another place or get sent home.
- 4d. I would tell him or her to find something better to do with their time.
5. **The spouse of a friend of yours has just passed away. Your friend is grieving. What would you do to assist your friend?**
- 5a. I would encourage her and pray with her. I would spend time with her, and just listen to her.
- 5b. Spend time to talk with him/her and ask him/her to let out emotions and then let/get him/her busy with other items.
- 5c. Offer bakings or whatever and go and visit and console them.
- 5d. I would have to stay and try my best to console him or her.
6. **Your son has just come back from hunting with his father/uncle. He has shot a caribou. How do you show your pride?**
- 6a. I would hang the antlers up on the wall. I'd give him a hug and tell him how well he is doing. I would ask him to keep his skills and encourage him.

- 6b. Show true and devoted emotions and encourage son on other possible hunting expeditions and try participate in son's next venture.
- 6c. Show your thankfulness by preparing the meat immediately and give him hugs, etc. Tell him how much you needed the meat.
- 6d. Continue to encourage him.
- 7. **Imagine a situation in which weather conditions are bad, and you have lost your way returning from your camp. What is your first reaction?**
  - 7a. I would stop and wait until the weather clears up.
  - 7b. Stay calm and assess situation: Re food/gear and general location. If unfamiliar with area, stay put.
  - 7c. Set up shelter and make a camp fire. Keep yourself dry.
  - 7d. Locate a suitable spot to stay without going any further and just stay settled until the situation is settled down.
- 8. **What do you like best about being on the land.**
  - 8a. It brings back childhood memories. The people around you are having fun. Everyone is more relaxed. Being on the land is part of our livelihood--fishing, geese hunting, trapping. The food we hunt for is what we grew up on.
  - 8b. Practicing what ancestors traditionally passed on to me (hunting/trapping/fishing). Being your own boss.
  - 8c. Just staying where there is no noise or trucks running--phones ringing--spending more time with your family instead of watching T.V.
  - 8d. My independence.
- 9. **What is the most important thing you have learned from living on the land?**
  - 9a. Survival! You have to make do with what you have--you have to compromise. I have always thought that we Eskimo are environmentally healthy because we have so little resources. We make do with what we have. When you are out on the land, you learn to live without.
  - 9b. How to survive without the civilized community.

- 9c. How to survive with the bare necessities. I've learned that you can do without a lot of things.
- 9d. That I can have control over my situation.
10. **What values from your culture would you like to see passed on to your great grand children.**
- 10a. Helping each other out. Keeping our language, and bringing up our children in the traditional way. Passing your skills on to your children.
- 10b. Life skills.
- 10c. The consideration for elders and others' feelings. Living off the land. Hunting and preparation of game animals.
- 10d. Language.
11. **Tell your favourite story from being out on the land. Please include as many details as possible.**
- 11a. There are so many stories, and they are all learning experiences! This story is about going to Holman (from Sachs Harbour) by skidoo. It takes about two to three days to make the trip. It was when Priscilla was two or three, and I was packing her. It was in April sometime. There was me, my mother-in-law Edith, and Rose Marie Kuptana and Joe Kudlak. There were four skidoos. It was cold, so we had to stop every few hours to stamp our feet to keep warm. On the second day there was a white out, but we could still see. After four hours, we were on rough ice yet, and it seemed we couldn't get nowhere. I remember that Priscilla got gum in her hair, but we couldn't stop. Poor kid! We started going against the snowdrifts--that's how you tell you are going east to west. Finally we set up camp at Berkley Point on Victoria Island. The best part of being on the land is that you see all the animals. We saw bear tracks on the ice, and we saw musk ox, rabbits, seals and caribou. On the way back we had Easter at the edge of Banks Island. And on our way home we snapped the traps that we had set going out.

11b.

What I enjoyed most about being out on the land is the time that I have spent with my father and mother (relatives) and learning how to hunt/trap.

When I was a young boy, our family would hunt together as a whole. Many a time the family would be out for 10 - 14 hours hunting muskrats in the spring (spring shooting) and going through the hardest times like going/pulling boat through portages. This way I

got to learn the country at a young age and also the hunting aspects as well and not only that we learned how to skin and prepare the hides the following day. The whole family together, sharing and learning together!

- 11c. It is Friday night and I've just finished working a 9 - 5 job. I just can't wait to start to our camp which is about 40 miles northwest of Inuvik. We eat first and get our skidoos ready, such as gas up, load the toboggan with groceries, etc. As we leave we wave good bye to whomever is staying behind to watch our house in Town. There are two skidoos and we are double riding each skidoo. As we go along the river we stop and look at the sky and it's covered with millions of stars and we take a slug of coffee from the thermos. So peaceful and the stars make it bright. We make about three more stops finally we get to our camp. We light up the stove and the lamp. In no time it is warm and bright in our cabin. I cook up a meal and after we've eaten we play cards, rummy or some other card game. We play till late into the night. Finally we go to bed. We have a good quiet sleep. No waking up to the phone ringing or T.V. etc.
- 11d. Too many stories to reflect on.

**Section D**  
**Age Range: 45 - 55**

1. **What do you feel are some of the strengths of your culture? Please explain.**
  - 1a.
    1. We lived and survived the cold north.
    2. We are the only first Canadians.
    3. We worked together in our Final Agreement.
    4. We look after our Elders.
    5. We are planning the future of our youth.
  - 1b. Hunting, fishing, and trapping.
2. **What do you feel are some of the principle differences between Inuvialuit and European culture? Please give specific examples if possible.**
  - 2a. We work, plan, play, dance and meet together in between communities. European. They may have all the above, but they seem to be at war all the time.
  - 2b. I don't know.
3. **Two children have been fighting with each other. One of them has a black eye. What do you say to them?**
  - 3a.
    1. What started the fight?
    2. Was it worth it?
    3. Are you sorry now?
    4. Shake hands and be friends!
  - 3b. Stop fighting.
4. **Let us say that your teenage niece or nephew, who is living with you, is spending too much time going out partying. You are concerned. What action if any would you take?**
  - 4a.
    1. Have a talk with the person.
    2. Talk to the counsellor with the person.
    3. Take the person to the Social Service Officer and make plans to make things better.
  - 4b. No response.

5. **The spouse of a friend of yours has just passed away. Your friend is grieving. What would you do to assist your friend?**
  - 5a. Stay with the friend, grieve with him, talk to him, try to make his loss as painless as possible.
  - 5b. Help.
6. **Your son has just come back from hunting with his father/uncle. He has shot a caribou. How do you show your pride?**
  - 6a. Thank you son, we will have fresh meat tonight. You've become a good hunter. You'll be hunting for us, and I'll go with you from now on.
  - 6b. Thank him.
7. **Imagine a situation in which weather conditions are bad, and you have lost your way returning from your camp. What is our first reaction?**
  - 7a. Stop, set up your camp and wait for the weather to clear.
  - 7b. Stop, find my directions.
8. **What do you like best about being on the land?**
  - 8a. You're free and you have lots of time to think and plan what you want to do when you get home. You let the time fly by. Let you be yourself, any way you feel.
  - 8b. Hunting.
9. **What is the most important thing you have learned from living on the land?**
  - 9a. You are an Inuk. It gives you food and water. Gives good places to camp, fish and hunt.
  - 9b. How to live with it.
10. **What values from your culture would you like to see passed on to your great grand children?**
  - 10a.
    1. Language.
    2. Hunting and fishing.
    3. Our legends--through old time stories.

10b. Hunting and trapping.

11. **Tell your favourite story from being out on the land. Please include as many details as possible.**

11a.

Camping with the family. Boys fishing and hunting. Girls, skinning seal, filleting fish, make dry meat and fish.

Boys = Putting drying rack for meat and fish. We play games on our spare time. We have shooting contest.

We play long run, play card games. Talk on CB radio to other families and Holman. Comparing our daily activities. When someone gets more fish we try harder.

We pick berries in late August. Watch rabbits coming down the bluff to feed on the meadows.

Too bad our holidays are too short.

11b. There's a lot of stories I know but can't write.

**Section E**  
**Age Range: over 55**

1. **What do you feel are some of the strengths of your culture? Please explain.**
  - 1a. I believe we have our strength in still keeping our traditions in always being able to help one another in time of need or in times of sorrow.
  - 1b. Having a stove (cook stove) and lights and a freezer and a house.
  - 1c. Meeting together, living on the land, land claim cheques.
  - 1d. Family is really important. Lived with only my family and depended on each other. We lived off the land.
  - 1e. Hunting for food and looking after elders.
  - 1f. You have to talk to them. How you make your children and grandchildren know things that you do and don't do and you have to learn them how to do it.
  - 1g. Sharing the ways of our life.
  - 1h. Different now. Not like it used to be. Long ago people really get different, things really changed.
  - 1i. Our Inuvialuit language was the strongest part of our culture--and the white people took it away when we went to school.
2. **What do you feel are some of the principle differences between Inuvialuit and European culture? Please give specific examples if possible.**
  - 2a. There have been many in the past but most of them may have been overcome! First to highlight a couple: our eating habits and the way we treat our children in allowing them to go hunting and handling firearms.
  - 2b. People are together more. They spend more time in the bush.
  - 2c. Inuvialuit people are strong. Inuvialuits get land claims.
  - 2d. Inuvialuit people lived off the land for so long. Then when they moved into town they have to live off the store. A lot of our food is still from the land.

- 2e. No response.
- 2f. They don't have same mind. The way their kids want -- They don't get along together. They have a different way to have their mind. White people try to do it their own way. Eskimo want to do it a different way. Like one has to be high and one has to be low. They each have to do their own way.
- 2g. Should be both used because we learn from both to make a living and it's good for the future.
- 2h. I don't know.
- 2i. I don't know.
3. **Two children have been fighting with each other. One of them has a black eye. What do you say to them?**
  - 3a. When I was growing up I was always told by my parents that fighting and quarrelling never accomplished anything and I do the same even to my grown up children.
  - 3b. Stop fighting.
  - 3c. No more fighting.
  - 3d. I never did see my kids with black eyes but I could say stop. I would talk to them lots about not fighting and having love if they want to learn good in school.
  - 3e. Tell them not to fight and should be friends with everyone.
  - 3f. Tell them not to fight against each other. If you see each other don't do it again.
  - 3g. It's not right to fight. Stop and forgive each other.
  - 3h. I don't know.
  - 3i. If you pity one, the other one would go home and report it and it would go on and on.
4. **Let us say that your teenage niece or nephew, who is living with you, is spending too much time going out partying. You are concerned. What action if any would you take?**

- 4a. Depending on what kind of partying you are talking about but if I thought it was unhealthy I would certainly talk to them.
- 4b. Tell him to stop. Told him to go if he doesn't listen to me.
- 4c. Say come on you. No partying.
- 4d. I would tell them not to drink so much. They should smarten up and quit drinking until school is out. If they want to learn they shouldn't drink.
- 4e. Try to stop him if I could but I am by myself so I don't know how much I could do.
- 4f. Tell them not to have parties especially if they have kids. Not to have party in front of kids--I have that problem.
- 4g. They should have the parents talk to them.
- 4h. No response.
- 4i. The teenagers don't listen anyway, it keeps going on and on. Those young girls go to card games and they don't listen anyway.
- 5. The spouse of a friend of yours has just passed away. Your friend is grieving. What would you do to assist your friend?**
- 5a. Our people still follow our old tradition of helping them in any way we can and visit with them and talk to them and try to help them through this bereavement.
- 5b. Try to make her happy.
- 5c. I would help him make the grave.
- 5d. I would say start your living again. We can't get them back but we know where they go. Jesus died for us and then lived again so we know that they are taken care of.
- 5e. How would I help her? I would try to talk to her if I could.
- 5f. I was there before. My sister-in-law... my cousin's wife. When something happens you can't get it back. Never try to be apart from your husband--it's too late to talk now because of the accident--talk to them how to live because it's too late to think things like that.
- 5g. Comfort him or her by giving help and good advice and good prayers.

- 5h. No response.
- 5i. A person always have to talk to them. It's hard for them.
6. **Your son has just come back from hunting with his father/uncle. He has shot a caribou. How do you show your pride?**
  - 6a. The traditional way was to share it with every one in camp if it was his first hunt. Today not to that extent but they invite close friends and relatives.
  - 6b. I make him a parkie with wolf on it. I show that I really like him.
  - 6c. I teach him how to hunt. Spend time together.
  - 6d. I told him I was so glad he went with his dad and got a caribou. If he starts living like this he would do good for his family.
  - 6e. I would give some pieces of meat to the people who need it. Nobody shares now.
  - 6f. I would be so glad especially for the meat. They know they're gonna give me some. Especially for the meat. I would be so glad to see him get the meat.
  - 6g. Well son, you done very good. I am proud of you. I will have you to come with me more. You are great to the family.
  - 6h. No response.
  - 6i. Nice when you bring meat, it makes everyone happy.
7. **Imagine a situation in which weather conditions are bad, and you have lost your way returning from your camp. What is our first reaction?**
  - 7a. Many years ago we depended on our lead dog and a person always had to keep track of which way the wind is blowing both in summer and winter.
  - 7b. Stand up and look around. I never go outside when the weather is bad.
  - 7c. Camp in a snow house until the weather is better and I can find my way home.
  - 7d. First, if I was at camp I would not take a chance that the weather might be bad. I would stay until the weather is good. If I did get stuck, I would stay where I was and try to build a shelter.

- 7e. Stay in one place. Go where there is no wind in the bush and wait.
- 7f. Have to stay in one place. Put a little snow for shadow--when it gets bright then they can go again.
- 7g. Make camp and wait for the weather to get better.
- 7h. No response.
- 7i. If a white out or if it is too dark you have to think before you go any place.
- 8. What do you like best about being on the land?**
- 8a. I have lived the better part of my life on the land. You are your own boss and if the weather is not right you can always roll over and go back to sleep.
- 8b. I like it on nice days. We stayed in tent. I liked travel around.
- 8c. I like hunting seals in the spring time in the open water. I go with my brother.
- 8d. It's free, quiet and peaceful. You don't have to rush. It doesn't matter what time it is as long as you get your things done.
- 8e. You can eat rabbit, ducks, rats, fish and whatever you want to eat.
- 8f. I like to stay on the land where there is not traffic. Where there is dry fish and dry meat and show the kids you can make anything and there is nothing to worry about.
- 8g. Inuvialuit way of living is an every day living for the whole family. The land has everything we need.
- 8h. I like living off the land. I like going some place.
- 8i. When you go on the land and stay there for how many months you get your culture back--you eat meat and cut wood and melt ice.
- 9. What is the most important thing you have learned from living on the land?**
- 9a. Many things like learning life skills and how to work in preparing for different times of the year. And lots of time with your family.
- 9b. - to skin rats, cook, sewing.  
- stretching the pelts.

- I always tried to hunt - the rats were running.

- 9c. Hunting ptarmigan.
- 9d. I learned how to live. How to get ice, wood, keep the fire going. Getting meals ready for today and the days ahead.
- 9e. You have to have your wood and food ready so you can last through the winter. You must be ready to hunt.
- 9f. Learned how to live by your parents--you learn to survive yourself by living on the land--you can make shelter with willows.
- 9g. Hunting and travelling, getting caribous, setting fish nets under ice and making camp away from home.
- 9h. No response.
- 9i. You have to know how to survive, how to take care of your animals--if there is fur to be sold, you have to dry up the fur.
- 10. What values from your culture would you like to see passed on to your great grand children?**
- 10a. When I was growing up every thing was verbally passed on to us. And I would like to see something written and taught to our children of future generations.
- 10b. I would like them to be fed and have clothes.
- 10c. I hope my grandchildren will have jobs.
- 10d. That they know how to live off the land. They would be good to each other. Have love for each other no matter who they are--share and feed those who are in need. Don't say bad things back to people.
- 10e. Food from Inuvialuit country foods. It makes me feel sad when kids only want stuff from the store.
- 10f. I always want to pass down how they train us to live. How they would learn us how to live.
- 10g. Inuvialuit living still and school education and a good training for job.

10h. No response.

10i. When we bring them out to Inuvialuit camp and make them understand what life was like.

**11. Tell your favourite story from being out on the land. Please include as many details as possible.**

11a.

When I was about 7 years old I have great memories of when my dad and I used to go hunting rats in the spring. I had a 410 and I did all the shooting because in those days it was more important to learn how to live off the land than it was to go to school. I can remember the first time I started hunting beluga whale with my father in law with his schooner. I at that time did not have any experience and could not harpoon properly so I made a lot of misses. My father in law would holler at me, and when we got back home he would always call me aside and talk to me about hunting and to tell me that he never got mad because he raised his voice but he wanted me to learn how to hunt properly.

11b.

My husband never hunted he only trapper. He needed a looking glass to hunt and he only went on nice days.

11c.

I was driving skidoo with a sled. My son Joe was standing on the back of the sled. I saw a polar bear off to my right side about a quarter mile. I stopped the skidoo to grab my rifle to shoot the bear. As soon as I stopped the skidoo my son Joe shot the bear with his rifle. We skinned it and took it back to town. It was a big bear - 9 feet.

11d.

I like to hunt and travel with my family together. My sons Frank and Sandy were left at camp and the rest of the family was in Aklavik. Frank wanted to go out for a whale but he didn't want to go with one boat. So Sandy and I went in the 14' boat with 25 hp motor.

Frank shot the whale and Sandy was shouting at me to harpoon the whale. I stood up to harpoon the whale and I fell over backwards. So, I took the kicker and Sandy harpooned the whale right close to the boat.

Angus Irish wanted us to get another whale because there were lots there. So Sandy, Frank, Angus and I got one more whale.

Between four of us we got two whales that day. It was the first time I got really excited about whaling because my husband wouldn't let me go out in the boats (but he was in Aklavik). My husband passed away two years after. I never have been out whaling since.

11e.

It's nice and quiet to live in the bush. You can listen to loons in the summertime. I used to walk out to my camp (29 or 30 miles) but now my legs don't want to go that far. My camp is out towards the mountains from Aklavik.

11f.

People long ago--my grandchildren like to hear scary stories. I used to tell them scary stories and they would listen for awhile then they would forget about it.

After my parents died I walked my children out to the land. How to dig those things like bananas to eat it. Berries and all kinds of things and after that learn them how to eat dry fish and meat and we drank the broth from the meat. They have to learn how to live on the land.

My mom used to teach us. If someone else was coming and asking for food we have to give them food--we have to share with them so everyone has some food.

11g.

Fish and hunting caribou. Whaling, trap lines. Hauling wood and getting ready for the winter season by putting all your catch from the summer hunt away for the winter.

11h. No response.

11i. When it's dark at night and when the moon is bright and you go out and listen you can hear the wolves howling and the ice cracking.

I would like to see more young children learn the language--more than their name. They need to talk to each other in Inuvialuktun.

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