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From the Igloo to the School

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Abstract

Ten Inuit Elders currently living in Qamani’tuq, Nunavut who were born and raised on the Land who then were relocated from the Land to the fixed Community of Qamani’tuq shared some of their Learning experiences and Stories on the ways in which they acquired Inuit Knowledge. I am originally from the Community of Qamani’tuq, and spent some of my Childhood there, but have not lived there for many years. I have extended Family members who still live in the Community.

For each of the interviews, I began with three research questions: 1) what are the customary Inuit practices of Child rearing and Teaching? 2) in what ways can customary Inuit practices of knowledge sharing be adapted and utilized today? and 3) how can customary Inuit practices of Teaching and Learning (i.e., pedagogy) support students in the current educational system? In the careful listening and reading of the Elders’ Stories I have made suggestions on my understandings at this point in time of what the Elders are sharing in the answering of the questions posed. Each reader as they approach the Stories will infer their own meaning based on each person’s own Stories and Teachings; this is the gift of Storywork: there is not one meaning or understanding of the Stories shared. The Elders shared that customary Inuit practices of Child rearing and Teaching came from experiences that the Elders, as Children Learned from their Elders of the same gender. The Elders suggested that Inuit Knowledge could be adapted to the current school systems by authentic time devoted to Inuit Youth Learning on the Land from Inuit Elders. Inuit pedagogy can be supported in the current education system by incorporating Inuit methods such as encouraging students to observe the Teacher demonstrate the Learning and then scaffold the Learning. Scaffolding Learning can be applied by the Teacher observing the student applying the Learning and kindly correcting the student. The use of encouraging comments and relationship to the Teacher is also important in the process of Inuit Learning.

The Stories for this dissertation were collected conversationally, loosely guided by using open-ended questions in locations chosen by each Elder. A copy of their Stories was provided to each of the Elders in Inuktitut prior to the submission of the dissertation and each was asked to provide comments. The significance of gathering Stories from Elders in Qamani’tuq is to assist in preserving the memories of the Elders for future generations. Through this dissertation I was able to make some suggestions for the preservation of culture, apply new theoretical approaches and make suggestions for curriculum development by using the Stories shared with me by the Elders. This dissertation provides a format for Inuit Methodology that is supported by Elders in Qamani’tuq that could be used by other Inuit researchers as well. I was able to bridge Indigenous theoretical and methodological approaches through the use of Storywork and applied a unique lens of Indigenous theories rooted in my own Indigenous identity as an Inuk adopted into an Anishinabe family.
Keywords:
Qamani’tauq, Elders, Baker Lake, Nunavut, Inuit, Storywork, Indigenous, education, Land, customary knowledge, school.

Keywords: Qamani’tuaq, Elders, Baker Lake, Nunavut, Inuit, Storywork, Indigenous, education, Land, customary knowledge, school.
Acknowledgments

I would first like to acknowledge my ancestral Grandparents whose bloodline is from Qamani’tuaq. I am thankful for my Tat ¹ who I thought of at every step of this journey, and how I longed to talk to him about what I was doing to ensure I was doing it right. Also, my Anaana who’s Knowledge of the Land, particularly of fishing, I drew on as I made my way through this process of learning.

I extend gratitude towards the Elders interviewed in this dissertation; if it were not for their willingness and kindness to share I would not have a paper in which to think about and write. I am thankful for what each of the Elders taught me and that I will spend a very long time processing the Wisdom they have shared with me.

My Children, Misko Banaishe (Kupinuaq) and Miigizens (Isumatutnaq) are to be acknowledged for their Teachings and contributions to this dissertation. My Daughter travelled home with me to Qamani’tuaq during the pre-search stage of this dissertation and my Son accompanied me through the gathering of Stories phase. I am thankful for the opportunities I was able to participate in because of my Children. I am thankful for their patience as I completed this degree. I will try to stay out of school. Misko Banaishe was also integral in assisting in formatting and Miigizens offered comedic relief! I love you both dearly and am thankful you chose me to be your Mom.

I wish to acknowledge my Family, both blood relatives and adopted. I am blessed with many loving individuals that I am humbled to call my Family. I am thankful for the support you offered during this process. I am thankful to my Uncle Dave for always taking me out on the Land and to the Water, to my Aunt Cheryl for letting me stay at her place and to my Cousins who never venture too far from the Tundra; I am thankful to each of you for what you so willingly share with me. I am thankful for my Tat’s relatives who without hesitation offered me the love and support to research and write this dissertation. I will reflect on this kindness and all of the Teachings for the rest of my life, for this I extend my enteral gratitude.

¹ Tat is a loving nickname I gave to my Ataataciatch (Inuktitut word for Grandfather)
Britania, there are not words to express my gratitude for your work in translating the Stories of the Elders. I am humbled by your gift of relationship with the Elders as well as your knowledge of Inuktitut. Ma’na for your time and kindness in helping me to gather the Stories. Carmen, ma’na for your help in translating back and forth from English to Inuktitut, I’m thankful for your knowledge and time you spent in helping me.

I would also like to acknowledge New Credit First Nation Education Department for assisting in my post-secondary funding during my educational journey. I am thankful for the work that New Credit does to assist Inuit students who are pursuing education in the South. Meegwich!

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I would like to acknowledge the many Teachers that have assisted in guiding me through this process. The Teachers who helped me came in in many forms, and in a variety of ways, which I am thankful for. I would like to acknowledge my supervisors, as well as my committee members: Rebecca, Marianne, Susan, Brent and Jason. Ma’na for your support and encouragement, I am sure at times it was not easy! I appreciate you permitting me the opportunity to use my antlers to carve out a small space for me in what I felt to be an uninviting Landscape.

I am thankful to those Indigenous people who have challenged the academy before me that permitted me the opportunity to do the same, and to current Indigenous students to keep challenging the institution to make further gains!

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the university itself; without this opportunity to pursue my Ph.D., I would not have indulged the time to gather the Stories at this point in my life.
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Preface: The Story before the Stories

Waynaboozhoo, Kizhay Wahdzi Quay

ndizinkawz Adik n’doodem. Qamani’uqaq n’doonjiba. Midewiwinquay n’dow. This personal introduction, given first in Inuktitut\(^2\), acknowledges my bloodlines. Next, written in Anishinabemowin\(^3\), there are four parts through which I recognize my identity: my spirit name, my clan, my home Community and my commitment to the Mide spirit. I am an Inuk (singular of Inuit), who has been adopted into an Anishinabe Family; therefore I have chosen to introduce myself in both Indigenous languages. I have been taught by my Indigenous ceremonial Teachers to always introduce myself in this manner so that those I address will know who and where I am from. This is a common practice of Indigenous people. I also want to acknowledge my Ataatatsiaq (Grandfather), Uqa-lu-lu-tuq (the one who speaks), and my Anaanatsiaq (Grandmother), for entrusting me to carry their Stories in a good manner.

I was born in the Winter of 1980 to Fred Ford and Wendy Brown and lived in Qamani’uqaq, Nunavut until I was six-years old. I moved from the Arctic to Southern Ontario. I attended elementary and secondary school in St. Catharines Ontario. As sometimes a teenager does, I found myself in some trouble and struggled to make good choices. I moved to London, Ontario where I began University at Western University in 1998. At that time I was faced with two choices: either to continue a path towards addiction or to explore my Indigeneity and attend ceremonies at the Three Fires Midewiwin Lodge. I am thankful I chose to attend ceremonies and gave up drinking in 1999. I was able to pursue Indigenous Knowledge at the same time as post secondary studies on a parallel journey. It was there that I found another Family, my adoptive Family, my parents: Animkee Kwe and Mizenagheezhik and my Siblings: Niigonwedom, Miskodagaaginkwe, Beendigaygeezhigoquay and Gazheekgwanbinokwe.

Although my spirit is connected to the Midewiwin, I have never forgotten who I am as an Inuk. I have always longed to Learn more about Inuit Knowledge. Through my pursuit of higher education I used the opportunity to explore Inuit pedagogy and Knowledge. I was uncomfortable and unsure many times throughout this process as to where I belonged in regards to where my authority was in gathering and telling of the Stories here, but I am thankful I participated in this work.

\(^{2}\) Inuktitut is the language of the Inuit. This dissertation is translated into Inuktitut using syllabics. Throughout the dissertation, the syllabics will always precede the English text. Additionally, there are some Inuktitut words used throughout the English text to name places, people and important Inuit ideas.

\(^{3}\) Anishinabemowin is the language of the Anishinabe who are commonly known as Ojibway First Nations.
Story 1: Positioning: the Re-search, the Community and the Re-searcher

Positioning The Re-search:

The focus of this dissertation was to look at some of the Stories from Elders in Qamani’tuaq and give opportunity to me, as an Inuk who spent most of her life away from the Community, an opportunity to reconnect and give back. I have engaged in re-search, Absolon (2011) uses the term “re-search/er” instead of the westernized usage of “research” I appreciate and value her term and have chosen to use it throughout this dissertation. I acknowledge her and the usage of this term in an attempt to Indigenize the work that I have done as a student. The purpose of this re-search was to assist in preserving the rich Stories of some of the Elders in the Community. The questions guiding this re-search were:

1) What are the customary Inuit practices of Child rearing and Teaching?
2) In what ways can customary Inuit practices of knowledge sharing be adapted and utilized today?
3) How can customary Inuit practices of Teaching and Learning (i.e., pedagogy) support students in the current educational system?

Again, in an attempt to Indigenize my work, since my focus was on the Elders’ Stories, I have organized this dissertation into sets of Stories, rather than the conventional chapters usually used in dissertations. Stories define who we are, what we know and where we come from. I begin here in Story 1 with some background history of the place where this re-search was carried out, Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut. I provide the reader with an outline of the theories and methodologies I have drawn upon for this re-search, my self-positionality, ethical issues associated with this re-search, as well as the steps taken during the process. Stories 2-11 are the Stories of the Elders who shared with me. Story 12, the final Story in this dissertation, is my re-search, an introspective and reflective stage in the process where I looked back to my experiences of gathering the Stories and made meaning of what was shared to me.
Positioning the Community: Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut

Pre-history / Pre-contact with Qallunaat

To me, an Inuk from Qamani’tuaq, it is the most beautiful place on Earth; it is breathtaking at any time of the year. It is a remote fly-in Community that is geographically situated as the centre of Canada. As I’ve been told by my Grandparents, Qamani’tuaq is the only inland Inuit Community of Nunavut that has been a gathering place for Inuit for centuries.

Influence of Qallunaat

It has been shared to me by the Elders in Qamani’tuaq that in the early 1700s Qamani’tuaq was given the English name Baker Lake, named after a Hudson’s Bay explorer. The Inuktitut name offers more of an accurate and descriptive name of the Community as the word talks about how the Water appears in that area: it widens and the Lake joins the Kazan and Thelon Rivers. The Hudson’s’ Bay Company set up a trading post and soon barge ships began to make their way to the far North (and still continue to do so today). Contact with Qallunaat has continued gradually over the past 400 years. Modern buildings were built by the Church, the RCMP and Hudson’s Bay in the early 1920s. Through the 1940s and 1950s Inuit were initially, then later forced to relocate from the Land into the Community. All of the Elders who shared Stories with me in this dissertation talk of this experience.

Qamani’tuaq Art

Inuit from the Qamani’tuaq area are world-renowned artists in tapestry, carving, printmaking and drawing. There are many notable Inuit artists from the Community. Again, many of the Elders share Stories of the importance of art, both to their learning and as a tool for the future generations to Learn. It is important to note the connection to art and artist in the foundational understandings of the Community.

---

4 It has been explained to me by my birth father that Qallunaat is an Inuktitut word that is used to describe non-Inuit, specifically people of European decent. In translation, it literally refers to the appearance of large eyebrows and large stomach.
“Wow, Nana! Look! They are so pretty! Tell me about them again, please.” Athlueetuk points towards the Northern Lights that are streaming across the sky.

“Aqsarniit is what they are called, the Northern Lights, and do not point at them,” Ananaciatch scolds her. Athlueetuk immediately puts down her hand. “It’s rude to point; you’re directing all your energy at them when you do that.”

Athlueetuk remembers; she has been told this before, many times.

“That’s our Ancestors. They are dancing across the sky to show you that they remember you and love you. You can show them the same love and remembering by sharing their Stories and by carrying their names. Like you, Athlueetuk, you carry your great Grandmother’s name. Athlueetuk was a kind and generous Woman, always gave away what she had, even if she needed it. Just like you will be some day. And some day you can tell your Grandchildren about her, too.”

Athlueetuk thought for a moment.

“I will tell my Grandchildren about you, Ananaciatch. When we see aqsarniit I will tell them it’s you dancing for them.”

Ananaciatch hugged Athlueetuk and smiled. “Eema, that will be true.”

Figure 1: Photograph of Athlueetuk taken by Fred Ford while on the Land, Qamani’tuaq NU, 1984. Used with permission.
Positioning the Re-searcher

In the context of the work I present here, I am a “re-searcher.” Absolon (2011) uses the terms “re-search” and “researcher” in her work. Re-search is used to indicate a process of re-viewing and re-understanding, decolonizing, unpacking and appreciating where one comes from. Absolon explains, “I now hyphenate re-search, meaning to look again. To search again from our own location and to search again using our ways, as Anishinaabek is Indigenous re-search. It is the process of how we come to know” (p. 21). I not only want to look at how educational experiences were different and how Elders Learned from the Land and their Elders but at how my Ancestors thought about how it is that they Learned from and experienced the Land and their Teachers. From my perspective, re-search as a method offers more connection to Indigenous epistemological views, due to a connection to previous generations and ways of doing things, than the more dominant approaches and understandings of research, often entrenched in assumptions of new discoveries and being the first to study or come to know something. I appreciate and value Absolon’s position and have chosen to use it throughout my dissertation. I acknowledge her and the usage “re-search” as part of the attempt to indigenize the work that I am committing to do with the completion of my dissertation.

As a re-searcher I position myself within the re-search. Smith (2012) states that one of the major contentions of western colonial research is that for many decades research has been conducted on and not with Indigenous peoples. I believe by positioning myself within the research that I can avoid perpetuating in colonial research. I am careful to state my biases and opinions, being transparent in all that I do in regards to re-search. I cannot escape the lens in which I view the world. I am an Indigenous person, and, as such, I choose to see everything from an Indigenous perspective, and I do not claim to be free from the epistemological perspectives that I carry and value. I am dedicated to decolonizing my research and therefore myself. Healing work, self-identity and decolonizing are all practices that I engage in as a Learner. I believe that my willingness to understand myself as an Indigenous person strengthens who I am as a re-searcher. Additionally current Indigenous scholars such as Archibald (2008), Chilisa (2012) Simpson (2011), and Smith (2012), suggest that recognizing oneself, as well as being connected to cultural identity is an imperative
element to undertaking Indigenous methodologies as an Indigenous scholar. In order to move to authentic Indigenous methodologies, we must first Indigenize ourselves as researchers and acknowledge the attempts at influence from the west. I choose to use the word “attempt/s” when I discuss assimilation, colonization and genocide: as these tactics did not prevail as Indigenous people are resilient, therefore there were only attempts made.

I left Qamani’tuaq when I was six years old and must recognize that I have been away from my home Community for the majority of my life. Nonetheless, it is still my Community and my relationship with it offers some insider privilege. At the same time, I know that engaging with my Community as a re-searcher moves me to a role as an outsider looking in to the Community, as I have not there since I was a Child. I accept that I must acknowledge and come to terms with the potential difficulties in my insider/outside relationship and will find ways to navigate this terrain. I imagine that some people in the Community will always view me as an outsider; I can leave the Community at any time, whereas others (even if they wish they could) may not be able to do so as easily. I contended with the possibility that to some I am seen as an outsider. I dealt with this by being honest with my approach and the intention of my re-search. I am still trying to understand my unique insider/outside relationship with my home Community.

Ahnungoonhs (2012) explores the relationship as both insider and outsider in his home Community. He discusses the importance of having connections. Although he did not spend his entire life in his home Community, he knows that through his bloodlines he will always have connections. This reminds me of my journey and myself as well. When I returned home to collect Stories from my Family and Community for my dissertation re-search. I had to respectfully navigate my way in to a Community of which I am a member. Ahnungoonhs shares, “After I am known, relationships of trust are ready to be built” (p. 225). I can relate. I have chosen my ancestral Community as my re-search location as I want to engage with and Learn more about my ancestral home while also feeling that I can give back to my Community by gathering and preserving Stories from some of the Elders. According to Kuokkanen (2007), this notion of reciprocity is integral to Indigenous methodology. But navigating the insider/outsider locations will be an on-going challenge and one that can only be worked on as part of the re-search process itself, precisely because it is relational.
Many Indigenous scholars choose to use their home Communities as their re-search sites and their experiences are informative. For example, Kovach (2009) and Ahnungoonhs (2012) are two Indigenous scholars who write about their home Communities as their re-search sites. Kovach (2009) discusses the therapeutic atmosphere that was created in writing in her home Community. She describes how it was integral for her to physically be in her home Community in order to write about it. She also shares a vibrant dream that lead her home for her re-search and how spirit spoke to her and informed her that she needed to return home. This reminded me of the importance of location. I completed my qualifying paper (a requirement of the Ph.D. program) while I was in my home Community in the Summer of 2013. I sat at my great Aunt’s kitchen table and looked out across the Land to the Lake and was able to connect my words to the Environment. I can appreciate the therapeutic elements of writing about a place while you are actually in the location. I, too, felt a connection to the very Land and Lake that I was writing about.

My re-search is about a deeply entrenched kinship tie to the Land, the people and the Knowledge of my Community. This re-search project is about coming home again, but I recognize that I am not as deeply connected as I would be if I had been living in the Community all along. Moreover, I am not staying. I am visiting as a re-searcher. These are all complex pieces that I had to deal with through the process of re-search and writing, and will continue to do so even after the completion of the dissertation.
Planning a Trip to the Land

Since I have decided to use my home Community as my re-search site, I have a personal connection to and an investment in my academic work. In the planning stages of my re-search I used the cultural metaphor of preparing for and taking a trip on the Land.\(^5\) Figure 2 is a photograph taken by my biological Father in Qamani’tuaq behind my Grandparents’ home in the early Summer of 2012. It shows an empty qamatik, a sled pulled by qimmik (an Inuktitut word that is both singular and plural for Dog/s), which would carry the items necessary for a successful trip to the Land. To me, this picture represents the knowledge that can be carried from the Land and brought back to the people. Since the qamatik is empty, it represents the possibility to go and gather knowledge. It also represents the planning stage of preparing for a trip to the Land: the qamatik is empty; what do I need to pack for the journey?\(^2\)

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\(^5\) My former Ph.D. supervisor, Dr. Rebecca Coulter, suggested the use of this metaphor to me.
When preparing to head out on to the Land, it is essential to inform Family and Community where it is that you are planning on going and for how long you anticipate being gone. My preparatory visit to my home Community in the summer of 2013 acted as the notification of my intentions to travel to the Land and to conduct a re-search project. Observation and experience are common learning methods for Indigenous peoples (see, for example, Wilson, 2008; Simpson, 2011; Ahnungoonhs, 2012; Battiste, 2013; Bell, 2013). I have learned a great deal about spending time on the Land from my Tat (a shortened version of the word in Inuktitut for Grandfather I used as a child), my Uncles and my Father. I know that when preparing to go on the Land, whether to hunt, fish or camp; planning and preparation is key to safety and survival. I know that in planning for a journey such as undertaking re-search in my Community that I had to prepare mentally, as well. I know that in packing for the Land you need not pack in excess, and should only bring the gear required for the specific trip. However, it is important to be prepared should unexpected weather or events hinder the arrival at the destination or delay the return home. It is imperative to be alert to subtleties and changes in the Environment, as it would be dangerous to take unnecessary risks. I applied this same knowledge set to my re-search journey.

I have relied on the experiences of Indigenous scholars who have gone on similar journeys before me and I will continue to explore the relationship with re-search of other Indigenous scholars such as Archibald (2008), Kovach (2009), Absolon (2011), Simpson (2011), Wilson (2011), and Ahnungoonhs (2012) who have travelled over the doctoral terrain following Indigenous methods and using Indigenous tools. Metaphorically speaking, these, amongst many Indigenous scholars, are the Dogs that will pull my qamatik and me on this journey. When making a trip to a distant place on the Land, the Dogs are often moved around in their positioning so that each can take a turn at being the leader and setting the pace for the trek. Each Dog has an important job in the pulling of the qamatik and each is of equal importance. The qimuksiqti (musher/ driver) of the qamatik is responsible for noticing that the leader is getting tired, and unties the pack and reorders the Dogs. Like a good qimuksiqti, I, too, will utilize the strengths of others who have experienced the terrain before me and will rely on their work to assist in pulling my qamatik.
Figure 3: Photograph of my great Grandfather, Henry Ford. In this picture he is leaning against his packed qamatik pulled by qimmik as well as aided by a make shift sail of a Hudson’s Bay Trading Company blanket, ca. 1920. Used with permission of my Family.

In planning this trip to the Land I know there are many things that may be beyond my control and yet have the potential to change the outcome of the trip. I have heard Stories from my Family of many trips to the Land that were well planned, but that changed through the course of the trip and sometimes had fatal consequences. It is important to respect the Land, Seasons, Weather, and Animals. A successful trip requires the ability to be flexible and adaptable to a variety of possibilities, and I have taken this approach to my re-search journey, as well. Even though I created a concise and attainable plan for my re-search, unexpected circumstances and opportunities presented themselves and took me on different journeys. I have accepted the challenges and was prepared to face tasks for which I initially had not planned for; this was a part of my re-search learning.
Figure 4: Photograph of packed qamatik taken by Harry Ford, Qamani’tuaq NU, ca. 1920. Used with permission of my Family. In this photograph it can be assumed the Inuit are coming back from a successful trip on the Land as the qamatik is filled with the items gathered and needed for survival from the Land.

**Purpose of the Trip: My Re-search Focus**

Smith (2012) writes,

> The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful (p.1).

Considering the horrid past and relationship with anthropologists, ethnographers and other scholars doing research on rather than with Indigenous peoples, a history of mistrust has been established. Through observing protocols of the Community to which I was re-searching and following guidelines of the Tri Council Policy Statement (2010) (in reference to working with Indigenous people), and using the guidelines of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (2003) a respectful approach to re-search was observed.
during all stages of my dissertation. I am conscious of the past atrocities that have been conducted in the name of research on Indigenous peoples, and I refuse to be a part of disrespecting culture for the intent of exploration, exploitation and academic gain. I intend to offer something back to Qamani’tuaq in the form of reciprocity towards my Community by having continued conversations with the Community in regards to how this dissertation can be useful to the Community. Kuokkanen (2007) writes of the importance of reciprocity between the re-searcher and the co-re-searched; I utilized this notion to guide my practice in this re-search journey.

Freire (2011) suggests to move from a banking model of education (where the Teacher is making deposits into the minds of the students; and it is not reciprocal learning), he suggests, “problem-posing” education. Critical learning takes place and students are placed as “co-investigators” along side their Teachers. This idea is relatable and reflective of an honest and reciprocal relationship that is also related to Indigenous epistemology; this is related to what I have attempted to accomplish in my re-search as well.

Duran and Duran (2000) cite Sitting Bull (without specific reference or date): “ ‘Take what is good from the white man and let’s make a better life for our children’” (p. 93). This idea of taking what can be used to make it better for the future is a positive way to look at the process of change: evolve from Teachings, not change them. An example of this is the use of modern technology to assist in determining weather. Currently, Inuit living in the North can check the weather through various modes of technology that were not available to previous generations to determine if it is safe to travel by boat or on Land. Previously, this knowledge would have been gained by observing the signs of nature with the wind, animals, clouds and even bugs.

However, there are places, such as academic institutions, that do not make adequate space for Indigenous Knowledge and methodologies; therefore making it challenging to use both customary Indigenous methods and contemporary ideologies. Arguably, the academy and hegemonic society discredit anything that is not based in western theory and or ideology:
These intuitions not only discredit thinking that is not Western but also engage in practices that imply that people who do not subscribe to their worldview are genetically inferior. Stephen Jay Gould refers to the practice of valuing cultural experiences that are Western and white over any other cultural experience as biological determinism (1981, 325) (As cited in Friere, 2011, p.93).

Through attempts at colonization, the oppressed forget the value in their own ideologies because they are forcefully replaced by the dominant society. In my experiences of completing both a Masters and now a Ph.D. at an academic institution, I felt I was not supported in using Indigenous methodologies by the western institution. I felt as though I had to justify using Indigenous methodologies by grounding them in western ideas, where the same was not done for others using western ideas.

There are issues when there is a conflict of worldview and perspectives when the colonized institutions only see western methods to be the valid methods (Battiste, 1994; Dei, Hall & Rosenberg, 2000; Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012; Chilisa, 2012; Absolon, 2011). Little Bear (2000) discusses what he has termed a “clash of worldviews” between Indigenous peoples and contact with Europeans:

… colonization left a heritage of jagged worldviews among Indigenous peoples. They no longer had an Aboriginal worldview, nor did they adopt a Eurocentric worldview. Their consciousness became a random puzzle, a jigsaw puzzle that each person has to attempt to understand (p. 84-85).

Through using a western based learning model such as obtaining a Ph.D. exercising Indigenous methodologies I am attempting to validate Indigenous Knowledge regardless of the clash of perspectives using both systems of Knowledge and methodology. Western based research and data is based on science and is quantifiable; Indigenous re-search and Knowledge is measured through the experience and the reflections of one’s experience to the Learning. It is noted that there will not be an accurate interpretation of Indigenous Knowledge and experience unless re-searchers are well versed in both Indigenous re-search methodology and western practices (Absolon & Willett, 2004).
Ahnungoonhs (2012) reiterates that the learning is through the doing and that the doing is often hard labour (p.4). I prepared for the hard work that I knew would be involved in collecting Stories of education, learning and customary Inuit Knowledge from Inuit Elders living in my home Community. I hope that if it is the desire of the Community in the gathering of these Stories can assist in re-working curriculum to support the preservation of culture and encourage students to complete their educational journeys (either customary and or contemporary) if they choose to. It is my hope that through the sharing of Inuit Knowledge, Inuit Youth may be encouraged to Learn more about their heritage, and develop a sense of cultural pride and strengthen their identities, all of which are demonstrated elements for achieving Learning success and good lives (Battiste, 1984; Archibald, 2008; Wilson, 2008; Absolon, 2011; Simpson, 2011; Bell, 2013). My understanding of living a good life is the connection to the Knowledge of Ancestors and having opportunity to be successful in the current realities of the time we are presently living in: a balance of Knowledge of the past in the present. Many Indigenous nations talk about the good life to include following culturally shared values and norms shared from previous generations, this will be discussed later in the dissertation in reference to Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) (Laugrand, F., & Oosten, J., 2009) and the Teachings of the Seven Grandfathers in Anishinabe Theory as shared with me by Eddie Benton Banai.

Setting research questions for a re-search project that used Indigenous methods is problematic unless it is done collaboratively with the Community. However, given the realities of time, financial resources and ethics applications, I began by using my own re-search questions, which I consciously crafted to be broad. Again, the questions I used to form the conversations with the Elders were: 1) what are the customary Inuit practices of Child rearing and Teaching? 2) in what ways can customary Inuit practices of knowledge sharing be adapted and utilized today? and 3) how can customary Inuit practices of Teaching and Learning (i.e., pedagogy) support students in the current educational system? From the onset of the gathering of Stories I knew that as the project grew and developed, that the questions, as well as the re-search process would change in response to Community input. Such an approach is flexible, relational and responsive and is encouraged by the Tri-Council Policy Statement (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering
Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada [CIHR, NSERC and SSHRC], 2010).

Rationale: Why This Trip was Necessary (background)

The colonial legacy in Nunavut is far less sustained than the 500 plus years of continual settler interaction for those in many other Indigenous groups across the Americas. Of note is the fact that Qamani’tuaq contact with Europeans started in early 1600s, but the Community was not forcibly relocated until the 1940s with what can be viewed as a second wave of contact with Qallunaat. Arguably, contact that Inuit from Qamani’tuaq had with Europeans in the 20th century had the most significant impact on customary life. The Inuit faced many of the same attempts at assimilation as other Indigenous populations across North America. Tester and Irniq (2008) argue that “there is likely no other group of Indigenous people in the world that has made such a transition – from scattered hunting camps to settlements steeped in the organizational logic and material realities of high modernism in such a short time frame (from ca. 1955 to 1965). The disruptions to Inuit life and culture were incalculable.” (p.57) Furthermore, the Indigenous people of Nunavut suffered greatly from the Canadian government’s attempts at cultural genocide over many generations. These included racist maneuvers such as forced relocation, serialization through the process of assigning Eskimo numbers, regulations on sustenance and ceremonial hunting, killing of sled Dogs by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, medical experimentations, Tuberculosis sanatoriums, the Residential School system, forced sterilization, and systematic removal of Children from their parents (especially prominent in the 1960s and 1970s), which interrupted a flow of knowledge from previous generations into the future. One should not negate historical and intergenerational trauma neither that still plagues Inuit today.

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6 This dissertation focuses on Indigenous peoples of what is known as Canada, but it is important to note that #1: the concept of Canada is not recognized by many Indigenous peoples, as prior to contact there were not borders; and #2: similar atrocities have happened to Indigenous peoples around the world in the name of Colonization.
During the Confederation stage of Canadian history, Indigenous people were not consulted about how the Land would be shared, distributed or governed. The Gradual Civilization of Indians Act in 1857, The British North American Act of 1867, Indian Act of 1876 and Section 35 (2) of the Constitution Act) are all examples of legislation that attempted to control Indigenous peoples rights to Land in the Dominion of Canada. Notably, Land ownership is a foreign concept to most Indigenous peoples and is contrary to Indigenous ontologies: Land cannot be owned; Indigenous people have inherent responsibilities to be stewards to the Land and live in a reciprocal relationship to the Land. Indigenous people were never complacent to the distribution of Land but were often left without means, both economically and legally, in which to contest the onslaught of distribution and access to Land. Legally, Indigenous people were unable to hire lawyers, nor vote in Federal, Provincial or Territorial elections (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015). Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future: Summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

Inuit were granted the right to vote in 1950; however, there were no voting stations in the Northwest Territories until the 1960’s. Therefore the ability to access the right for Inuit to vote in Federal elections was not accessible until 1960. With the legal ability to have a voice, Inuit across the Northwest Territories soon became politically aligned and the Indian and Eskimo Association was formed in the 1960s as an early organization for First Nations and Inuit to discuss their political rights. In 1971, the Indian and Eskimo Association separated as the groups had varying interests and (mostly) different traditional territories; it was at this time that the Inuit Tapirisat\(^7\) of Canada (ITC) was formed. The mandate of ITC was to support the preservation of Inuit culture, language and rights to Land in the North. ITC’s name was changed in 2001 to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami\(^8\) to reflect the role of the organization in Land claims. Through the creation of ITC in the 1970s and its role today, ITK lobbied using Inuit methodologies such as meetings where many voices and ideas were gathered.

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\(^7\) Inuit Tapirisat literally translated into English from Inuktitut is: Inuit Brotherhood

\(^8\) Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami translates to English as: Inuit united in Canada
across the North for the creation of Nunavut\textsuperscript{9}, Canada’s third territory. Inuit across the North agreed that it was important for the preservation of Inuit culture that a separate territory be created.

In September 1992, a major land claims agreement was completed and ratified by nearly 85% of the voters in Nunavut in a referendum. In 1993, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act and the Nunavut Act were passed by the Canadian Parliament, and the Nunavut Territory was established on April 1, 1999. While Nunavut may only have status as a territory, it remains one of the largest Land masses ever negotiated in a Land claims process to an Indigenous group in the world. Nunavut also has official language status for Inuktitut in the territory among other supports relating to identity and nationhood. With the creation of Nunavut came promises from the federal government to assist in the preservation of Inuit culture through ensuring there was an adequate representation of Inuit employees in government positions. However, in order for Inuit to be qualified for these positions according to Qallunaat standards, they must first be Western educated and trained and then appropriate Inuit-centred education must be provided. To date, Canada has failed to provide the education that will ensure Inuit are properly trained to qualify for government positions (Berger, 2006; Rasmussen, 2011; McGregor, 2013).

Education restructuring in the North has been evolving since the late 1970s. Much like the political push and will of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) for the creation of Nunavut as its own territory, the ITK has been integral in ensuring there are considerations for Inuit based education frameworks. There have been efforts to create Inuit methodology and pedagogy focused curriculum. In 1989 a framework for curriculum was developed entitled \textit{Piniaqtaqatut}. Two more followed: \textit{Innuqatigiit: The Curriculum from Inuit Perspective} in 1996; and \textit{Qaujimajatuqangit: Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum} in 2007 (McGregor, 2012).

\textit{Piniaqtaqatut} was the attempt to include Inuit pedagogy and knowledge into Nunavut curriculum. Although there was engagement done with Inuit on the content and delivery of the curriculum it is questionable if this curriculum effort was actually Inuit based since the

\textsuperscript{9} Nunavut translates to English as: our Land
curriculum and ways of delivery of the curriculum are rooted in Qallunaat Teaching and Teachers. Piniaqtavut stressed the importance of relationships to people and the environment, but did not provide the tools in order for Qallunaat teachers to do so. However, it was a good basis to start the conversation and action towards Inuit focused education.

From Piniaqtavut, the next stage in Inuit curriculum development in Nunavut was in 1996 with Innuqtutigiit: The Curriculum from Inuit Perspective. The purpose of this framework is outlined on the second page: “Traditional beliefs and values are still felt to be important to the communities and the elders would like to see them revived through the schools” (NWT Dept. of Education, 1996, p. 2). However, due to some of the similar realities and problems of the implementation of Piniaqtavut, there was a general lack of understanding regarding Inuit worldviews and Inuit culture from the Teachers (mostly Qallunaat).

The last and current wave of Inuit focused education and curriculum frameworks are found in the 2007 Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum. This framework starts with acknowledging the source of all Inuit knowledge must come from the involvement of the Elders. The framework provides the information needed from Qallunaat Teachers in how to connect with Inuit Elders to deliver curriculum appropriately. Also, it is through this framework where Sivuniksamut Ilanniarniq Schools are created which stipulate the direct involvement of Inuit Elders, directing the Qallunaat system to make space for Inuit Elders and pedagogy (McGregor, 2012).

In 2008 The Nunavut Education Act brought a promise of real education reform through legislation that supports Indigenous-based education and encourages cultural values through Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). IQ is often understood to mean in English “the things that Inuit have known for a long time” and is commonly referred to as Inuit Knowledge. The curriculum is based on a common curriculum that is delivered in the western provinces and in the North West Territories (Ilinniaqtuliiqiyikkut Department of Education, 2012-2013). The Nunavut Education Act, if fully implemented within a Community, could assist in the preservation of Inuit customary knowledge and practice in a wholistic manner. It is arguable that The Nunavut Education Act has not been successful in securing cultural representation in
the schools given that the curriculum is only supplemented with Inuit curriculum resources and not grounded in Inuit pedagogy such as curriculum being delivered on the Land by Inuit Elders.

The first paragraph of *The Nunavut Education Act* (2008) states, “…that public education needs to focus on students, their intellectual development and their physical, emotional, social, intellectual and spiritual well-being” (p.1). The Elders are the connection to the previous generations and to the Knowledge from the Land. They remember what life was like prior to the influence of the Qallinaat and Christianity; they can have an integral role to play in realizing the goals of the Nunavut education system. My re-search is designed to support the Elders in this role and to gather their Stories and educational knowledge and thus advance educational aspirations in Nunavut. Additionally, through my re-search and the gathering of Stories, I intend to explore different ways to support Inuit students by incorporating traditional ways of Learning and Teaching into the curriculum. I have attempted to find ways in which to create a sustainable connection to Inuit pedagogy that will preserve both ancestral knowledge and provide accessibility to Western practices of knowledge acquisition as well.

Despite the recent reforms to education in Nunavut, the educational system continues to fail Inuit students. According to 2011 Statistics Canada, Nunavut has the lowest high school graduation rate of any Province or Territory with a 35% graduation rate from high school (Statistics Canada, 2015). A number of reports outline the inequalities in education faced by Inuit in the North (e.g., the Canadian Council on Learning, 2005). Although some Inuit Children are attending schools in Inuit Communities and are sometimes being taught by Inuit Teachers in Inuktitut, the schools are still delivering a Eurocentric Qallunaat curriculum because the pedagogy does not reflect a customary mode of Inuit Teaching, Learning or assessment.

Inuit Communities and groups across the circumpolar regions (United States, Canada, Greenland and Russia) each have their own ideas and goals for Inuit sovereignty, cultural preservation and education. This dissertation gave me the opportunity to address some of the Stories from some of the Elders specifically from my home Community of Qamani’tuq, Nunavut. My experiences in this re-search journey reflect only one Community located in
boundaries designated as Canada and I recognize the Stories and subsequent recommendations and potential usefulness of this dissertation may not serve all (or any) Inuit Communities in the broader circumpolar regions. The significance of the above noted background history of learning, pedagogy and education in the context of Nunavut is important to help situate my re-search journey in this dissertation. Part of the purpose of my re-search is to provide suggestions, if appropriate, to address the current shortcomings of education in Nunavut. Of course, I am cognizant that *The Nunavut Education Act* (2008) is still in its early stages of implementation, and that time is needed for the Nunavut government to create culturally appropriate curriculum that will support Inuit Learners. My work, through gathering Stories from the Elders of Qamanitu’uaq can assist in the successful implementation of policies rooted in Inuit culture if that is the desire of the Community.

**Packing the Qamatik: What was needed for survival on the Land**

It is imperative to know what tools must be packed for my metaphorical trip to the Land, in addition to knowing how to use them. It will be integral to pack both traditional and contemporary tools. When I am unsure of the terrain, I have asked for help from others who have taken similar journeys before me. I consulted with the Elders for their traditional Knowledge and re-visited the scholarly work of Indigenous re-searchers and continue to question and think about what I was attempting to do. I have been mentored for many years by my Family, my Community members and my Teachers to earn and Learn what has been given to me. Since I was a little girl, I have been given Stories to carry and share. Stories can be tools.

The tool called an ulu is a Woman’s knife (see Figure 5). Traditionally an ulu is made from materials found on the Land such as slate, bone, antler and tusk; however, since contact with Qallunaat, scrap metal and steel are used for most ulu blades made today. My ulu, pictured in this dissertation is made from scrap metal with a Caribou antler handle, a blend of customary and contemporary elements. It was a gift given to me by my Grandfather. I do not remember when he gave it to me, but I also do not remember ever not having it. To me, this tool represents femininity and strength. In previous generations, without an ulu, an Inuk Woman would have had difficulty in meeting her responsibilities and duties on a daily basis. An ulu is a multi-functional tool: it is used to cut the umbilical cord when a Baby is
born; to cut material to sew; to clean animals in preparation for cooking; and for many other things. When using an ulu, one must rock the handle back while applying force at the same time. It requires skill and some practice to use this tool with effectiveness. It requires the user to have the patience to retrace the same path and groove that was created with the initial pass. These skills are needed, too, as I use my ulu metaphorically while cutting through colonial thoughts and retracing the path created by my ancestors.

Figure 5: Photograph of my ulu (traditional Inuit Women’s knife) taken by author, Summer 2013.

Figure 6: Photograph of iqtuqsit (scraping tool) taken by author, Summer 2013.
My iqtuqsit (see Figure 6), used to scrape hides and for dry fleshing, is a very important tool to me. Made from scrap metal and a piece of driftwood, a permanent marker has been used to write the name “H. Ford” on the handle (something my Anaanaciatch would have shuddered at seeing; my Tat leaving his name on just about everything he touched). This iqtuqsit was not really a gift to me; I borrowed it and never returned it. I remember the day I asked my Tat for some “Inuit stuff” to show my class in high school. He was excited that I wanted to share and he went busily around his house looking for articles to lend me to take in to school. This is the first conscious memory I have of being proud of my heritage. Although I have yet to use my iqtuqsit for the intended purpose of working with an animal, I have used it metaphorically as a tool for decolonizing. I am using my tool as a way to re-examine and peel back layers to find my cultural identity and what that means to me as a researcher, a Ph.D. student, and subsequently what that means in regards to my responsibility to give back to my Community. Scraping involves hard work and determination to see the piece transform, through interpretation and reflection, into an endless list of possibilities determined only by the limitations of the one wielding the tool. I have been able to scrape away at layers of colonization until I can make a material that fits my re-search purposes.

Theories

There are issues that make using western determined theories problematic for one choosing to use Indigenous theories and methodologies. I am choosing to focus on Indigenous models of theory and acknowledge that there are some western theories that could have lent themselves to the arena of Indigenous epistemologies for the purpose of this re-search. I have relied on Indigenous models due to the fact it is a colonializing practice to rely on the tools of the hegemonic society that doesn’t support Indigenous Knowledge, Indigenous Research Methodologies nor Indigenous theories. The “master’s tools” (Lorde, 1983, p.99) cannot be used to discuss Indigenous ways of being. Bishop (2005) suggests that colonization and the tools used by the colonizer are intrusive and often not (historically) respectful to the people on whom the re-search is conducted. One must be cognizant not to rely on the very theories and ideologies that were used in attempts at colonization (Tuck, 2008). I wish to acknowledge but not rely on western theory. I believe this is like respecting all ways, always, as
this reminds me of a primary teaching given by my Wah’en\(^\text{10}\), Bawdwaywindun in the Three Fires Midewiwin Lodge: all Creation Stories are true. I acknowledge that western theories do exist; but they are not the best fit to use for Indigenous re-searchers. It is a challenge to find balance between western theories and that of Indigenous theoretical models, but this must be accomplished and is yet another example of having to live in two worlds (Lavallee, 2009).

The theories that will guide my re-search are Decolonizing Theory, Anishinabe\(^\text{11}\) Theory and Maligait Theory. This re-search project has a focus and a commitment to following ancient standards of Indigenous pedagogy, epistemology and ontology; therefore it is only logical that the theories chosen reflect the beliefs of the re-searcher, and the Community at the focus of and contributing to the re-search. Indigenous Theories will serve as a means of assisting the chosen Indigenous Community, who are exercising their right to persistence, resistance and attempting to reclaim their Indigenous voice that was used fully before attempts at colonialism.

**Decolonizing Theory**

To ground my re-search theoretically, I am drawing on Decolonizing Theory as developed and explained by Smith (2012). It is imperative that I understand who I am as the re-searcher, unpack my assumptions, and understand that the way that I have been taught to know the world differently from customary Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Influences by Qallinaat people and Qallinaat ways have altered my consciousness through the ongoing attempts at assimilation. For centuries the dominant society, through its institutions of education, religion, government and media, has shaped ideas about research and knowledge. The control over what knowledge is and how to obtain knowledge has been among the tools used at attempts to oppress and colonize Indigenous peoples (and others) and create hegemonic thoughts and beliefs (Smith, 2012). Decolonizing is first a process of understanding that an outside belief system has been forced upon one group of people with

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\(^{10}\) Wah’en is an Anishinabemowin word that denotes a sacred and special relationship. Bawdwaywindun is my Wah’en as he is the one who traveled to the Spirit world to find my Spirit name. He carries many generations of knowledge, which he shares with Indigenous people at the Three Fires Lodge. He is a giving and knowledgeable Man for whom I’m very thankful.

\(^{11}\) Anishinabe is also spelled Anishinaabe and referred to as Nishnaabeg in other dialectal areas. For a comprehensive description of Anishinaabe epistemology please see Rheault (1998).
the intent of erasing their Indigenous culture and assimilating them into the dominant culture.

The second part of the decolonizing process is accepting that there are other ways in which to understand the world by respecting customary forms of knowledge. Education has been and continues to be a strong tool in the colonizing process. For example, in the current education model in Ontario, a colonial model of education, which I participated in as a student and again as a Teacher, there is little content on Indigenous Knowledge or experience. Education is used to indoctrinate students into learning what the dominant society deems to be the necessary elements of knowledge, which often, regrettably, only offers a single-sided, biased view of the history of Indigenous peoples. There was a well-planned and structured intent to take from the Original People\(^{12}\): to take their resources and cultural identity. It was a strategic plan enacted firstly by the colonizers who stepped foot on the so-called “New World” and is still evident today through the actions of the Canadian government, especially Indigenous Affairs and Northern Development Canada, and the ongoing application of the Indian Act (Battiste, 2008). The process of decolonizing is an act of resistance to colonization. Thus, decolonizing is the process of detaching from the dominant model of thought that has been imposed while reclaiming the thought, practice, education, and language of the Original People.

I approached the idea of decolonizing in a sensitive manner while talking with the Elders because stirring memories of education could have caused pain. The Elders that I was humbled to have been able to visit with and have them share Stories with me were born on the Land in the 1940’s. They were able to provide their own personal accounts of forced relocation from the Tundra into a fixed in-land Community. The Elders shared firsthand experiences and Stories of the attempts of colonization of Inuit. I was fortunate to have been able to have the opportunity to gather Stories of their experiences of life prior to and during colonization initiatives. The Elders spoke of acts of resilience in their Story sharing with me as they spoke of how forced relocation has affected customary ways of Inuit

\(^{12}\) I am choosing to use Original People here instead of Indigenous People. I am referring to the original inhabitants of North America, or commonly referred to as Turtle Island by Anishinabek.
Knowledge acquisition. I was cognizant that recalling these Stories may potentially cause distress. There were points during the Story gathering when they would share with me about difficult experiences of attending Residential Schools. I was careful to acknowledge what it was that they were sharing and did not purposely ask them questions that would lead them to talking about painful memories. I recognize that this was a problematic task as relocation and attempts at assimilation are rooted in painful memories. I did not purposely seek to cause distress in talking about the realities of forced relocation.

Price (2007) discusses “kitchen table meetings” and suggests this as a method of decolonizing. In her kitchen table meetings she interviewed Inuit in their own homes in regards specific topics. She writes,

I argue that the Kitchen Consultation model has the potential of supporting decolonization in Nunavut at the individual and collective level. I argue that supporting this model will require communities to remember the importance of collective strength, and individuality. This memory will be supported by the revitalization of two principles rooted in Inuit governance – the role of experience as a site of knowledge and the necessity of modesty (p. 87).

Through the use of methods that are familiar to Inuit, much like the casual Storytelling Environment I have adopted, Price (2007) suggests that a decolonizing process can be supported.

Thinking critically about the possibility of decolonization in the world of global capitalism, I am aware that not all Community members will think that reclaiming customary Stories and pedagogy is beneficial for Inuit Youth in Qamani’tuaq. During the Story gathering I did for my Masters’ Degree, when I visited with my Tat and asked him what he thought is best for Inuit Youth for the future in regards to education, he suggested the best thing to happen would be for Youth to move to the South, get a good education and job and never go back (personal conversation, 2008). Inuit Youth are bombarded with the influence of western culture and constantly hear that it is imperative that they obtain the knowledge and ways of western civilization. I do not wish to inflict my desire to retain customary Knowledge on people who may not feel the same way. However, Alfred (2009) argues persuasively about
the need to respect Indigenous Knowledge for what it is. Understanding Indigenous traditional philosophies and worldviews permits space for regeneration of Indigenous cultures, nations, and the individuals themselves.

We are not saying, ‘Let’s go back to the way it was two hundred years ago.’ But let’s take the power of what was, let’s take what is good in tradition, let’s take what is useful, let’s take what is powerful, and let’s make it something we can use to go forward (Alfred, 2009, p. 159).

In several of the Stories that the Elders shared with me they gave examples of how there is a balance to utilizing Inuit customary Knowledge with the conveniences of contemporary Qallunaat knowledge.

**Anishinabe Theory**

Anishinabe Theory is the model of validating one’s experiences with Anishinabe knowledge keepers such as Teachers and Elders (Rheault, 1999). Simpson (2011) writes: “Nishnaabeg theory has to be learned in the context of our own personal lives, in an emotional, physical, spiritual and intellectual way” (p. 41). This dissertation was a deeply personal experience in which I was humbled to be able to work closely with some Inuit Elders from my home Community for validation of both the Knowledge and the experiences gained. At every step of the process I was involved in a wholistic experience where I was challenged physically, emotionally, mentally and spiritually. Everything I have done in this educational journey was in context to me and my Learning.

Anishinabe Theory comes from the individual experience with learning and living through the Teachings, therefore making it an individual interpretation on the knowledge learning (Absolon 2011, Rheault, 1999 and Simpson, 2011). Anishinabe Theory is self- regulatory and it is through the individual’s understanding of sacred Teachings, which cannot be quantified by anyone other than the individual. Anishinabe Theory is based on sacred Teachings and Knowledge that includes empowering the individual though self-actualization. Rheault (1999) writes,
Research and learning for an Anishinaabe person includes more than an investigation of the external world. It also includes those revealed insights that happen within; insights that are presented as gifts by the Spirit, gifts that transcend the constraints of space-time (p xvii).

The internal gifts that I gained in this process of gathering Stories in Inuktitut through the assistance of a translator have been immeasurable. Additionally, within an Indigenous ontological perspective one is often cautioned about sharing personal internal thoughts and experiences with others at the threat of lessening the experience as it was presented to the individual. Throughout the dissertation, I elude to times when I have been gifted a dream, but I do not share the details of the dream. My Uncle and Teacher, Donnie Dowd (Ozahwanaqwat) once cautioned me about sharing dreams. He told me that I had to be careful whom I shared my dreams with because sharing dreams is like ripping a page out of my Story and giving it to someone else. He also shared that once a dream is relayed to another person it is impossible to know where they will share that dream with others, therefore diluting the experience. Another Uncle and Teacher, Jim Dumont (Onahbinasay) shared with me that there are many types of dreams, some of which include ones that are intended to be shared with others. I am still distinguishing what those dreams are for me, so for now, I will keep them to myself.

Lynn (2006) writes of similar ideas that are relatable to Anishinabe Theory. She refers to critical race method, which supports the similar frameworks of Anishinabe Theory. Lynn (2006) shares a Story of Kashari and the notion of “Dancing between two worlds” (p 226-227). Often when discussing Anishinabe Theory and pedagogy there are references made to a notion of living in two worlds (Absolon, 2011, Anderson, 2011, Rheault, 1999, Simpson 2011, Wilson 2008). When I read the Lynn (2006) article I immediately connected with this idea of having to live in two worlds and find balance between the two. Sometimes it is a struggle to be an Indigenous person and be True to my Teachings while living in a Western dominated society.
According to Rheault (1999),

Applied Anishinaabe Theory is a philosophical system that finds its foundation in the traditional knowledge that forms the nexus of Anishinaabe culture. This is based, in part, on the knowledge that everything (everyone) is alive and that we are all related. It is also based on the understanding that there are two aspects to reality: physicality and spirituality, and that they are ultimately two different experiences of reality (p.11).

The connections made to my Spirit through the physical participation of gathering Stories, visiting with Family and spending time on the Land and Water has been immeasurable. Much like I have been able to gain academic knowledge at the same time as pursuing spiritual knowledge, through the process of gathering Stories physically, my spirit has been fed.

Additionally, Anishinaabe Theory involves a relationship between Elder who is Teaching and the person that is seeking the Knowledge (Rheault, 1999). My re-search respects these complex bimodal relationships through respectfully acknowledging a wholistic approach through the entire re-search gathering, writing and dissemination process following Indigenous practices and protocols. Considering that I am both an Indigenous Woman and an Indigenous scholar I am able to access and align with the theory, as I understand my own connection to my cultural identity. Anishinabe Theory comes from the individual experiences with Learning and living through the Teachings, therefore making it an individual interpretation on the knowledge being obtained:

Our educational frameworks are not imported from conceptual spaces or other western domains they are not semiotic xenotransplants tip-layered epistemes adventitious suckers this would be the usual site for parentheses encasing a published reference title punctuation year perhaps a superscript numeral alas I offer only experience upon which to draw in this instance it is my only referee (Cole, 2002, p.451)

I can only speak from the perspectives that I have gained from my own experiences. My experiences are valid as theory because I have had the experiences. I cannot speak (nor
write) about anyone else’s experience with real authority if I too have not had the same experience. I was reminded recently by an Inuk Elder, Sally Webster, from my home Community that I do not have the authority to speak about things that I have not experienced and that I should not even tell other people’s Stories if I was not there to witness what happened or if I do not have their permission to tell their Story. It is through Cole’s work, that I ironically am able to rely on for the justification of not citing many authors or works in this dissertation.

Lastly, Anishinabe Theory is based on the Seven Grandfather Teachings (Benton-Banai, 1998). The Teachings offer a foundation for the way one is to live their life in order to have a good life. An individual is to strive to follow the principles of: Zaagidwin (Love), Mnaadendimowin (Respect), Aakwa’ode’ewin (Bravery), Gwekwaadziwin (Honesty), Debwewin (Truth), Dbaadendiziwin (Humility) and Nbwaakaawin (Wisdom) in their day to day lives in order to have balance and to work towards living a good life.

I experienced Zaagidwin during the gathering of Stories in many examples. I felt the Love of the Elders, the language, the Land and of what I was able to do with this dissertation.

I kept Mnaadendimowin at the forefront of everything I did to ensure that I was honoring each of the Elders. I respected their experiences, their Knowledge and their willingness to share with me.

Aakwa’ode’ewin was exercised in choosing to go to my home Community, one where I have not lived since I was a Child to ask if it was viable for me to gather Stories. I have also felt brave in challenging the institution in regards to what and how a dissertation can be completed.

I upheld Gwekwaadziwin with how I shared with the Elders what the intent of me gathering their Stories was for. I also was honest with my feelings, and included my honest (and often raw) feelings in the subsequent Stories.

Debwewin was conveyed to the Elders via a consent form that was provided to them in Inuktitut. Truth was shared with me of the experiences that the Elders had as Children in sharing what and how they Learned what they did.
The Ph.D. process was a practice in Dbaadendiziwin. It felt as I progressed I became more and more aware of the things I did not know, instead of feeling like I was gaining expertise. I am humbled to have been afforded the opportunity to participate in the gathering of the Elders’ Stories.

The Elders and my Teachers in many forms shared with me freely their Nbwaakaawin during this dissertation. I feel from this experience I have gained a lot of Knowledge that after I have had the opportunity to continue to reflect on the Learning that I too will have gained Wisdom; but not before I do a lot more practical hands on Learning and reflecting on the Stories that were shared with me.

**Maligait Theory**

The Inuktitut word maligait translated into English can be interpreted as “laws”; but it has a deeper philosophical meaning. Price (2007) writes,

> Maligait are rules that govern Inuit in their relationship within the metaphysical world. Respecting maligait is a requirement that flows from Inuit spirituality, or shamanism. Inuit spirituality recognizes the constant presence of spirits and respects the authority of spirits to challenge Inuit physical survival (p. 39).

Maligait applies to all areas of life and is a structure that can lend itself to a notion of Inuit Theory for the purpose of my re-search project.

It may seem pretentious to lay claim to a theoretical framework however, I am attempting to navigate these ideas in a humble and respectful manner. For the purpose of this dissertation and for hopes to assist future Inuit researchers, I have brought together the principles of Decolonizing Theory, Anishinabe Theory and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit to create what I am referring to as Maligait Theory to create a theoretical framework for this dissertation.

Inuit are resourceful and adaptable. When preparing for this trip on the Land and gathering the tools and knowledge that I would need to be successful, I considered a few theories to assist in my re-search; there was not one Theory that fit my needs to complete the
dissertation. I was asked by my committee to consider the main themes that are woven throughout various theories and develop my own theoretical framework based on themes that are relevant to a theory that supports the work I committed to completing for this dissertation. The themes of a theoretical framework for Maligait used in this dissertation are: a focus on the self (from the self-identified) Inuit identity and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

For me, and for the purpose of this re-search Learning, I have shown there is significance of bringing together two different and complementary Indigenous theories with the blending of Inuit Knowledge (with IQ) and Anishinabe Theory. It is relevant to me as an Indigenous person as I have utilized tools from the two Indigenous nations to which I represent and identify with. This blending in it of itself is an example of Indigenous methodologies: the ability to speak authentically from a place of one’s own Indigenous positionality. This re-search is a product of who I am as an individual, therefore has relevance and is the most appropriate theoretical framing of my re-search gathering. No other Indigenous student, to my knowledge, has utilized complimentarily Inuit and Anishinabe methodologies therefore this re-search journey has created an opportunity for future Indigenous people that identify as both Inuk an Anishinabe to participate in similar blending of the two sets of methodologies

**Speaking and Acting from a Place of Inuit Identity**

The foundation of Maligait Theory is the grounding of the re-searcher to his or her own Inuit identity. Specifically, how it is that he or she identifies him or herself as an Inuk. When approaching this work I drew on what I knew about my Inukness (a word recently shared with me by an Inuk Elder, David Serkoak) and I applied that to the re-search.

My Tat shared with me the Story of his birth, not how it was told to him, but how he remembers it. He told me he was born in the Fall on the Land as his Family was making their migration from their Fall camp to their Winter Camp. He said he remembered it was warm and dark, and then he felt his Mother push him out into the cold air and how she herself caught him, in her Caribou skinned pants. He remembered her ulu blade and how it cut his umbilical cord, separating him from his Mother. My Tat shared that he remembers how she brought him to her breast inside of her amauti and continued to walk with the
Family along their migration across the Land. The strength of my Ancestors is remarkable. Strength is an example of Inuit identity and the ability to be successful in adverse situations.

There are characteristics of Inuit identity that I was taught innately as a Child through observation I Learned what it meant to be an Inuk. I saw my Grandparents give to people when they had very little themselves. I Learned about hard work and observed how everyone had a role in the Family. I saw that when everyone worked together for the common good of the Family that life was easier. Being an Inuk means working hard, this notion was passed down for generations as a means of survival. Living my life authentically with these strong principles is how I practice my Inuit identity. Being aware of who I am as an Inuk and how to apply these ideologies is an example of having a focus on the self from an Inuit identity. My dissertation permitted me the opportunity to centre my work on my identity and use the foundational Teachings to frame the work in the re-search and writing stages. Embodying the Teachings of Maligait is living Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

**Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)**

Laugrand, F., & Oosten, J. identify the 6 guiding elements of IQ as:

- Pijitsirniq (serving),
- Aajiiqatigiingniq (consensus decision-making),
- Pilimmaksarniq (skills and knowledge acquisition),
- Piliriqatigiingniq (collaborative relationships or working together for a common purpose),
- Avatimik Kamattiarniq (Environmental stewardship) and

Using IQ as principles of Maligait Theory is a logical structure. I will list how I used IQ in my re-search with specific examples:

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13 Please note: Laugrand, F., & Oosten, J. are two Qallunaat researchers who gathered and interpreted Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and have published extensively on the knowledge they have gathered from their places of understanding. Customarily IQ would have been Taught both explicitly and indirectly from Inuit Elders.
**Pijutsirniq (serving):** I kept the notion of serving and giving back to the Community at the forefront of my re-search. I also ensured that when I was travelling to the Community that I called the Elders and my Family and asked them what I could bring them from the South. While in Qamani’tuaq I offered to help my Family members that I stayed with in ways to make their lives easier and helped in the Community with events and gatherings that were happening when I was there. The idea of serving the Community is important to keep in mind while gathering knowledge from a Community with the intent for academic gain. Serving and providing for the Community is of far greater importance than to meet than any other gain. To me pijutsirniq means being selfless and putting the needs of others ahead of yourself. In the Stories that were shared with me by the Elders I was told about pijutsirniq and how the Elders, as small Children were taught to serve others.

**Aajiiqatigiingniq (consensus decision-making):** When considering Maligait as a Theory for re-search, all of the decisions on the re-search must be made with the Community based on consensus. From the format of the re-search questions, to how the re-search is presented. I used aajiiqatigiingniq at the beginning of my re-search journey with the pre-search stage when I went home to ask Elders specifically if they would be interested in participating in the re-search with me. I did not fully use consensus decision making throughout the re-search process, however, as I determined the questions that were asked instead of consulting with the Community members.

**Pilimmaksarniq (skills and knowledge acquisition):** I was able to use my Inuk identity and the skills I observed, Learned, and participated in as a Child in the application of my re-search. The Elders shared with me their life Stories, which was an example of knowledge acquisition. The ability to stay and visit in the Community during the re-search gathering stage permitted me, and my Children an opportunity to (re)Learn Inuit Knowledge through the application of going out on the Land and fishing. Pilimmaksarniq was also exemplified in the vivid dreams and connections to spirit I experienced while in Qamani’tuaq. Stories of skills and knowledge acquisition were the main focus of the Stories gathered from the Elders.
Piliriqatigiingniq (collaborative relationships or working together for a common purpose): Piliriqatigiingniq is an example of how my Family assisted me in the completion of this dissertation. Everything I needed for this dissertation was taken care of for me by my Family. In some cases I did not even need to ask for help, my Family saw what the need was and took care of it for me. From giving me a place to stay, introducing me to Elders and taking time from their busy lives, my Family was there for me to help me to complete this dissertation. The Elders shared with me how survival was dependent on the Community being able to exercise Piliriqatigiingniq and how everyone had a specific role to fulfill in the Community for survival.

Avatimik Kamattiarniq (Environmental stewardship): The Environment and taking care of the Environment was integral to me on this re-search journey. Gathering the Stories of the Elders about the Land and the Water is an example of stewardship as in the act of recording Stories of the Elders experiences of the Land is assisting in protecting and preserving the Land itself. When I first flew into Qamani’tuaq for the pre-search visit I cried when I saw the Lake, as it had been ten years since I was home. I cried when my Uncle took me on the Land to my Grandparents’ traditional hunting grounds and I cried when I was in the boat on the Lake. As an Inuk I have a responsibility, in whatever capacity that may be, including writing a dissertation that holds Stories about the Land, to assist in the taking care of the Land. Avatimik Kamattiarniq lies also in placed based learning. There were times over this Ph.D. journey that I longed to be in the North and struggled to find peace with writing about a Land that was so far away from where I was writing. I believe this is because of my connection, as an Inuk to the physical elements of the Land. I have chosen to include many pictures of the Land in this dissertation so that I, and the reader can see the Land and the Water that I am writing about.

Qanuqtuurunnarniq (problem solving): There were many problems that I encountered in this re-search project which have been addressed in the limitations section of this dissertation. However, due to my ability to exercise qanuqtuunnarniq, I was able to face the adversity and be successful. Again the resiliency of my Ancestors was an inherent life skill that I drew strength from to complete the re-search. Also, the many Stories shared with me from the Elders were rooted in their ability to solve problems, often in life and death situations.

In the application of these three theories: Decolonizing Theory, Anishinabe Theory and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit I was able to formulate Maligait Theory. In the application of this re-search I was able to recognize that there have been attempts at colonization by Qallunaat. I have been heavily
influenced by Qallunaat education and influenced by Qallunaat thinking. However, I have chosen to rely on the knowledge gained from lived experiences grounded in my Inuit identity and supported in my Midewiwin Teachings, and through the guidance and Teachings from the Elders who shared Stories with me. Through this process of re-search and gathering of Stories from the Elders I have been able to suggest a new (but ancient) theological framework of Maligait Theory which future Inuit researchers can use as well.

Figure 7. Photograph of the Land taken by author, Qamani’tuaq, August 2016.
Methodology

“Tat, tell me a Story.”

“Sit still Panik and listen, try to picture the words I’m telling you”

I sit back and close my eyes. I want to see the picture and be in the Stories that my Tat tells. Tat tells Stories of the past, Stories that people do not talk about anymore. I want to know.

“Ugooyuktee was a small girl, about seven. She liked to wander, much like Young Children do. She liked to explore and discover things. She often ignored her Mother’s requests to stay close to their camp. She’d often frighten her Mother by playing out of her eyesight; it is scary for Moms and Dads not to be able to see where their Children are playing. One day, Ugooyuktee was far from where she was allowed to play. Her Mother called for her to come back. She did not hear her; her voice was lost in the wind. She did not return. The large birds from the sky, high in the sky above the clouds, took her away from her Family. Ugooyuktee now lives high above the clouds. Since she longed for adventure, and did not listen to her Mother’s warnings, she was taken away to live above the clouds. She lives on the other side of the moon now. It is said that whenever a hunter gets lost that he is to pray to Ugooyuktee to ask her to help guide the hunter back to his home. Ugooyuktee always answers the request from those who are lost to find their way home. She is a shape shifter. Sometimes she shows herself as an inuksuk, an animal or even as the wind. But regardless of her form, she always comes to help lost people and guide them home.”

“Panik, do you know why I told you this Story?”

“Yes, Tat, it is so that I listen to my Mom, and not wander off.”

“No,” he shook his head, “no, it is for when you do not listen to your Mom and you do wander off. I told you this so that you will remember how to find your way back home.”

I nod my head. I will remember.
Indigenous Methodology

Readers will have noticed that I have already touched on elements of my Indigenous methodology, a term I understand to mean my philosophy of research, a philosophy which necessarily connects to my world view and social location. Fundamental to methodology are questions related to knowledge. While caution must always be exercised when generalizations are made about Indigenous peoples, there are some important shared views on knowledge such as: knowledge is relational and reciprocal; knowledge is wholistic; knowledge is linked to place; and knowledge can be obtained through a variety of avenues including between spirit and physical realms such as dreams and participation in ceremony.

Smith (2012) suggests that there are four levels to Indigenous re-search: healing, decolonizing, spiritual connection and recovery. Through the process of engaging with the
re-search site in a respectful and authentic manner I have approached each of these stages in my re-search design. In using Decolonizing Methodology I have created a safe and respectful space for the collection of Stories\textsuperscript{14} with the intent to empower and or preserve the voices of the people. Arguably the most important step in Decolonizing Methodologies is acknowledging that there has been an attempt at forced assimilation and colonization in which to de-colonize from. I use the word “attempt” throughout the dissertation because the persistence of original thought and philosophy are evident in many ways: Indigenous people still speak their original languages, participation in ceremonies, Indigenous studies programs in academic institutions among many other examples.

Kovach (2009) suggests that the re-searcher cannot separate his or herself from individual epistemology and ontology frameworks and that of their selected methodologies and re-search. Additionally, Kovach (2009) supports the notion of the collection of intergenerational Stories as a method within Indigenous Methodologies. She writes, “Story as methodology is decolonizing research. Stories of resistance inspire generations about the strength of the culture” (p.103). I am excited that I was involved in a project that permitted me to collect Stories of intergenerational Knowledge from my Ancestral Community. To have a personal connection to the intended re-search is an example of Indigenous re-search methodologies. My personal journey home to a Community where I have not lived since I was a Child is similar to doctorial re-search completed by Rheault, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Absolon, 2011; and Debassige, 2013 (amongst many other Indigenous scholars), who too return home to complete their graduate studies. This is ironic: the highest level of western education is used to reclaim and preserve Indigenous identity via the re-searcher connecting to their home Community.

\textsuperscript{14} Terms such as: collection of data, research site, participants, project etc. are all colonial words and do not necessary correlate with the methodology and theories proposed to use for this collection of Stories. I will have to gain further understanding in the process of decolonizing myself so that I do not find myself conducting “White Man’s research” or as Kovach (2009) refers to as “smash and grab” research, under the guise of Indigenous methodologies. I am aware that just because I am an Indigenous Woman with a focus of her dissertation in an Indigenous Community that does not mean by default that I am using Indigenous methodologies and theories: I wanted to conduct an authentic representation of knowledge collection, acquisition and presentation. This was challenging to do within the confines of a western institution where I felt that only westernized forms of research were valued.
“Where are we going? Who’s going to be there? Why you packing that? What’s that? What are you doing that for? Can I do that too?”

Athlueetuk’s questions, one after another trailed into each other. She was not even giving Anaanaciatch time to answer one before she asked the next.

“Doesn’t that annoy you when she does that?” Asked Kviq (Athlueetuk’s older Cousin) to Anaanaciatch.

“Does what?” replied Nan as she was packing the Qammatik for a couple of days trip on the Land to their summer fishing cabin.

“Ask a zillion questions?”

“Hmmm, I didn’t even notice. How else is she going to learn?”

Nan continued to pack.
The literature on Inuit and Indigenous methodologies informs my search and re-search processes and therefore is a tool that I would need to pack on my qamatik. I also acknowledge the background knowledge that I brought with me to the Land and my own experiences with re-learning a customary Indigenous lifestyle. I have recognized the traditional tools that I need to pack and bring with me, but I need to pack contemporary tools, too. I am bringing with me the shared understanding of Indigenous scholars who went ahead of me. I trust the place-based learning and connection to the Land discussed by Archibald (2008), Kovach (2009) and Ahnungoonhs (2012). I value the importance of Storywork further developed by Anderson (2011). I know that the culture lies in the stories that we share with one another. It is through the processes of sharing stories that we are able to share with one another what life experiences were like from the people who experienced the story. Our stories hold the Truth in them and we must share them with one another. I trust and draw on the innovative work by Smith (2012), which encourages a decolonizing process that begins with self, and calls on us to consider who we are as
individuals and the reasons behind the way that we think about the world. Battiste (2013) has done important work to raise awareness of Indigenous ways of learning and understanding. In doing so, she also sheds light on the nature of Indigenous methodologies and on the theory of decolonization.

**Indigenous Methodology of Storywork**

Storytelling is a very important part of the educational process. It is through Stories that customs and values are taught and shared. In most Aboriginal societies, there are hundreds of Stories of real-life experiences, spirits, creation, customs and values (Little Bear, 2000, p.81-82).

Prominent Indigenous scholar, Margret Kovach (2009), supports the collection of intergenerational Stories as an important element of an Indigenous methodology. She argues, “Story as methodology is decolonizing research. Stories of resistance inspire generations about the strength of the culture” (p.103). My re-search has adopted the Storywork approach to collecting intergenerational knowledge from my home Community. I was enacting customary Inuit Knowledge acquisition through asking intergenerational Elders to share their Stories with me. I hope that in the gathering of these Stories that they can be shared with Younger Inuit from Qamani’tuaq.

Storywork was selected as my methodology for its complementariness with Inuit pedagogy. All of the Elders that shared Stories with me talked about the way in which they Learned was through Stories from their Parents and Grandparents. Storywork is a unique Indigenous form of narrative inquiry, a research methodology that is understood and practiced in Western research (Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Anderson, 2011; Simpson, 2011). Anderson (2011) discusses the desire of Young people to have Elders in their lives teaching them “Old ways.” I believe that utilizing Indigenous methods, such as Storywork is empowering and is an attempt at decolonizing and challenging hegemonic thought and practices.
Simpson (2011) writes:

Storytelling then becomes a lens through which we can envision our way out of cognitive imperialism, where we can create models and mirrors where none existed, and where we can experience the spaces of freedom and justice (p. 33).

Storywork acts as an emancipatory tool that permits the preservation of language and culture while simultaneously giving validation to the experiences of the Storyteller. Attempts at assimilation have devalued Stories, and therefore Storywork. Some people may no longer value the gift of oratories. Archibald (2008) emphasizes “Western-orientated educational institutions displaced Aboriginal cultural worldviews and our oral traditions with various forms of literacy” (p. 15).

Some oral Stories change over time due to influence of attempts at colonization and can lose meaning in being recorded, which had implications for my re-search project. The context of the Story, the audience, the intonation, body language can all change once they have been transformed from the spoken to the written. Archibald (2008), Wilson (2008) and Anderson, (2011) each write about the challenges of translating oratories into the written word. I have relied on these Indigenous scholars’ experiences as support for my own re-search. As a re-searcher I was cognizant of the subtle (and not so subtle) nuances of non-verbal and body language and made detailed notes of the physical elements through a re-search journal that will not be observable to the readers of the spoken word. I have included some of my personal observations in the italic sections of each of the Elders’ Stories as outlined in my dissertation. In the re-telling of the Stories that were shared with me I included an introduction to each of the Elders’ Story telling that grounds and places the reader into the place where I was at the time of the Storytelling. An important element of Indigenous Storytelling is the understanding that listeners make meaning from what they bring to the Story as it is told. Your past experiences and where you are at in the moment shape how you understand the Story as it is told as well. So the presence of the re-searcher as listener becomes part of the process and account must be made of that, this is evident in the 12th Story shared in this dissertation: my Story. This is where I reflected (at the time of writing this dissertation) how the Stories made meaning for me. It is likely at a future
reading of these Stories that I will have separate connections and meaning making from reading them again based on my continued lived experiences and understanding of life. Even in the process of editing and revision, Story 12 changed.

A major problem that needs to be addressed is the language barrier; if the oratories are only written in English, they will exclude non-English speakers or if written only in Inuktitut, will exclude English-only speakers. In the written form Stories may also lose the intent for which they are being shared. I have relied on my Story writing and telling gifts to write about the physicality of the experience of gathering Stories to overcome or at least mediate the challenges I have identified.

Anderson (2011) suggests that Stories act as medicine for both healing and decolonizing, in particular the voice of the Women in their various stages of development in life. Using life stages is similar to looking at intergenerational Storywork as I have done. The importance of having Elders in one’s life to assist with Learning is also stated by Duran and Duran (2000) in their work with Indigenous people finding a blend with Western psychology and healing. I am indebted to the Elders for sharing Stories with me from their Childhood as they connected me to a time from long ago that I would not have been able to hear about without their willingness to share with me. The experiences I have had in the gathering of the Stories written here has been tremendous medicine for me in decolonizing and medicine in regards to reconciling my personal healing in regards to relationship, identity and belonging as an Inuk Woman.

There is training that one must endure to be a Storyteller, not everyone can have this gift (Archibald, 2008; Anderson 2011). With Storywork there is a reciprocal role of responsibility that is shared between the one telling the Story and the listener(s). Stories hold meaning to the Land, nature, Community and generations of people. Where and when Stories are told also has great significance. Technology is changing this, from radio’s influence in previous generations to today’s seemingly easy access to the internet. The Youth of today could potentially lose the gift of Stories from the Elders if they are not paying attention. As a

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15 Access to the Internet is not always readily available to Inuit living in the Arctic.
listener to Stories, you are to be listening with the intent to find deeper meaning, both in your minds and in your heart. Anderson (2011) calls this process of listening to Storywork “thinking mutually” (p. 21). There are lots of uses and functions to Storywork: Stories are tools, they are sacred Knowledge and Teachings; they are moral lessons, they are used to tell coming of age anecdotes, they name places and medicines: each Story has a purpose and a function. It is the listeners’ responsibility to ascertain what the purpose of the Story is as it was not always explicit in the telling of the Story (Archibald, 2008). I was careful not to suggest meaning for the reader in the Stories that are shared in this dissertation, as it is the responsibility of the reader to determine their meaning from the Stories shared.

Archibald (2008) states that collecting Stories via Storywork is methodology. To me, I see qualitative re-search being about Storywork, collecting the Stories from the original source. I believe utilizing Indigenous Methodologies such as Storywork is empowering and is an attempt at decolonizing and challenging hegemonic thought and practices. Using Stories is reclaiming the sacred and sharing Indigenous Knowledge in its’ natural form: through the voice, words and Stories of the people.

Indigenous re-searchers are using Storywork as methodology to validate their experience with knowledge acquisition. Authors such as Peter Cole, 2002 and Fyre Jean Graveline (2002) use Storywork in creative ways that prove via published documents that Stories can be used to test the boundaries of the institution and what constitutes knowledge. Stories are tools. Through their efforts to validate Storywork, I too can do the same. An example of this is using Stories (both Athlueetuk Stories and my own anecdotes) in this document to support the work of the dissertation. Cole’s writing is non-conforming; it is written in prose and looks like a river. He writes:

“the idea of paragraph is meaningless to my sense of oral contiguousness with the land with community with acting in the world” (p.448).

Cole challenges how he can use the colonizer’s language to tell his Story. I too challenge the English language and how it is used in writing in this dissertation. As the reader may have noticed, I have chosen to capitalize common nouns to show respect for their relationship and importance to me (Family relations and elements of the Environment). I have also
consciously not used western research terms such as participants, study, data etc. as I felt
they were sterile words that did not support the magnitude of the beautiful Stories I gathered
from the Elders in this re-search journey.

Simpson (2011) writes, “[m]odern Society primarily looks for meaning (in books, computers,
art), whereas Indigenous cultures engage in processes or acts to create meaning. Indigenous
cultures understand and generate meaning through engagement, presence and process –
Storytelling, ceremony, singing, dancing, doing” (p.93). Using Storywork as methodology for
an Indigenous re-searcher on an Indigenous re-search project permits the flow of
Indigenous Knowledge in a natural way, by supporting Indigenous epistemology.

Figure 10: Photograph taken on the Land by author. Summer 2016.
Storywork: A bridge between methodology and theory

“Indigenous storywork is not an easy process but is essential to educating the heart, mind, body and spirit, which is what we mean by Indigenous education” (Archibald, 143).

Inuit Methodology is currently emerging in the academic front and I am both humbled and excited to be able to participate in and contribute to this development through my re-search. Price (2007), an Inuk from Rankin Inlet, Nunavut, suggests that Inuit methodology can be understood through an examination of traditional Inuit governance practices. In western terms, Price uses governance as a case study through which to view Inuit methodology and I have used education models and pedagogy in the same way. She examines how Inuit organized themselves and survived in the Arctic prior to Qallinaat influence, and contrasts this with the European inspired institutional governance practices currently being used. Additionally, Price (2007) suggests that there is a difference between Indigenous methodology and Inuit methodology. She argues that this is a result of political and geographic disconnection between Inuit and First Nations people and that collaboration between all Indigenous peoples would be beneficial. Price’s thesis is one of the few Inuit works on Inuit methodology available for me to consult and I am aware that my work has the potential to assist others who may in the future look towards using Inuit Methodology. It is exciting as an Inuk to know that Inuit themselves are investigating the idea of Inuit methodology; I see this as an act of emancipation and empowerment.

I have decided to use Storywork as a bridge between methodology and theory as Stories are the conveyance of knowledge. Stories are the means in which customarily knowledge was transferred, therefore Stories are the most important tool of education. The theory of the importance of the oral tradition for Inuit (and many Indigenous nations) is how the re-search took place and how the Stories are recorded in this dissertation. I used Storywork both as the lens in which I gathered the re-search as well as how I carried out the re-search dissemination. I choose not to look at the methodology of narrative inquiry as Storywork aligns itself more succinctly with Indigenous pedagogy and methodology.
Ethical Issues

Both the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* (CIHR, NSERC and SSHRC, 2010) and the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies ([ACUNS], 2003) document on ethical principles recognize that there are alternative forms of ethics that must be observed when working within Indigenous Communities. As suggested by Castellano (2004), Indigenous people must be involved in selecting the parameters for ethics in regards to research being conducted within an Indigenous Community or with Indigenous people. There are three elements that must be observed for authentic Indigenous involvement in obtaining ethical permission from an Indigenous Community: 1) recognizing that permission must be obtained from the Community; 2) Community members must be active participants in the research, and 3) the research must be beneficial to the Community. Additionally, as noted by Battiste (2008), Indigenous people must be consulted in all levels of the research process including the dissemination of the findings. She suggests that if Indigenous peoples are not included in the process, this permits others to make decisions that are presumed to be in the best interests of Indigenous peoples.

I observed appropriate Inuit protocols in requesting permission to begin re-search in Qamani’tuaq during my pre-search visit. I explained how I hoped to gather Stories from Inuit Elders that could be of benefit to the creation of alternative forms of curriculum to assist Inuit to become successful in their educational experiences. Not only did I obtain permission from people in the Community I also obtained a Nunavut Research License. When research is being conducted in Nunavut, a research license is required from the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI). All research, including Environmental and traditional knowledge, requires a license. All license applications must be written in Inuktitut as well as English. I submitted and was granted NRI licensing to complete this re-search.

The guidelines in the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* (CIHR, NSERC and SSHRC, 2010) require that I follow the ethical protocol of the Community because, “Formal leaders with governance responsibilities on First Nations, Inuit or Métis land are charged with protecting the welfare of the Community” (p.114). Furthermore, I followed the guidelines in the *ACUNS* (2003) document entitled *Ethical principles for the conduct of research in the North* that state specific expectations for research being conducted in the North with Inuit. Finally, in
reference to ethics, I referred to the documented work of Knotsch & Nickles (2001) with Inuit Nipingit, which suggests that reciprocity, breaking stereotypes, celebrating culture and Community benefits are central ethical considerations.

**Inuktitut Barrier as an Ethical Concern**

There is a language barrier that must be addressed as a major limitation to this re-search. Although I am an Inuk; I am not fluent in Inuktitut and therefore, I have faced challenges with respect to translation from Inuktitut to English and English to Inuktitut. For this re-search journey I had to rely on translators from my Family (Britania and Carmen) to assist in the gathering of Stories from Qamani’tuaq. There are several Elders whose primary (or sole) language is Inuktitut. All interviews that were completed with Inuktitut only speakers had a translator present to help mediate the Story sharing experience. I relied on my Family to assist with translation and I paid them from my own pocket for their valuable time and gift of the knowledge of the language. I was also able to gift them with tokens of my appreciation in the form of hand made gifts in addition to the money, again enacting a customary Inuit practice of gift giving.

Without the use of a translator the gathering of Stories for my re-search would not be possible. It is important also to have the original language in my re-search and that is why Inuktitut syllabics are found at the beginning of each of the Stories. I did not want to have the Inuktitut translations at the back of the dissertation; I wanted the language to be seen throughout the text. Simpson (2011) suggests that the importance of language is also connected to theory because, “Indigenous languages carry rich meanings, theory and philosophies within their structures. Our languages house our Teachings and bring the practice of these Teachings to life in our daily existence” (p. 49).

Both Rheault (1999) and Bell (2013) write about the importance of watching and listening as part of traditional learning. These are examples of patience and respect for Indigenous knowledge acquisition. They note that sometimes asking questions of the Storyteller can detract from the learning and the Teachings that are being shared. Indigenous learning is also based on observation; I too, as a re-searcher, will participate in observing. I am reminded of
an Uncle who taught me as a small Child: “Jessie, you have two ears and one mouth; do twice as much listening” (personal communication, early 1980’s).

Although, I am not a fluent Inuktitut speaker and I understand very little, I can feel the energy and spirit of the language. I was fortunate to have been able to gather Stories from ten Inuit Elders whose first language is Inuktitut. The first four interviews I conducted on my own without the assistance of a translator. This was a challenge, as I know that I was missing a lot in the Stories by not being able to connect with the Elders in the language that they are most familiar with. The Elders were very kind and helpful with me, but the language barrier prevented me from connecting with them on both a spiritual and intellectual level. The last six interviews were conducted with a translator and were done in Inuktitut. I would tell Britania, (the translator) the questions to ask and she would relay them to the Elder in Inuktitut. There were some ethical concerns with this method as Britania may have taken liberties in her translations, both from me and from the Elders. As the Elder spoke I would maintain appropriate eye contact and engagement with the Elder. Follow up questions, although in English, were made to the Elder while including them in the conversation (regardless if they understood English or not). I wanted to make sure that the Elder knew I was talking to them, not just through an interpreter. After the Elder answered the questions in Inuktitut, Britania would summarize and translate for me in English at the time of the visit with the Elder, with the Elder present. I audio taped all of visits with the Elders and verbatim translated what was said from Britania. I used minimal liberties, such as small grammatical changes in to the English language translations of the Stories from the Elders as recorded here in my dissertation.

Re-search Questions:

I acknowledge that although I did ask the re-search questions (or they were asked through an interpreter) that these questions only formed the basis of my story gathering; they were not the only questions I asked. Since I used a conversational format for my story gathering the questions asked in each of the interviews were fluid. It is also important to note that I developed these questions with consultation with my Ph.D. supervisor while in the South with no input from the Community. Authentically using Indigenous methodologies would have led me to involve the Community in the creation of the research questions.
Unfortunately, due to geographic and time constraints, I developed the questions prior to gathering the stories. However, I feel that since the questions were only used as a starting point (did not define the stories that were shared with me) that I was still respectful of Community members in using these questions to begin my re-search.

**Traumatic Experiences:**

There were a few Elders who recalled traumatic experiences in the Story telling that they shared with me. For some it was about the relocation from the Land to the Community, for others it was about being taken away from their Family to attend Residential or Day Schools. In my gathering of Stories I write about how I felt ill prepared to support the Elders. Although I had taken provisions to tell each of the Elders in their consent form (in both Inuktitut and English) of the available health supports, namely the Health Centre in the Community, I felt horrible in asking them to share Stories that also had negative memories attached to them. I communicated to each of the Elders that I was not asking for them to share with me anything that they were uncomfortable talking about. As they shared their traumatic experiences, I would ensure to support them the best way I knew how: by being kind. I would acknowledge their feelings, ask them if they wanted a drink, offer tissues, my hand to hold or even a hug. I checked in with them at the end of the interview and even the day afterwards I would stop by to see if they needed anything.
Possible Conflicts in the Re-search Project

I have an altruistic goal for my re-search. I’m not attempting to look for the gaps in the literature or field in regards to Indigenous re-search, methodologies or Storywork in general. I feel as though these two notions are in contrast to Indigenous epistemological foundations. I will not participate in deconstructing other Indigenous re-searchers. Simpson writes,

… be careful with our criticism. We should not blindly follow the academy’s love affair with criticism, ripping apart other Indigenous academics, work whom we probably have more in common than virtually any other academics in the world. Instead, we should highlight the positive within each other’s work, and save our criticism for the forces that continually try to rip us apart (Simpson, 2011, p. 55)

Additionally, the academy challenges and seeks to find published experts, knowledge holders that claim to know all information and knowledge, masters and doctors of subject areas; whereas Indigenous people are humble and know that it is not feasible to know all there is to know on one subject area. The Seven Grandfather Teachings were gifted by the Creator to a Young boy at a time when Indigenous people were struggling to live a good life. Edward Benton Banai, (1988) writes about these sacred Teachings outlining how to live life in a good way know as Mino Bimaadiziwin in Anishinabemowin. The Seven Grandfather Teachings stress humility and the understanding that knowledge acquisition happens as one moves through the life stages. This cannot be acquired in a prescribed amount of time, such as a prescribed four-year period to complete a Ph.D. dissertation. Acquiring knowledge is a lifetime accomplishment; therefore, even the notion of participating in a Ph.D. as defined by the academy is clash of ontological ideologies for me.

I am also consciously choosing not to look at my re-search with a problem or deficit focus. I want to look at the strengths of my Community and Storywork with the importance to share and preserve some of the vast Inuit Knowledge from some of the Inuit Elders in one Inuit Community, the Families, the nation, to the general population, of course if this conducive to what the Community wants as well. Indigenous re-search must be put into action and have meaning and purpose in the Community: “ … we have to maintain consistently a sense
of relationality and accountability to our Communities in order to maintain our own integrity as researchers” (Weber-Pillwax, 2001, p.170). I will answer to the needs and voices of my Community how they deem appropriate.

I wanted to challenge the academic institution to show there are other ways of knowing and doing things and how to show knowledge. Bell (2013) writes, “Western Schools restrict emotional content. Education has been dominated by the Eurocentric emphasis on the intellect, which has been regarded as the controller of emotions” (p. 97-98). This totally negates the other three elements of being: spirit, body and emotion that are supported by many Indigenous re-searchers. The processes that I followed in completing this dissertation challenged the limits of my wholistic being.

Furthermore, conflict lies in the attempt to write oral narratives. Storytelling is based on many elements that place the Learner in a contextual situation with the person telling the Story (Rheault, 1999; Archibald, 2008). By recording oral Stories and transcribing them into the written word there is the potential to take away from the original intent of the Storytellers’ narrative. Additionally there is difficulty in representing Indigenous Knowledge in the written form because it encompasses Spirit and Identity (Weber-Pillwax, 2001) that cannot be reproduced in the written form. Cole (2002) eloquently writes: “paper has long been the form whereon the academy has held the forest hostage for its wildness its untamed savagery its plantness in the end itself returning to pulp and dissipated print” (p.451). There is also a problem with writing on trees. This reminds me of conversation with Lee Maracle about respecting the trees that gave their lives (personal conversation, Winter 2013). It may be static to write oral histories, but if I am able to connect to the life that the tree was and to the spirit of the words on the paper, the Stories are still alive and resilient, much like Indigenous people. It is also interesting to consider this tree analogy, considering Qamani’ltuaq is past the tree line.

However, there is power in the written word in how it is used in an academic setting. The power lies in the language barrier: academic language is excluding and not reachable to many Indigenous people where English is a second language. I was fortunate to meet Elder, Indigenous re-searcher and Storyteller, Lee Maracle while doing my coursework during the first year of my Ph.D. She shared that unless you know the specific meaning of a word in
English that as an Indigenous writer you must take caution. Otherwise, your words will be like a misguided arrow, seeming to take aim at a target but miss the centre, the intended purpose (personal conversation, Winter 2013). This was a gentle reminder to me to use the English language so that it is accessible to a multitude of audiences. I am aware of the contradiction in all of this: writing oral Stories and using Indigenous methodologies to get a Ph.D. I believe these are both examples of navigating the challenging task of living in two worlds as well as using the proverbial master’s tools.

It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change (Lorde, 1983, p.99)

I have Learned from my own experiences in the education system, both as a student and as an educator, that I have to know the rules of game as laid out by the (colonizing) institution. I know that I have to know and follow the rules. However, I am at a place in my academic learning (as well as personal learning) to challenge the institution in regards to what is ‘learning’ and what constitutes ‘knowledge’. I have followed the expectations of the academy; however, I have challenged the institution to make space for Indigenous methodologies and tools. Timothy Begaye (Grande, 2004) states: “… in recent times, Native American people have increasingly begun to empower themselves with the very tools of colonization that have been used against them.” I used the tools of the academic institution: completed my course work; studied western theory and methodology; completed my qualifying exams; wrote and presented a proposal for re-search, wrote a dissertation according to the regulations of the institution, however; I have my own tools.
Tat smiled at Athlueetuk.

She was helping to load the qamatik but was too small to carry the heavy tools required for the camping trip; but she was trying.

Although she was dropping items as she walked from the house to the qamatik, she had a big smile on her face and kept trying to help.

“You are ajungii!” Tat said to Athlueetuk.

She smiled back, “Tat, tell me an Ugooyuktee Story” and sat down beside him on the steps.

“Ugooyuktee is the Young girl that is a shape shifter that lives in the stars. She is a helper to the hunters on the Land. They ask her to point to where the Caribou are and she helps with the hunt. Or if they are lost she makes the wind blow in the direction the people need to go to find their way home. She can shape shift into the animals too, if that is what is needed. She helps by shape shifting into what is needed. Like you, she is a helper, u-un-gee. One Fall I was coming in from the Land into the town and I got turned around. The Wind was picking up and the Snow was blowing. I was lost. I prayed to Ugooyuktee to show me the way home. The wind and snow stopped and the stars lit a path home, right to Anaanaciatch. I know it was Ugooyuktee that did that for me. I thanked her”.

“Ma’na Tat,”

“Ma’na Athlueetuk”.

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16 U-un-gee is the Inuktitut word for “helper”. It is a great compliment to be acknowledged for this trait by your Elders.

17 ma’na is the Inuktitut word used for “thank you” in the Keewaytin region.
Figure 11: Photograph of my Great Grandmother (and namesake) on the far left and her Siblings and parents. Qimmik are in the foreground. Qamani’tuaq, Ca. 1920. Used with permission of my Family.

Searching On the Land (The Methods)

I began my preparation for my re-search in the Summer of 2013. I wanted to go home and visit with my Family and the Land. I needed to see if Qamani’tuaq was accepting of the idea of me doing re-search. I was nervous. I had not been in my home Community since the Winter of 2000. I was pregnant with my Daughter then, and it was important for me to return home with her for this visit. I did not want to appear like a Ph.D. student who was only interested in using the Community as a research site. I wanted to be authentic and true to my Community because the purpose of my learning journey was to explore my Ancestral roots, preserve Inuit knowledge, and make collaborative suggestions for improving the educational system while in the process of gaining a Ph.D. I had many questions and feelings about how the work could be completed in a respectful manner; these are my
personal challenges through which I am still navigating even after the completion of the dissertation.

While in Qamani’tuaq I was able to stay with my extended Family. It was easy to fall back into the patterns of Inuit living. My Daughter was called ajunngi\textsuperscript{18} by everyone she met. It filled my soul to see her working to help the Family in basic everyday living through making meals and cleaning up the house. It reminded me of what life must have been prior to attempts at colonization, everyone working together in order to meet basic needs. My Great Aunt Ruth and my Great Uncle Hugh, in whose home we were staying, do not speak much English; however, communicating with one another was not as much of a challenge as I thought it was going to be. I appreciated being able to watch my Daughter problem solve to figure out how to communicate and even play both traditional and contemporary Inuit games with our Family.

Figure 12: Photograph of Misko Banaishe and my Great Aunt, Ruth Tulorialik taken by author, Qamani’tuaq, Summer 2013.

\textsuperscript{18} Ajunngi is an Inuktitut word meaning “helper”
While we were in the Community, I was sent several vivid and long dreams. The themes of these spirit messages were about Family, being lost and making connections through spending time on the Land. During this trip we had the opportunity to spend time on the Land. We went with my Uncle and his Family for a trip to the fishing and hunting grounds where my Tat had spent much of his life. It was a magical and overwhelming experience to be able to spend some time in a place that had provided sustenance to my Family for generations. I was able to catch Fish and provide for my Family, which made me feel proud that as an Inuk I could still provide for my Family from the Land.

Figure 13 Photograph of author taken by my Uncle Dave at sacred hunting/ fishing grounds South of Qamani’tuaq, NU, August 2013.
I spoke with my Aunt who works at the elementary school in Qamani’tuaq and with a Cousin who is an education trustee in regards to the process for getting permission from the Community to conduct re-search. Both of my relatives were interested in assisting me and felt like my idea to collect and preserve Stories from the Elders was a good idea. I also brought gifts of tea and sweets to a few of the Elders in the Community to see if they would like to participate in sharing their Stories with me as part of my re-search. They were all receptive and interested in helping.

Although I was nervous about how the Qamani’tuaqmiut would see me as a re-searcher, my relatives reaffirmed for me that Qamani’tuaq is my home, regardless of the fact that I now live in the South. People knew who I was because of my Family and were eager to help me because they saw that both my Daughter and I were willing to help the Community. This reminded me of something my Great Uncle Hugh shared with me: he told me that you have to work hard to be an Inuk. I’m willing to do the work.

**Search**

*Nana tucked Athlueetuk into bed and gave her a kiss on her forehead.*

“Want to hear another Story?” asked Nana.

“Why do you know so many Stories Nana?” Athlueetuk asked.

She laughed. “Because my Nana always told me Stories.”

“Just like you tell me!” exclaimed Athlueetuk excitedly.

“And just like you will tell your Qatangutiigut one day, too.” Nana smiled.

**How I Searched**

In order to fulfill the requirements of an Indigenous Storywork methodology, I gathered Stories from ten Inuit Elders in my Community of Qamani’tuaq in regards to their experiences in learning. From my understandings, an Elder is someone who is recognized by his/her Community to have customary Knowledge either through lived experiences or through a process of learning / given responsibility to have specialized Knowledge. I
respectfully accepted each of the individual Elders’ self declaration of being an Elder and did not challenge their role nor ask for the Community to authenticate their right to share Knowledge as an Elder. I did not feel as though it would be respectful of me to challenge Elders on their Knowledge or their self-identification as an Elder. I asked the Elders to share how they Learned when they were Children and how they were able to practice and apply what they Learned to their everyday living and survival. The Elders organically volunteered to share their Stories and each interview was connected to the one before it. As the Stories transition from one to another there is a description in how the Stories are connected to one another. The first four interviews were done without a translator and the Elders shared with me in English. The last six interviews were conducted in Inuktitut with the assistance of a translator.

As required from the university, I created a recruitment poster, but the Elders volunteered to participate in the sharing of Stories organically. It was serendipitous, actually. Each Elder offered to participate and choose the location and time for their informal interview. Every meeting between the Elders and myself began with me offering them a gift of my appreciation: I brought everyone some tea and canned milk. This is something that my Grandparents enjoyed, and to me is synonymous with Story telling and in alignment with my understanding of Inuit protocols: never ask for something without first giving something. I also offered to each Elder meaningful gifts that would help them in their lives.

During the interviews I maintained appropriate eye contact and body language. I was conscious to pay attention to the Elder and not the translator for the interviews that were conducted in Inuktitut. I had permission from each of the Elders to audio tape the interviews and kept my writing to a minimum for each Story gathering meeting. After each of the meetings I wrote extensively on how I felt and what I observed. Some of these notes can be found in the preceding Stories; some of these notes were too personal, so I omitted them from the dissertation. The italicized texts found in each of the Elders’ Stories are my observations and thoughts experienced at the time of the sharing.

Before asking the Elders to share Stories with me I would explain the re-search project and a little bit about what I was doing. I always felt like this was an awkward part of the meeting. I never reconciled the feeling I had in gathering the Elders signatures in exchange for them to
share their Stories with me. I had the consent forms and letter of information available in both English and Inuktitut.

The last thing I did before beginning with the official questions was to share with the Elders a little bit about myself. This became a choreographed dance. I would tell them who my Parents, Grandparents, Sibling as well as Aunts and Uncles are. This sharing of myself with them never took too long before they were able to connect with who my Family is and therefore trust me to share Stories with them. During this introduction with Lizzie she shared with me about our shared Family history. As mentioned previously, it is important that the Indigenous re-searcher can ground him or herself with in the Community by means of their Family.

I asked the scripted questions that I had determined prior to gathering Stories. I soon found they were very rigid and the language was not very accessible to Elders whose second language is English. I would ask a question, then listen quietly, paying attention and nodding my head, offering sounds of understanding or consoling when appropriate. I gained stronger interviewing skills with each Elder that I spoke with and was eventually able to ask follow up questions to some of the things that were shared with me. I was careful not to ask too many questions as to not distract from what was being shared with me.

During the interviews that were conducted in Inuktitut I would ask Britania the questions and she would ask the Elders. She would listen and translate back to me and on the tape in real time. The ethical concerns of this technique are addressed previously in the ethics section of this Story. I also discuss thoughts I had about Britania translating in the body of the Stories shared by the Elders (found in the Stories in italicized text).

After all of the interviews were complete I created transcriptions for each of the interviews. I enjoyed the many hours it took to transcribe, as I was able to re-listen and re-Learn from the Elders and the Stories that were shared with me. The transcription process reminded me of how important it is to hear Stories multiple times in order to fully understand what is being shared. I would do the transcriptions with a headset on so it sounded like the voices of the Elders were right in my head. I listened to their Stories while I was commuting to work on the train. I would catch myself smiling at something that was said or feeling sadness.
when they disclosed their painful experiences. The melodic sounds of Inuktitut made me feel homesick at the same time as being comforted in the work that I was doing.

I choose to write the Elders’ Stories authentically as they were shared without converging and dividing their Stories into themes. Although there are many relevant themes that the Elders commonly shared about (birthing Stories, gendered roles, hunting) I did not want to separate the Stories from the Elder. I felt that it was important to keep all of the Stories of one Elder together instead of dividing them into themes and sharing the Stories based on how I interpreted them. I feel like keeping the Stories together by the Elder that shared them, not by theme, is an opportunity for the reader to get to know each of the Elders wholistically in relation to their Stories shared instead of thematically by areas that I may have determined to be relevant. The Stories as they are presented here in the dissertation is the order in which I gathered them in a two-week period in the Summer of 2016. Hattie Mannik, an Inuk from Qamani’tuq gathered Stories from Elders in 1990 and created an edited volume of their Stories entitled “Inuit Nunamiut: Inland Inuit”. In this remarkable compilation she too interviewed Elders in Inuktitut and presented their Stories in their entirety grouped by the Elders not themes. In Story 12 I discuss some of the common themes.

I asked permission from each of the Elders to take their picture to include with their Stories in my dissertation. I have also included pictures in the dissertation that were taken during my re-search gathering trips as well as Old Ford Family photographs that I wished to include with the collection of Stories. I have chosen not to write at length about the pictures used for two reasons: 1) the pictures can speak for themselves and 2) I wanted to give opportunity to the reader to make meaning from the use of the photographs.

Once all of the drafting of the Stories was completed I sent them back to Qamani’tuaq for translation and to share with the Elders for accuracy. The syllabics will proceed the English text of the dissertation as it is important that the Inuktitut language be presented first because the Stories live in the language and I wanted to show the importance of using Indigenous language first.
One of the earliest memories I have of living in the North is of a table with mugs for tea and a plate of bannock. I can remember hearing people visiting, sometimes laughing, and sometimes crying, but always talking and sharing Stories with one another. I have come to know that the tea and bannock are an important part of the Storytelling experience. Customary Inuit Storytelling is informal and sometimes impromptu and there are numerous factors in Storytelling delivery. Often Stories were told while on the Land in igloos or in skin tents while having tea or sharing food. I wanted to recreate this atmosphere when possible, but recognized that an atmosphere in which Stories can be shared cannot be created artificially in the name of research.
Athlueetuk sat on the edge of her Ananaciatch’s bed. Anaanaciatch was attempting to brush Athlueetuk’s hair. Her hair was messy; her hair is always messy. “Ow, that hurts, Nana,” complained Athlueetuk.

“I told you not to go down to the Icy shore,” was Nana’s response. “There are spirits there that are hungry and are always looking for Young Children who do not listen to their Grandparents.”

“Tell me again Nana.”

Nana takes a deep breath, exhales and begins the Story that she has told Athlueetuk many, many times:

“Children need to stay away from the shore when the wispy fingertips can be seen through the top of the ice. If the Children do not listen to this warning then the spirits will pull them down into the Ice and eat them up. I know this is True because it happened to my Cousin, I saw it myself when I was a little Girl.”

Athlueetuk shuddered.

“For the first time many realized that the Teachings relevant to their lives could only come from within their own cultural traditions” (Rheault, 1999, p. 55)
The seemingly simple Athluceutuk Story above shows Nana’s relationship with the Land, as well as her responsibility to be a Teacher to her Granddaughter. The *wispy fingertips* that Nana describes to Athluceutuk are an indication that the Ice is too thin to walk on. This shows that Nana has a relationship to the Ice and knows by its physical appearance when it is unsafe to walk on. Nana has a responsibility to share this Story with her Granddaughter, Athluceutuk, who in turn has the responsibility to remember it and share it as well. All Stories are important and need to be shared, this is conducive to qualitative re-search methods: find the Story and tell it. This is also conducive to the idea of reciprocity as noted by Kuokkanen (2007), Archibald (2008), Absolon (2011) and many others as an imperative notion of Indigenous re-search. This reciprocal learning predominately comes from the Family. Children, from a Young age were given the responsibilities of adults, much like Athluceutuk is beginning to realize. Indigenous Learning is based on a wholistic approach to Learning through connection to spirit and Bimaadiziwin (Bell, 2013). It is important to have spirit driven experiential learning that comes from a variety of places: Elders, Stories and the natural Environment.

Rheault (1999) suggests that Primary Experiential Knowledge has 7 parts:

1) learning from listening
2) traditional knowledge
3) spirit seeing
4) to look, to see; witness
5) land based
6) original instructions
7) spirit memory (p. 13)

The work I was able to participate in with gathering Stories has permitted me the opportunity to mimic these components therefore creating an Indigenous re-search model that is based on Indigenous practices.

Archibald (2008) cites Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) in stating the four “R’s” of Indigenous postsecondary experience in regards to re-search: “respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility” (p. 1). I took these four R’s into account during each step in my re-search process. During the visit I had with Dr. Kovach in the Winter of 2013 I brought her some
tobacco\textsuperscript{19}, tea and a piece of berry cake.\textsuperscript{20} I shared with her that I was having difficulty in being authentic to my Teachings and understandings of being Indigenous in regards to undertaking a re-search project. She asked me to ask myself: “can I sleep at night with what I am proposing to do?” (personal conversation, Winter 2013). This became a good gauge for me in designing my re-search project and subsequently selecting my methodologies and theories that would guide my re-search. The choices I made in gathering of the Stories for my dissertation do not keep me up at night.

**Analysis**

With Storywork there is a reciprocal role of responsibility that is shared between the one telling the Story and the listener(s). Stories hold meaning in relation to the Land, Nature, Community and generations of people. Where and when Stories are told has great significance. As a listener to Stories, one must be listening with the intent to find deeper meaning, both in mind and in heart: this was a part of my analysis. Anderson (2011) calls this process of listening to Stories as “thinking mutually” (p. 21). There are many uses and functions for Stories: they are tools, sacred knowledge and Teachings, moral lessons, coming of age anecdotes, naming of places, and medicines, for example. Each Story has a purpose and a function. It was the listeners’ responsibility to ascertain what the purpose of the Story was as it was not always explicit in the content of the Story (Archibald, 2008).

I am committed to taking up the role of the listener in the gathering of Stories from my Community. Kovach (2009) notes (citing Stevenson) “analysis is the job of the listener” (p. 101). As the re-searcher, I have had to make meaning from all of the Stories gathered and organized them in the format required to meet the expectations of a doctoral thesis (Story 12, further in this dissertation).

\textsuperscript{19} Offering someone tobacco, asaymah, is a respectful Anishinabe practice used for a variety of purposes. In this instance I brought Dr. Kovach tobacco because I respect her and wanted to visit with her, offering her tobacco showed her that I respected and valued her time and advice that I hoped to gain.

\textsuperscript{20} Sharing food is also a customary Indigenous practice that represents sharing gifts (nourishment) with one another.
Simpson (2011) writes,

In terms of representation, modern society primarily *looks* for meaning (in books, computers, art), whereas Indigenous cultures engage in processes or acts to create meaning. Indigenous cultures understand and generate meaning through engagement, presence and process – Storytelling, ceremony, singing, dancing, doing (p.93).

Using Storywork as method for an Indigenous re-searcher on an Indigenous re-search project permits the flow of Indigenous knowledge in a natural way, by supporting common Indigenous epistemologies. Archibald (2008) and Kovach (2009), amongst others, distinguish between traditional Stories and life (or experience) Stories. I assumed from my re-search questions that I would have been gathering life Stories of the Elders from my Community. Elders also shared customary Stories based on Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. I had to determine, in consultation with the Elders, which Stories I could share for the purposes of my re-search project and which Stories are not meant to be shared because they carry sacred Knowledge. Through this work of gathering Stories, I was able to offer oral and written copies of the Stories collected to the Community for educational and archival purposes. Ultimately, the Stories and my dissertation will be shared with the Community, as a form of reciprocity.

The transcribed Stories were presented to the Elders for their support and opportunity to add or to clarify the collection of Stories. Felt and Natcher (2011) state that ways to validate Inuit Knowledge are created with a blend of critical inquiry and Inuit Ethics. They suggest it is imperative that Inuit Elders’ Knowledge is accepted in a western context. However, sometimes there are contrast and confusion in protocols between Inuit Communities and institutions in regards to ethics. For example, the institution requires that the paperwork must come first, in regards to fulfilling the requirements of an ethics committee; but, this is not the case in Indigenous research: approval must come from the Elders in the Community first. Furthermore, approval from the Elders in the Community must be sought for any re-search that claims to represent the Community. The Elders will ensure accuracy and fair representation.
Re-search

The re-search stage of my dissertation is an introspective and reflective stage in the process. I looked back to my experiences in the project; my dreams, my feelings and the Stories gathered and tried to make sense of the process and what it means to me. Story 12 is my re-search reflections. To describe this process Simpson (2011) uses the Anishinabemowin word Biskaabiiyang that translated into English means looking back. I appreciate this word being used in regards to both method as well as re-search. According to many Indigenous groups, it is a common expectation to take responsibility for knowledge sharing and transferring Knowledge intergenerationally (Anderson, 2011). Much like her Grandparents shares knowledge with Athluetectuk, I too want to reach back and Learn in hopes of sharing knowledge with the future generations. To support Anishinabe Methodology Simpson (2011) cites Geniusz,

Biskaabiiyang research is a process through which Anishinabe researchers evaluate how they personally have been affected by colonization, rid themselves of the emotional and psychological baggage … when using Biskaabiiyang methodologies, an individual must recognize and deal with this negative kind of thinking before conducting research. This is the only way to conduct new research… (p. 50)
The re-searcher who selects the method of Biskaabiiyang must place him or herself within the context of his or her wholistic being (mental, physical, emotional and physical) in order to create an authentic experience with re-search projects (Absolon, 2011; Simpson, 2011; Rheault, 1999; Wilson, 2008). Re-searching back and re-search are important concepts when one uses Indigenous methodology (Rheault, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Tuck, 2008; Absolon, 2011; Simpson, 2011). Similarly, Hampton (1995) suggests,

When I remember my own experience with research – and research is central to graduate education – I remember that research is about learning. Some people say it is about the creation of knowledge; I’m not quite that arrogant. I have to say that for me research is about learning and so is a way of finding out things. To follow what Lionel [author’s friend] told me and to start with memory, I am saying that memory comes before knowledge (p.48).

An Indigenous re-searcher must have the ability to look back, towards their own cultural identity and their own life experiences in order to participate fully in any type of Indigenous re-search methodologies.

**Potential Implications for Education**

To honour the reciprocity required when using Indigenous re-search approaches, I have explored a number of ways to give back to the Community by making suggestions for curriculum that reflects the Stories shared by the Elders. I am respectfully going to follow the desires of the Community as to what they would like me to do with the gathered Stories. As noted by other Indigenous scholars such as Kuokkanen (2007), Kovach, (2009), Absolon (2011), and Smith (2012), it is imperative that the Community be involved in all areas of the re-search process, including what will happen with the Stories, once they have been gathered.

Through the collection of both customary Stories and life Stories used for educational purpose, I have documented Inuit ways of Teaching and Knowledge sharing and suggest how these ways could inform current pedagogical practices and support student learning today. In addition, my re-search project will make a contribution to the field of Inuit methodology.
Figure 14: Photograph taken of my Family; the future. Used with their permission. Taken August 2013 Qamani’tuaq, NU.

Returning from the Land

What I have observed from going out on the Land is that you only take from the Land what is needed and you share with others. Also, knowledge acquired about where to go, or not to go, can be shared as well. My re-search will provide these learning opportunities for others who may be interested in taking a similar journey to the Land using Inuit Methodologies. I wanted to be able to Learn from and reflect on the Land. I did not want to change the Land in a negative way. I wanted to preserve Stories from the past in hopes to make education for the future stronger. Additionally, it is my responsibility as a parent to Teach my Children, and others of the next generation, the ways of the Ancestors. Through actively participating in my re-search journey, I have been able to provide for the Children by collecting Stories from the Elders.

Each attempt at colonization has created a different Story for each Indigenous nation across Turtle Island. For the Inuit, increased contact with Qallunaat has only been in recent generations, which would lead to the conclusion that the cultural practices, Stories and language of the Inuit are better remembered. It is suggested by McGregor (2013), that prior to the 20th century Inuit education was achieved through experience with the Land, the animals and the people and, “The most critical aspects of Inuit education were environmental knowledge, experiential learning, caring between teacher and learner, and family control over child-rearing” (p. 93). After contact with Qallunaat, education changed and became a foreign Landscape in which Inuit were taught English, religion and practices that held little or no meaning for them,
the Land, or survival. Through the process of formal education Inuit were taught that traditional practices and language were not essential to survival. Education and knowledge acquisition prior to contact were fulfilling their purpose; otherwise the people would not have survived and thrived in the Arctic for millennia. It appears, through contact with Qallunaat educational practices Young people, and therefore the nation, have struggled for healthy Communities, as demonstrated by the alarming statistics of systematic and intergenerational substance abuse, domestic violence and suicide rates (Berger & Ross, 2006). It can be argued that it is not relevant for Children in the North to Learn from curriculum that does not reflect Northern living or ways of life. How does a curriculum written for students in the South aid in success of the culture, traditional ways or even survival for students in the North? My re-search draws connections to the need for oratories to be shared that exemplify the importance of knowing one’s personal and cultural histories.
The sound of shuffling feet came from down the hallway and into the snow porch. Athluetuk was wearing her Uncle’s sealskin kammiks on her feet.

“Yii! You cannot wear those outside to fish on the Ice, they are too big” Anaana tells her.

“But I like them, they are Uncle’s and he is not using them to go fishing right now, I want to use them”. She replies.

“Athluetuk, if they get wet they will be too heavy on your feet when the Ice freezes and it will be difficult for you to walk in” Anaana is attempting to convince her to put on her own kammiks.

Instead, Athluetuk reaches for her Uncle’s Caribou skin parka and puts it on. The sleeves are far too long and drag on the ground. She attempts to roll the sleeves, but because of the thick fur, she is unable to do so. Her arms hang heavy with the drooping sleeves at her side.

“Yii! Athluetuk you are being silly now, Uncle’s parka doesn’t fit you right and you will not be able to do your work on the Ice wearing a parka and kammiks that are not yours. Take them off and put your own on”.

Athluetuk attempts to complain, but knows better to argue with her Anaana. She listens, and prepares to meet the harsh Environment wearing her own kammiks and parka. As they step out of the house she turns to Anaana and says:

“You were right Nan, my stuff does fit me better and works better too”.

They both smile and head to the Ice to fish.
15. ААЮ п., іўпеўўк'я ёу ўрэўддзяўуймемс, аў вадء гаўкіўк'я, 
абоўмб'я, іўпеўўк'я ёу 2016.

Адрапсвем-ўтмү. Адд'ёцьк іўпеўўк'я сёб, іўпеўўк'я паловыўк'я, 
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Λα Ἰνατωπνδρετον ὑπὸ λα Ἰνατωπνδρετον.
Story 2: « Vivian Jodee »

This was my first interview I did and I was very nervous, and soon found out I was not as prepared as I should have been. It was like going on the Land without packing all of the necessities for survival. Vivian was very kind and willing to share with me. I just was not sure what or how to ask her.

It was a humbling experience.

We walked to the coffee room together and we have a cup of tea. I am nervous, and she appears to be excited to share with me. I take out the recorder, the consent forms and my notebook. I ask her if she can read English and she replies “a little bit”. I explain to her the paperwork and some details as to what I am doing. I offer her a gift of tea and canned milk as well as small gift of my appreciation for her helping me. It is not much and I feel inadequate. She is grateful, smiles and accepts the gifts. She tells me that she will bring the tea with her out on the Land when her and her husband go again.

She was happy to share, even when she was sad about talking about Residential School, I held her hand while she cried. She shared how hard it was to leave her Family. It was humbling, and I felt like “what right do I have to do this? To talk about such a difficult time?” I felt ill prepared and inadequate. Even though I wasn’t explicitly asking her about her Residential School experiences, it is a big part of Indigenous formal educational history and cannot be avoided in conversations about education. I am fearful that the rest of the interviews are going to involve Elders potentially talking about difficult education experiences; this makes me rethink what I am doing and why.

The placement of schools in the North marks the end of an era of Inuit living off the Land. This was a conscience effort to replace customary Knowledge with Qallunaat schools and ways of Learning. The Elders included in this dissertation are the bridge between the old ways of Learning and the current education system.
Figure 15: Photograph of Vivian Jodee, taken with permission. Jessie Oonark Centre, Qamani’ tuaq, August 2016.

“I am mixed now. I barely Learned any traditional life, but on the other hand, I mostly go to school, but I only know a little English. So that makes me the middle”
Wednesday August 24th 2016

Jessie Oonark Centre (in the Coffee Room), Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut

In her words:

My name is Vivian Jodee. I had a different name before I entered Residential School. It was an Inuktitut name. I was named after my Granny. But it was a long name so it became my middle name.

My name is Jodee because I married; I’m Vivian Jodee now. I was born at Garry Lake, Back River. No one lives there now, not since the 1960’s. Some tried to stay out on the Land but they didn’t have a choice to stay there because all of the Children had to go to school. From Garry Lake they would have to go to Baker Lake or Churchill, Manitoba. Everyone left the Land because their Children had to go to school.

I’m in the middle. I went to school when I was a Child at the same time I was still able to Learn from my traditional tribes. I remember Learning things from the Women. There was always a Woman who labours the Babies: she helped when the Woman was in labour and having a Baby. In my tribe it was taught that when a Woman was expecting that they are never to never to do any heavy work, especially lifting heavy things. Even when I was pregnant, they said that if I worked hard the Baby might get tired and I might have a miscarriage. It was important to follow these ways so that your labour was good and so that the Baby was healthy.

I remember a little bit before I was taken from the Land. In the Wintertime we use to only live in an igloo. And in the Summertime we lived in a tent with no mosquito lotions and bug spray! Wintertime use to be really hard too. My Dad use to go to try and look for Caribou for us to survive. When I was a little Kid too we use to walk one place to another trying to survive by hunting Caribou cause we only use to have Caribou and Fish to eat. That’s the only food we had. We had Ptarmigans sometimes or Fish. I use to travel with my Parents by walking in the Summertime.

When I was little I Learned from watching my Mom. I use to watch her with Caribou hides; she would scrape them to make them soft in order to make clothes. She only knew how to
sew using Caribou sinew. I never really tried to sew or cut a pattern for my kammiks or traditional clothes, instead I used to help my Dad by trapping. I liked going out with my Dad by Dog team and go hunting for Caribou instead of sewing with my Mom. Maybe because I was the oldest that I could go with my Dad instead of sewing with my Mom. Girls usually weren’t the ones to go hunting with their Dads.

I was the oldest so that meant a lot of the time I had to take care of my Younger Siblings. From when we were on the Land to when we moved to Baker Lake. When I went to school in Baker Lake I would have to take care of them after school. I remember that I use to want to have free time but I didn’t have any choice. I just had to babysit my Younger Siblings. We didn't have any toys; I just stayed at home with them. I tried to encourage them to help with stuff in the house like cleaning up or cooking food, sometimes they would help.

I Learned because I am mixed now. I barely got to Learn any traditional life because I had to go to school, but I remember little bit of my Parents’ culture, our tribe’s cultural traditions. On the other hand, I mostly went to school, which makes me in the middle. I know some English but I do not really know all of the English, I’m not a professional. But I still speak some English. I do not think I really Learned a lot in school because I use to just think of my Parents. I wanted to be with them when I wasn’t with them. I remember hurting; my mind hurt. When you grow up on the Land and then you move to Baker Lake it’s really different. Lots of things are different: our dialect and our culture were really different, and it was hard to have relationships with other people.

When I was on the Land I use to watch what my Parents were doing. My Mom would sew, my Dad would go trapping or hunting by dog team. Inuit use to spend the whole day trying to hunt out in on the Land, the Tundra. I do not even remember what place, but as far as I remember in the Summertime my Dad would go out early in the morning sometimes walking and walking, all day trying to look for Caribou to hunt. In the Wintertime, when the snow comes, he would go by dog team and try to look for Caribou too. The only choice we use to have for food was to hunt Caribou. We tried to fish; but we didn't have a fishing rod. I remember when they tried to go for hunting for Fish, they just used string with traditional hook, to make their own fish hook. I remember they would try and throw string into the Water and try to catch Fish.
Before I had to move to Baker Lake to go to Residential School, when I lived on the Land, the only things that I learned was Inuktitut and Inuit culture. But, starting when I was eight or nine years old, for ten months out of the year I had to go to school. I left the Land on a Twin Otter airplane and had to go to school. At first it used to be really hard when we left to go to school, not only for me, but for other students too. I remember the very first time that I came to Baker Lake. It was really hard because it was a different language and a different culture even the actions of the people were different too. Leaving my Parents to go to Baker Lake was really hard; but we didn’t have a choice because the government said that we had to go to school.

I remember that there used to be an interpreter that came when they took us from the Land. My Parents told me not to cry; I didn’t want to leave my Parents. I remember that I didn’t even understand any English. I remember that I didn’t want to go on the plane, one of the interpreters told my Parents that if they didn’t want their Kids to go to school that the government would never give my Parents any money. My Parents expected me to go even when I didn’t want to go to school because they knew they would not get anything from the government if I didn’t go.

I was allowed to go back home to the Land in the summertime. For two months out of the year I was allowed to live on the Land and then they would take me to back to Baker Lake to school for ten months. I never knew whether or not my Parents actually got money or anything from the government. Sometimes they would get aide cheques and sometimes they would not. I never even knew how they were doing, and they never knew how I was doing. That was hard life for me and for all of the students. I found out years later that when the Children were first moved from the Land to Baker Lake all of the Parents used to stay together. This was the hardest part before the hostel was built, not being able to stay with each other. There was a Girl's hostel and Boy’s hostel. After the hostel was built it became a little easier because at least then we could stay together; but the lady that was looking after us was strict and it used to be hard.

_Vivian cries. I hold her hand and then offer her a tissue. I am sad too, sad that I asked her and sad that she had to experience being separated from her Family._
As long as we were with other students from home we knew it was going to be okay. When we got picked up from the Land by the government to go to school we would sometimes go by Dog team or some people walked from camp all the way to Baker Lake. Sometimes the Dogs would help carry the load; when we were Kids we always had help from the Dogs.

Whenever I talk about the times that they would come for us in the Summer I still cry. Even though it was a long time ago, I still cry when I talk about it. Sometimes I talk to one of my friends about that time and I start crying. In our minds it use to be real hard, really hard to leave our Parents but we had no choice because the government said we had to go. I think some of our Parents use to cry when we leave in Summertime. The Twin Otter would land on the Water and our Parents use to be on the Beach with us. Then we would leave them. That’s how I remember it, most of the time I remember standing there, not only me, but others too.

I’m the oldest Child. I had two Brothers, but one is not living any more, and one Sister. When my Younger Brother and Sister became the age that they would take them away to school my Parents tried to move far away so they would not find them. It was hard for my Parents they really wanted to live off of the Land. My Mom and Dad use to come to Baker Lake for a year and try to wait for us to finish our school and then we would all go back to Garry Lake, Back River. I use to see students that missed their Parents too, like me. I remember how things use to be hard on the Land, but we always had each other. I also remember all the good times we use to have on the Land.

After I didn’t see my Parents for ten months or so, when I would see them I use to cry to see them. My Parents were happy and they use to have tears too, happy tears. When I was a teenager some of us from the Land were sent out to Churchill, Manitoba. They use to call that Fort Churchill and we would move there and they use to call it CVS (Churchill Vocational School). They didn’t have grades there. Some Parents moved to Baker Lake and some would stay living in the Land. We would go down to Churchill for another ten months. At this time my Parents moved to Baker Lake from the Land. My Parents didn’t have a phone, but those Parents that did have a phone would share so that they could try to talk to their Kids that were so far away. The only times I would hear from my Parents was by writing letters to them. I wrote to them in Inuktitut.
I'm in the middle, I know a little bit about Land traditions, traditional languages and our culture. And from schooling, I'm in the middle. There was three years to train in Churchill and some of us didn't finish school. I didn't graduate. I didn’t go back for the third year because my Dad was getting sick. He didn’t want me to go for that last year, so I just stayed in Baker Lake. I never did finish my school but I still got a job here at Jessie Oonark.

I remember in the 60’s when we would go to Baker Lake, the Inuit use to try to buy guns. We didn’t have a barge in Summertime like they do now. The only thing Inuit had to trade with was to bring some country foods to the huge ships. When my Dad and the other men knew they were going to run out of flour, biscuit, lard, or cigarettes they would walk really far in the Summertime to find the big ships. They knew the ship was going to come in August or September they would wait at the shore in Baker Lake. When the ships came they would unload the fright down on the beach and would pay the Inuit. When they get paid they would buy bullets and flour. Because they loved their Kids they use to try and work for the fright on the ship.

When I was finished with school in Churchill I came back to Baker. My relative was a manager here. He asked me if I could work for him so from there in 1971 or 1972 just before I got married I worked for him. He trained me how to sew, and that’s how I learned more about sewing. I do not really know how to sew like my Mom. My Mom use to sew kammiks and clothes for the Family. I do not really know how to do the Caribou skin stuff, but my Mom was really good at that. That makes me feel like I am in the middle because I do not really know the traditional way of life and I do not really know that far in school or English.

Looks like most of the time that the Young people only like to talk in English now. No body barely Teaches them in Inuktitut now. I tried to encourage my Kids to talk in Inuktitut, but I cannot help it now, if they do not Learn Inuktitut, I cannot speak with them if they do not Learn the language. So I have to use English to talk to them. My husband doesn’t speak in English and it is harder for him for him to understand when the Kids mostly talk in English. It seems like the Kids today do not really know about the Inuit traditional way of life now, just the little bit that they Learn at school. Some schools, some do some traditional training, but not that long though, maybe once a week. I do not really know what happens
at the school now, because that was when my Kids were little and they are grown up now. When they were Boys they would Learn Men’s things like how to make sleds or whatever else Men needed to Learn. The Girls would Learn about Girls things like sewing headbands or wall hangings. But as far as I know the Kids are Learning mostly in English at home and at school. They are barely Learning in Inuktitut now. I think this is because they are barely home. Like for many of us now they like to hang around with their friends too. When my Daughter was little I would tell her that she had to be home, but she liked to spend more time with the friends now and speaks a lot of English. This is because she didn’t spend a lot of time at home when she was Younger. Sometimes in my mind I feel sorry for my Kids, and I know they feel it too, because they barely speak in Inuktitut nowadays.

I think that it is changing a lot, I mean things are really different now. Like in my Tribe, we do not have that Elder now, our Elders were our trainers. There are not that many now and it’s getting harder to stay with our own Inuktitut dialect and ways now. The Kids are Learning an Inuktitut dialect in school but it is not the same as it was from our Elders long time ago.

I do some sewing like tablecloths and aprons here at Jessie Oonark. I also do some small sewing repairs, like doing zippers. I work here for five hours a day.

Thank you for having a conversation with me and thank you for the tea.
Story 3:

« Martin Kreelak »

Martin’s office is in the back of the Jessie Oonark Centre. He came into the Coffee Room as Vivian and I were finishing our conversation. They spoke softly to each other in Inuktitut. I’m guessing she told him that she was sharing Stories with me. He asked if I wanted to hear his Stories. I enthusiastically agreed.

I followed Martin to his office. He made me feel comfortable, even though I was feeling nervous still. He had a calming energy and even though he talked about difficult things in his past he was able to share and Teach from them. He shared that he had a lot of experience with interviewing and that it was okay that I was feeling nervous.

Martin is a very kind Man and Teacher. He exemplifies the Inuit way of life in everything that he does. He lives the old ways of being Inuit inadvertently. Using contemporary ways of counseling blended with customary Inuit pedagogy of Learning through observation of those with previous knowledge, he is able to help others who have experienced similar pains in Residential Schools and those with addictions. He humbly shared with me how he learned from his Dad and Uncles as a small Boy and that is what he does in turn with Men’s groups. He bravely tells the Men about his Story and experiences so that they can see and know how to walk in a good way from the experiences that he had. He saw for himself that it did not work for him to live in a vicious circle of using substances to hide from the pain and shares with others to help them. Inuit Learn from watching and doing and because he knows who he is in a truthful and healing way he can Teach others the same too. He wisely shares words that were shared with him from an Elder to take the best of both worlds to use them for your advantage.
“It's a lot different today. I started school at the age of five and I was culturally shocked. The Learning on the Land was right there in the moment from my Father and Brothers. Then I went into the classroom, the Learning was way different from my Father or my Brothers”
In his words:

I know how you feel; I’ve done a lot of interviews before when I was in television for twenty-four years. Sometimes you are a little nervous when you first meet people. But that’s okay and it’s normal.

My name is Martin Kreelak. And Kreelak is my Residential School name. Qillak is my Father’s name, but when we were in school I guess they couldn’t pronounce Qillak, so my second name, was spelled Kreelak. It’s a long, long Story, but I will tell you a shortened version. Kreelak, well Qillak it means Heaven, like my Dad’s name and then when I went to Residential School they started calling me Kreelak. Kreelak doesn’t mean anything; it’s just a name. The English version took away from the meaning of what it is.

I was born over eighty miles East of Chesterfield Inlet in an igloo on April 8, 1952 and I always joke about that because when I started coming out from my Mom, I felt the cold and thought: “oh what’s that?” And that I wanted to go back in! It was in April, but it was still cold and we were still living in igloos. I remember some of being born; when some Babies first come out they can remember. I remember for maybe a few minutes after being born.

When I was born in 1952 Learning was still very important in Inuit ways. I do not know much about Women’s stuff, because I am a Man, but Learning as a Child, was for survival purposes. In the Old ways they didn’t Teach you like they do nowadays by using paper and whatever else they use in schools today. In my Younger days for Boys, when we were Learning we would go out on the Land when we were able to with our Older Brothers. I would Learn by watching. The Learning started by about the age of three or four years old, or even earlier. To be a hunter, you would have to know survival skills because up here in the North, you do not take anything lightly. It was a very tough life. Before houses were introduced, our lives were very hard. I experienced a hard life in my Childhood growing up. I Learned how to build an igloo when I was very Young by going out on the Land with the Men. They would be out on the Land for sometimes a week, sometimes two weeks in the
Wintertime. I would go out with them and when they started building igloos I would watch. That’s how the Inuit used to learn; just by watching.

At a really Young age I was included to Learn. For example for an Inuk a long time ago if he had a Son, as soon as the Son is able to walk and talk at the age of two or three years old and as long as the Son had really nice warm clothing, his Dad would start taking him out on the Land. His Dad would show him and tell him: this is how you skin a Caribou; this is how you make tools like traditional spears or harpoons; and this is how you build an igloo. His Dad would be with him and he would watch his Dad and that’s how we use to learn. Not vocally, but by watching.

Then I do not remember from there on until my Parents were relocated to Rankin Inlet. I was about three or two years old. I started walking and we were still living in an igloo. I remember what it was like to live in an igloo. I remember the place we lived at; it’s now called Area 6 in Rankin Inlet. That’s when I started to remember the most about being and going into a Community. I didn’t know that there was a Community called “Rankin Inlet”. We lived in matchbox house, they are called that because that is what they looked like, matchboxes! The first house we moved into was just a square with no bedrooms just an open space. We had a honey bucket for a toilet, if it’s full you tie it up and you put it out. I remember my Childhood days in Rankin Inlet. Probably at the age of three or maybe four years old, I use to like walking down the streets of Rankin Inlet with the Older Boys. I remember I started to see people, you know wobbling, and I wondered: “why are they wobbling?” It seemed to me like they were losing their mind. It was a drunk person, and I remember it was very, very, scary time. I also remember seeing my Brothers, my Uncles, my relatives getting drunk, wobbling, fights and all that, at a very Young age I started to know fear.

At about the age of five years old I remember going by boat to settle in a little Community called Chesterfield Inlet. That’s when I started Federal Day School at Joseph Bernier Federal Day School, it was a Residential School, but because I lived in Chesterfield Inlet I got to stay at my house at night. I went to school along with the other formal students that came from different parts of the Arctic. They were mostly from Igloolik area and there were some other formal students from Rankin Inlet and I think Arviat and Repulse Bay.
I finished my Grade Eight in Chesterfield Inlet. Then at I think the age of fourteen or thirteen years old I went to CVC (Churchill Vocational Centre) at Fort Churchill Manitoba. I didn’t like CVC, so I just went home. I was lucky because I had money. We had a good Area Administrator that year and he got me ready to go to CVC. John Parker was his name, he was a WWII Veteran. He called me in to his office because he knew that my Parents were on welfare he said: “you’ll be going down South, Martin so you have to have money to survive down there”. So he let me work for him. I didn’t know anything about working; I worked in his office I think for three months. I didn’t know anything about pay or about money or cheques. He just let me work and I didn’t get paid for three whole months. My time came when I had to go to Fort Churchill Manitoba and I hadn’t been paid for those months of working, but I didn’t know any better. I went to Fort Churchill Manitoba and then it wasn’t too much later, maybe two months or a month later that John Parker, came through Fort Churchill. I was walking down this big long hallway and I heard my name: “Martin, Martin!” with a French Accent (because he was a French speaking guy) and there he was between all of these formal students, waiving papers at me. I recognized him and he said: “your pay finally came”. There were three envelopes and he said to me, for the first time I ever heard somebody say; “use them wisely”. That’s when I first Learned the value of money. So he hugged me and said, “I’m retired. I’m probably not going to see you again because I’m going back down South.” I never heard from him again. But last time I heard because he was a shell-shocked war veteran, after going back down South I heard he killed himself. He committed suicide. He was an Old Man. Young Boys, Young Children use to make fun of him, but I didn’t. Sometimes when he was walking down the street he would be walking really fast and looking sideways, they call that shell-shocked. He helped me a lot when he was our Area Administrator and he taught me to use money wisely. When I first got into my room I opened the envelopes and all the three cheques added together, they were over $900 and in those days $900 was a lot! So from a poor little guy I then had money and I started treating my friends with ice cream and all that good stuff. Even one of the Inuk supervisors nicknamed me “poor little rich Boy”.

There weren’t a lot of Kids in Grade Eight that had that kind of money. I think I was the richest little Boy when I was at CVC, but I didn’t like Fort Churchill so I paid my way back from Churchill to Rankin Inlet and I remember it was over $80 now it’s over $1000!
I didn’t finish at CVC because I was more like an outdoor guy, and I was shell-shocked from all this music and every Friday night the students would get together and play loud music and wiggled their little assets. I didn’t know what those ways were; but I knew that they were not my ways. I paid my way back to Rankin Inlet but I couldn’t get a plane to Chesterfield till that spring, so that’s when I got back to my roots. I love going out camping every Springtime and going out on the Land with my Brothers; I completely forgot all about school.

It’s a lot different today then when it was when I was on the Land. Learning was right there at the moment and then I went into the classroom and the Learning was way different from what I Learned from my Father, Uncles and my Brothers. From the moment I went into school, there was the Teacher, and if you made a mistake the Teacher would use his loud voice to scold you. When I was Young and Learning from my Parents, they didn’t scold us. Even if we made mistakes, they didn’t scold us. So Teaching in the modern way is different than the Teaching we had from our Parents.

The Men taught the Boys and the Women taught the Girls, that was normally the way that that the Boys and the Girls would be taught. Because the Girls would be at home when the Men were out hunting. The Girls would be home watching their Mothers sewing traditional clothing like Caribou clothing or Sealskin clothing; that’s how they would Learn. For survival purposes, the Girls had to Learn how to make really warm clothing for the Men; because if you didn’t have warm clothing in the Wintertime, the chances of survival were and still are very slim.

I have Learned how to hunt and I am a pretty good hunter. I like to hunt and I like to work with computers. An Elder once said that you have to take the good from our culture, because in our culture, there are some bad things, like shamanism. The Elder said to take the good from the other culture, like White Man’s culture, too. There is some really good stuff in the White Man’s culture, like computers; I’ve Learned how to use the computer so that I am able to survive and make money. You have to have money in order to buy gas to go out on the Land. For example, if I want to go on a Narwhale hunt to Repulse Bay from here it’s over a 600-mile trip by boat. It costs money for fuel, bullets and food. I have to know how to live in the modern world to make money so that I can do things on the Land easier. Now
I'm an Elder, I'm living in two worlds, and there are parts of both worlds that I like. There is bad stuff in this modern world that I do not like, like alcohol and drugs. I went in to that vicious cycle one time, of drugs and alcohol, but I got out of it and that was good. Both worlds, if you use them wisely have good things to offer to the Inuit.

I have heard that there have been studies done in Southern parts of Canada that show that Native People that were first touched by the White Man down South had a far worse experiences than the Inuit in the North. There was a lot of alcohol abuse, a lot of drug abuse and a lot of Family break ups and all of that bad stuff. For me, after me going to Residential School at the Federal Day School I was still able to get married, and have Children; but I didn’t know how to be a Father. I was into bad stuff like my Southern friends, the Native People. Inside me there was a little voice saying: “this is not you, this is not you”. I started searching and started getting into workshops Learning about the spirit.

There was a workshop called “Returning to the Spirit” workshop and there was Men’s group workshops, and biblical counseling workshops and I started searching to find what the voice was telling me. I found out that we are living in two worlds, one of the White Man and the Inuit culture. In today’s generation, I Learned that we are more like people that are floating. We cannot really get our footing on the white Man’s world and we cannot get a really good foundation in our culture, in Inuit culture and tradition. I Learned after working, for many years with Kivalliq Counseling and Support Services that going to workshops that we are floating. That’s why we are into drugs and alcohol and stuff like that because we cannot get rooted to this new modern world from the Inuit world. I heard that studies have been done down South that the Native People down there are Learning and getting rooted into their own culture. From these studies I’ve heard that like there is less violence, less drug abuse, less alcohol abuse. I hope that up here in Nunavut that it will be like that too.

There are some cultural programs that the school offers. There are some other organizations that offer programs that Teach the cultural stuff like sewing, going out hunting and other things. This is all good; then again, it is not as good as Learning from your own Dad, going out with him on the Land. I have a Son that I taught when he was a very Young Boy around three years old. I started taking him out on the Land. I also have another Son that I did not Teach this same way. These two Sons of mine have two totally different personalities. The older Son, the one that I taught on the Land, I brought him to watch me
when I was out hunting; he is now a successful hunter. When he goes out, he brings Caribou meat home. Then there is another Son, the one that I didn't Teach in that way. Sometimes I do not see him for whole months at a time and he is more into computers and games. He doesn’t really care about hunting and other things in Inuit culture. That’s why Learning from your Parents is very important. The organization that I’m working for now is aiming towards that. They are going to be bringing out families on the Land and just let them be themselves this coming Summer near Rankin Inlet.

I like that idea of the whole Family working together. If everyone works together on the Land for survival, and Learns together it makes more of a difference that if there is just one of the Kids Learning about Inuit culture in school. Maybe the Mom and Dad didn’t have opportunity to Learn on the Land. Maybe they weren’t paying attention to Learning Inuit ways because they went to Residential Schools, or their Parents went to Residential Schools, so maybe that part is missing. The best way to Learn is from your Parents and from your Family all together. There are some Elders that go in to the school nowadays, but they only last for one or two months. I think they do programs three times a year or something like that; but I’m not sure. It’s a good thing but, if you are not there on the Land all the time, you go back to the streets and to White Man way of living and Learning and you kind of forget the Inuit way.

The lack of funding makes it hard to have the things that we need in the school to Teach culture. There are good programs like the Men’s group program. We meet either here in Baker Lake or in other communities in Nunavut and we get about forty Men and we share our hurts and pains and we share like experiences in Residential School the abuse and the impact that Residential Schools has had on us. It’s a very good program because you connect with somebody who has the same pain as you. Coming out of the Residential School, I remember thinking: “this is not me, it’s not me.” I thought I was the only one with this pain; the pain that seems to be eating me from the inside out. But, we do not always have the funding to do the programs that can help the people. Funding. It always comes down to funding. We need to have funding that would last for many, many, many years: because healing takes many, many, many, many years. I’m on my Healing Journey and my Children are touched from I went through. So my Children need to be on a Healing Journey too. If I haven’t gotten to work things out, I do not know where I would be today.
In 1971 I got married and started having Children but I didn't know how to be a Father then. I was getting into drugs and alcohol and all that stuff. In 1982 I was planning to move to Arviat because it seemed like I was searching for something, but I couldn't figure out what that something was. I had a snowmobile and I had two Children. I moved to Arviat by snowmobile. We didn’t even have a house when we first went to Arviat. Hard times struck me and my Wife; we were homeless. My Relatives would take us in, but we never felt at home. I thought that my life was going to be like that forever and then in the Fall of 1982, with a little bit of money I had saved, I chartered a plane and we went to Rankin Inlet. From Rankin Inlet my Wife decided she was going home to Baker Lake for a while. She told me that if I got a house in Chesterfield Inlet that she would come back down. My Wife’s Brother-in-law was a Member of the Legislative Assembly in Yellowknife and he was chartering a plane from Chesterfield Inlet to Baker Lake. He said to me: “I've got room for one more guy, do you want to go see your Wife? It’s free.” My mind was going everywhere, but I said, “I’ll go”. In 1982 I was just planning to go for a few months and I ended up here in Baker Lake for the last thirty-four years!

Still, after moving here I was still feeling like I was still searching for something inside. I had to do something because I didn't like the life I was living. I kept thinking: “this is not me”. I went to adult education program for two years here in Baker Lake. I finished Grades Ten and Eleven and then from there I started putting out my resume. There was a two-year television-training program that was open in 1985, so I did that. From there on, everything just shifted and I stayed in television for twenty-four years. But that little voice kept saying “this is not me”. I was still into things that I wasn’t supposed to be doing, even though I knew I wasn’t suppose to be doing them. Even suicide, like even though I was working, suicidal thoughts were always there. Because the physical abuse and that I had taken and sexual abuse and other things at Residential school. Every time I got triggered I would get fears. I would get very angry mad and that little voice kept saying: “this is not you, this is not you”. I started going into workshops, healing workshops and that is when I started to Learn about myself and from there things shifted. After taking biblical counseling workshops, I got into counseling to help others, because the pain that I was carrying for many many years, over fifty years, wasn’t pleasant at all. I Learned that there are some people that are hurting deep within and it is not a fun place to be in. I’ve been working with Kivalliq
Counseling workshops for seven years now and I have helped a few people that were in the same pain and that is very, very satisfactory to see somebody lifting up their head and seeing them walking straighter down the street.

Not all of the Teachings I had were bad when I went to Residential School. That was the best school that formal students have ever had attended. The only bad thing about it was the physical and sexual abuse that happened for so many that we didn’t know about for many, many years after. Until it started coming out from the former students that went to Federal Day School. They got these high level jobs in government because they had the best training in the schools that they went to in Chesterfield Inlet. The best compliment that I ever had was about my handwriting. My handwriting would get complimented sometimes: “Boy, you had the best handwriting.” It was the school that taught us how to handwrite. Those were the good things that we had Learned in Residential school.

To get out of this vicious cycle of drugs and alcohol you have to be on a Healing Journey and a Healing Journey takes many, many years. And if people were to ask me: “are you the best Father in the world now?” I would have to say: “no, I am not the best Father in the world” Or if I was asked: “are you the best person there is in Baker Lake?” I would say: “no, I am not.” It takes years of healing, but one thing that I have Learned about myself in all of this hell, this pain, is where it is all rooted from and that’s what I’m trying to let go of.

Underneath all of that hurt and pain is who the self is and is attached to culture, and attached to the language. I use to be bullied a lot when I went to Joseph Bernier Federal Day School so when I became a Young Man I didn’t want anybody to touch me or make fun of me anymore. When people talked bad about me the only thing I would know how would be to get even, to fight back because I didn’t know that I was defending myself with all of that pain that I was carrying for many years. I can talk about it now because I’ve been on my Healing Journey for over 15 years and I’m not ashamed to talk about it, especially if it helps others to Learn.

The school that I went to is way different than the schools today in the North. Even today when I am out on the Honda sometimes my left palm would start hurting. I use to think: “why am I having pain on my palm?” It would get hot and I would feel the pain, but I didn’t
understand why. But now, after being on my Healing Journey I found out it was from all the strapping that I use to get when I was at that school as a Kid. The difference between the schools that I attended then and the schools today is that they do not use strapping anymore. The schools that I went to were way different than the schools that my Grandchildren are going to. If something bad happens at the school today, if the Kids are getting physical with each other or getting bullied, the Kids have every right to be at home and we do not have to force them to go to school. In my school days, I didn’t have any choice. Even though I was bullied a lot, my Parents would say if I didn't go to school they, my Family, would have their allowance cut by the government. They would not get any allowance and that was the only money they would have. They were earning money from the government for me going to that school. So even if I was scared, I had to go to school. That is a major difference between the schools then and today. If my Grandchildren do not like their Teacher or the other students, they will not go to school anymore. No one makes them go. Schools are different now, Kids have a choice to go and they can tell their Parents or their Grandparents about if bad things are happening and then something will be done to help the Kid. Whereas that wasn’t an option when you were in school when I was a Kid. No, we didn’t have that option to tell our Parents how bad it was. It was like the Kids were being held hostage. They have really good schools today.

I am a very traditional Man and I know where my Grandfather came from. I even have a picture of my Grandparents, they are all wearing Caribou clothing. Every time I see that picture of them I get homesick to be in that picture because that was the life that I have lived and it was taken away from us. If I had a choice or if I had a magic wand, I would change Baker Lake to Inuit way of life again; but I cannot do that. But there are good things about the schools nowadays. I never expected to see somebody from my Grandmother and Grandfather's bloodline becoming a doctor. Now we have a doctor Kamaraukluk and she is a going to be a heart surgeon. Just like I said I Learned from the Elder, use the good things in the modern world and it will serve you well.
Story 4: « Martha Noah »

Martha walked past Martin’s office as he was showing me out after he shared his Stories with me. He spoke to her in Inuktitut and then turned to me and said that I should go to Martha’s studio with her to listen to her Stories. Martha smiled and invited me to come with her to see her studio and listen to her Stories.

There was a feeling I had when walking down the hallway to Martha’s studio; it was a feeling of discomfort. I felt like I should not be there, that I should not be doing the work, like I did not have right to be there or to hear what she had to share. I felt like an imposter, like an academic researcher. I never liked the signing of the consent form part of the interviews, it felt clinical, like the paper, or putting words on the paper made it foreign. I experienced this discomfort with the written English language when I had to write the Stories on the computer at times during this re-search I experienced the hesitation to even write. It’s a huge responsibility to get it right and to translate the physical oral tradition that is filled with life and breath and put it into keyed word; it was a challenge.

I offered her a gift of tea, canned milk and a small gift of my appreciation. She was thankful. She showed me her beautiful intricate ivory jewelry she was making. Her entire desk in her window-filled studio was covered in tiny carved ivory treasures. I was in awe of her work.

This interview would have been more fruitful with an interpreter. I am painfully aware that my lack of connection to the language is detrimental to this re-search and to the preservation of the Elders’ Stories. This makes my heart ache.

Martha shared with me that Women had to have Husbands to survive and that there is balance in the roles and responsibilities between Men and Women. White Man’s social services did not adequately replace the roles of Men and Women for her Family, or for others living in the Arctic. This is an example of trying to fix something that the government has no right to be involved in.
Figure 17: Photograph of Martha Noah, taken with permission. Jessie Oonark Centre, Qamani’ tuaq, August 2016.

“As long as Children have Mothers they survived. Does not matter how hard it is, as long the Mother is there, the Kids become people”
In her words:

I'm Martha Noah Elumagahquk.

I do not remember about how Woman were suppose to be when they were pregnant or how they are supposed to Teach the Baby after the Baby was born. For me, I just remember I got pregnant even though I did not want to get pregnant. I remembered that I just wanted to get rid of the Baby because I did not have a home and my Mom was in a mental hospital. There was no place to live and no food to eat and no one to take care of us. I was only twenty years old; to me I felt Young. My Grandmother had tattoos on her face and hands. I remember seeing her; but, she was not always there, so I did not get to Learn from her when I was a Kid. When I was an adult I saw her. I do not remember if my other Grandmother had tattoos. I just know she was a nice Grandmother, but she died early.

I was an older Sibling so I had to take care of my Younger Sisters. I Learned a little bit about raising Children from having to take care of my little Sisters. I know that as long as Children have Mothers they survived. Does not matter how hard it is, as long the Mother is there, the Kids become people. It is from our Mothers that take care of the Children that they can survive and grow up into adults.

My Mom taught me a lot of things when I was little. I watched her look after Babies. I saw that you must be nice to Babies all the time. My Mom would carry the Babies in her amauti. She would sew the clothes for the Baby; this is what made her good to the Babies.

Everything that I did for my little Sisters was because I saw my Mom do it for other Babies. I Learned how to be a Mom from my Mom. I had six Babies. That was hard and I ran out of energy. Sometimes I would leave the Children to get dressed on their own because I was worn out and I could not do anymore; but all of my Babies turned out okay. No body helped me take care of my Babies. When my oldest Daughter became older she tried to help to look after the smaller Children. Most of them were Boys; so they were different than
taking care of the Girls. Boys are different to take care of then Girls and they Learn different ways of doing things.

I grew up in Tundra Inlet, near Gjoa Haven. Only the tribes lived on the Land. When they moved us there, there was no White Man. I lived there until I was sixteen. Then the government and social services moved my Mother here to Baker Lake after my Dad died. They moved my Mother here cause they were going to look after her more; it was hard without my Dad. There was a social service lady that was helping with my Mom when we moved to Baker Lake, I remember her.

I went to Inuvik for Residential School. Maybe I was fourteen, but I just had two years there before I came back. My English was not very good, so I did not Learn much when I went to Inuvik. I had no one to talk to because at the school they told you not to speak Inuktitut or else they would beat you. I had to try to Learn very hard, but it was very had because I had never heard English before and I could not speak it very well. Most of the time I was by myself with no interpreter. I would listen and I would Learn a little bit at a time. I am still Learning English although I am much older.

It was really different to have to Learn at Inuvik than living with my Mom and my Siblings on the Land. You were not allowed to speak to your Inuit friends. At the school they told you: “do not talk Inuktitut. Do not talk at all if you are going to talk Inuktitut, talk English”. We were forced to Learn English. We were trying to remember what it was like on the Land, how fun it was and eating Tuktu, and everything about living on the Land. It would make us feel better to remember everything we could. But we were not allowed to talk about it, so it was really hard. We would sometimes talk in Inuktitut to one another; if we knew that the supervisor was not there we talked in Inuktitut so that we would not feel so sad.

I went there for two years. That was the only time that I went to school, because I was the oldest Child of my Parents. When my Dad died, and because my Mom was sick, I had to go back to help her with all of her Babies. I did not Learn much in school because my English was not very good and I could not really understand what was happening. I taught myself to read a little, and I taught myself to write a little from just looking at it. I really wanted to
read. So I use to read comic books to Learn words when I was in school in White Man’s world.

When I came to Baker Lake they told me that I had to go to school but the Kids there were so hard on me that I could not take it. To me, they were stranger Inuit, they were different Inuit and to them, I was a stranger and so they thought I was bad. Even though they were Inuit they were different from me. Long time ago if there were different tribes of Inuit they would learn to like each other. I do not know why these different Inuit did not like us. Kids are just Kids sometimes. They were just being mean to people that were different from them. I did not like it and it was very hard for me. I think it’s like that today sometimes, if Kids are looking for trouble they will be mean to one another.

I think that the other Inuit were mean to each other because people use to live all over the Tundra and now they make them come in together and expect them to get along with each other. They do not know how to get along, their dialects are different and so they have to Learn from each other to try to figure out what it means when they talk this way.

I went to school with Cree Indians and Inuit together in Residential School. The two different groups were so bad to each other. They fought because their ancestors fought before so it was hard for them to know any different. It was also scary because I never saw fighting happen before I went to Residential School. They were speaking in different languages and I know they must have had the same sort of rules as we did because we were not allowed to fight either. When I was growing up just my tribes lived together and they would have to Learn to live in peace. You cannot say what makes the Cree jump or something because they are different. For Inuit it was different because in the tribes everyone was related and your not allowed to say something back to your relative and you had to get along; that is the Inuit way of doing things: to get along. But it’s different today.

Even though we are not on the Land we have few tribes and we like to sit down and eat with them, talk with them cause we think they are like us. So it’s the same way for other tribes too.

For me, I did not want to live on the Land for good. I wanted to live in a house, have a bath and go to the store to get food. For the Young people today, they too, do not want to really
live on the Land either. It’s too hard to live on the Land and they have forgotten some of
the ways, or maybe were not taught from their Grandparents how to live off of the Land. I
sometimes think about living out on the Land because I grew up living on the Land; but I do
not want to live out there all the time with the mosquitoes and flies. I like living in a house
with the heat and the bathroom.

It was a hard life when I was growing up. I think about the people that use to live that way
a long time ago, they had no choice other than to go on living. The people from long ago,
they were really tough. They would eat and then they use to just walk and work. They would
work and work and they would never get tired or complain. They would push and push;
that’s how they would live because they had no other choice. Kids do not want to Learn that
way now because it’s too hard. They want to go to Quick Stop and eat food right there.
Even today some Kids do not want to clean Fish because they thing it’s dirty or something.
Kids today do not know what life is like, because it’s too easy for them.

For Inuit culture I think we will all decide to live in houses and people who want to Learn
more about Inuit culture must go to a book or some sort of college to Learn more about the
Inuit way of life if they want to Learn it. They have more ideas in the schools and books
about being Inuit. But it is better if they go out with the Elders on the Land and they do it
instead of just hearing about it, by actually doing the work on the Land. It would be hard to
just Learn how to live Inuit way of life from a book; you have to Learn by living it. Kids
cannot Learn how to be Inuit at school. They have to go out on the Land with Elders. Just
going out and having fun fishing and seeing how shelters are made and put a tent up. They
think from spending a little bit of time Learning that they know how to be an Inuk; they
think it is nice, but they do not know all of what it is like to be Inuit.

I grew up on the Land and now I live in a house. Its was really cold living on the Land and
when you had to go to bathroom when its’ really cold it was no fun; but that was all I knew
before so it was not too bad. But now it is hard if I had to live like that because I now know
how easy it is to live, I like having a nice warm house and bathroom.

I went to Arctic College training to Learn how to make jewelry. My Cousin also taught me
about making jewelry. Nobody taught her, she just Learned on her own, so she helped me to
do some things that I wanted to do. I liked Learning how to make jewelry. I worked on metals and had metal training. But I did not want to just make jewelry on metals; I wanted to work with bones. I thought working with bones was prettier. Down South they have all kinds of jewelry, but up here it was just plain. I remember that people just had plain bands when I was Younger people use to make them themselves. I heard that they would make them out of quarters or something.

It makes me feel good when people tell me that I’m a good Mother. Sometimes it’s really hard to have a Son who is in his teenager years. It’s scary, because you want them to be safe, but sometimes they turn the other way. Girls are easier to handle than Boys. We would have to follow the rules as teenagers and listen to our Parents. We were taught, even as teenagers that we had to listen to our Parents and Grandparents. You were not allowed to be a free Young Woman without a Husband. Young Women had to have a Husband in order to sew clothing for. In the Old way of living on the Land, it was the Wife’s job to make cloths and the Husband’s job was to hunt; it was the only way they would survive. People grow old and you have to Learn how to look after yourself. It works out so that you always have someone to take care of. People grow old but when they become Elders, you look after them.

I think that people try to live like the Old way of being married, they try, but it does not always work out. They always had to live together in the igloo. But now they have a nice bathroom in a warm home. Today if a Woman doesn’t have a Husband she will get lonely and her life could be hard. My Daughter does not have a husband and she finds it hard. She’s alone now, but she has a Son that can help her out. My Daughter moved down South to Ottawa, but when she comes to visit my Grandson helps me out too. I don’t get to see them often; but she was just here visiting a little while ago.

I have fifteen Grandchildren and I’m a Great Grandmother to seven. I’m happy to be here still breathing. My Grandchildren look after me and my Husband by getting fresh Water way out there Prince River and my Son goes hunting for me. It feels good to have them look after us. But it is just my Husband and I now and sometimes it gets kind of lonely. I hope that my Husband lives long and that I live long too.
18: Քևիր նոր ծնամար համար, նորային ծծվություն տեղի է ունենում, իսկ նաև պատճառով, որ նպաստում է համարակալվել ազգային ծնամարերի միջև 2016

Այս նոր ծնամարը այսօր տարածքում համարվում է տեղի ունեցող ազգային ծնամարերից մեկը, որը պատճառով, որ նպաստում է տեղակայության համար կարևորման մեջ.
 Voters of the young generation of Ethiopia have a significant impact on the country's future. Much of the population is currently being educated, and this has an impact on the way the country is governed. The young generation of the population has an important role to play in the country's development. They can influence decision-making and contribute to the country's growth. The role of young people in the country has been acknowledged by many authorities. The young generation is not only interested in the development of the country but also in their own lives. They want to have the opportunity to achieve their dreams and make their own contributions to society.
אג' 20: אוגוסט הודו-סין 2016

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Story 5: « Fanny Avatituq »

Fanny came into Jessie Oonark Centre looking for burgundy felt. She spoke with Martha and Martha told her that she just shared some Stories with me. Fanny asked if I wanted to hear her Stories too. I told her that I would like that, she told me to come to her house after lunch. My Aunt told me where her house was and I walked up the road after lunch to Fanny’s house. I was nervous as I climbed the stairs to her back door, but I was immediately welcomed into her home and felt like home. She had the radio on; Inuktitut could be heard from the local station. There were pictures of her Family all over the walls. I could tell there were a lot of Stories here and was thankful that she offered to share with me.

During the time I was there, Fanny’s Granddaughter, Melanie and her Daughter came by for a visit. It was clear to me that Fanny’s house was a central place for visiting. She called her Great Granddaughter “Old Lady”. She explained to me that if she called her that then they would be friends because the Baby would think she was an Old Lady too.

Fanny’s memory is impeccable; she shared Stories of living on the Land and being forced to go to school. She took out photo albums and old shoe boxes of photographs and named all of the people in the pictures. She shared a lot about customary Teaching and how she Learned and then in later years ( and continues to do so) Taught others the skills she Learned. Although, she is not explicit in talking about these Teaching methods and ways of Learning: this is what makes Inuit pedagogy.

Fanny humbles me; she speaks of what the transition time was like coming from the Igloo to the Community of Baker Lake. She describes the time of when things shifted for the Inuit from customary life living on the Land to being relocated into homes, first with oil stoves then with furnaces and running Water. This shift in making life easier for Inuit was also a shift in Learning and knowing things as Inuit did for generations. Education prior to contact with Qallunaat was about survival that was the essence of Inuit; all of that was changed with modern conveniences.
“It would take us about half an hour to walk from our igloo way over to the school; but when it stormed it was scary, too scary to go to school”
Thursday August 25th 2016

In Fanny’s home, Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut

I brought Fanny some tea and canned milk as well as a small gift of my appreciation for her time. She is thankful and hurries to put the gifts away. She is talking and sharing even before I’m ready for what she has to share!

In her words:

… recording starts part way through a sentence as she is excited to share with me. She has albums and small cardboard boxes with pictures out to show me. The radio is on still and I attempt to turn it off, but have to be guided by Fanny on how to do it. She sits on the couch and tells me how to turn her radio off, first the directions are given in Inuktitut, then in English. She points at pictures of Young Girls in a photograph and she tells be about relationships, who was adopted by who and bow each of the Young Girls are related. As she’s talking about Family and relationships her Granddaughter and Great Granddaughter walk into her home. She points to me and in Inuktitut tells them who I am, associated by my biological Father “Fred Ford punnuak” I say “hi” and we shake hands.

Fanny continues with her Stories about the people in the pictures:

I remember a lot about that time. That was when we went to the matchbox houses. That’s what they called them, matchbox. It was a homemade cabin that looks like a matchbox. You know the kind? The kind of matches that are wooden. We had a 45-gallon stove. My Stepbrother use to help, he would have to keep put the oil inside the stove to make it heat up the house. He used to have a hard time because it was hard work. But before we had to go to sleep he would have to gas it up, that was his job because he slept beside it. We did not live there long. Then we moved to a bigger house with three bedrooms. That was the third house that we moved to. But we still had to use an oil stove instead of furnace. So we still had to gas it up and take the honey bucket it out with our own hand till 1968. After that we started using a furnace and we even had furniture, it was so comfortable.

Fanny laughs at the memory.
There was nothing to worry about after we got the furnace. But when we had the oil stove it was scary sometimes if you ran out of oil, but it was still cold outside. There would be nothing to keep you warm inside the matchbox. But after you were moved into those furnace homes, you had nothing to worry about. We still did not have Water in the taps. But we had sinks and bathtubs. We had to make hot Water to take a bath, and that was work too. But, after we got our Water tank, to heat the Water and have running Water, then we would look much richer! And much cooler! The people were getting more and more happy with the things inside of their new homes.

*Fanny got really excited when she talked about how a furnace and running hot Water changed her life and made things easier. Again, she laughs at the memory.*

When we still lived in an igloo they would come and get us to go to school. There was a Man, maybe he was the principal or something like that. He used to come to our igloos if we missed even one day of school and tell us: “you have to go to school. You have to go to school”. That’s when they had the old fashioned green school; it was next to the Catholic Church that used to be there. That was the first school I remember, and it was the first school that was here. Lots of us Kids use to go to school there. So we use to live way out there.

*Fanny points towards the Land.*

Like way out there and we would have to walk to the school even when it was the Summer. It would take us about half an hour to walk from our igloo way over there to the school. But when it stormed it was scary, too scary to go to school. When we were still living in the igloo, it was too far to go out when the weather was bad. We knew it was not safe to go out of the igloo when it was storming like that. So sometimes one of our neighbours would come and pick us up at the school. They would try to tell the Teachers that we had to go home when it was Windy and scary. We knew that we always had to go to school, so we would go, even when it was not safe.

We had to stay at school every day until we finished our work and then we could finally go home. It did not matter if we were late getting to school because of the weather, we could not go home until the schoolwork was done. I only went from Grade one to Grade five
because my Mom did not want me to leave her or the Community because she was blind. I had to be at home with her. She was a blind lady, but she loved to sew. Sometimes when she was trying to make a parka I would have to take the needle and the thread it for her, but then she could just sew herself. Even when she was going to make a hood, she knew what was going on; she just sewed it. That’s really hard, you know? Sewing a hood. But she could just sew. She did not want to be a burden, so she would not ask for help often. She would try and sew with her hands. I had a picture of her, but I put it away somewhere. That’s the parka she made.

Points to picture.

That was our first class in 1961.

She continues to point and name people in the picture.

That was our second Teacher. This is Elizabeth Itinuar she lives up there with the other Old People. She’s a Social Service worker. She’s in town. He’s in town. The rest of them live down South. This is Peter Tapitai; he lives in town. And Betsy; she lives in town. I do not recognize her, I do not know who she was. Maybe Jessie, you know that girl that draws arts and crafts. That was her. That was our first class.

She is looking through the boxes of pictures and occasionally holds one up for me to look at.

This is me when I was in grade three, I think.

Holds up another picture.

If you know Cheryl Cook, that was her Mother, Sophie and these are her Sisters, Rose and Vera. Vera is the one that passed away. That’s Betsy again, she lives in town and that was me. This was Doris, who used to work at the training centre. And this is Margret, I think she works at the school and Sally; she works at the school too. Mary, she’s in town. This is Joan Scottie; she works for the Hamlet for the hunters and trappers worker like at the hotel. She’s gone.
I know some of the Women she is talking about, either because I remember them from when I was a Child living in Baker Lake, or because they are my relatives and I know their names. I feel affirmed and welcomed by sharing these Stories in pictures with Fanny. I am humbled.

I remember the names of all my Teachers: Mr. McCray was the first, then Miss. Derskin, Mr. Carroll, Mr. Harold, David Webster, Mr. Holloway and Mr. Anderson. I have a good memory and can remember them all. We use to have school everyday, so that is how I remember.

Figure 19: Photograph of Fanny’s elementary class, taken with permission. Qamani’tuq, August 2016.

There use to be a Mr. McMaster too. He was one of our Teachers. But he was a strict guy, a really strict guy. He was so mean; but I think he loved the people.

She laughs at what she said.

He tried to be a nice Teacher, but then he use to get really mad. Sometimes one of the other classes would make him mad and he would take it out on our class. One time I remember in one of my classes, the students were really picking on the Teacher. They were calling him
that Germany guy because he was so mean. You know who I mean? He used to get mad for us eating at school. He would tell us that we had to wait to eat when we got to our igloo. So one time he took a ruler and started hitting that student that was calling him that name! The Boy broke the ruler, so that Teacher took the broom and started hitting that Boy with the broom! Then the broom broke so that Boy just went out crying. We were all scared because he use to be so strict, eh?

His Parents, that Boy’s Parents, they did not do anything because they were scared too. So they never did anything. That Teacher left but he came back years later when he was an Old Man. We recognized him as Mr. McMaster. We asked him if he remembered that we use to call him after that communist guy because he was a strict Man. He said: “Yeah, I remember that.” We told him: “ We use to say because you use to be really mean like him. You used to be a scary guy; but now you’re an old Man!”

_Fanny laughs, and her Granddaughter, who is in the kitchen listening to the Story, laughs too._

Then Old Man Mr. McMaster starts smiling: “Yeah, I’m still the same” But Mr. McMaster was okay that time he came back to Baker as an Old Man.

There was a school building but you would come home to an igloo. Sometimes it was really cold to go home. Especially when you had kammiks at school all day. Your kammiks would wet from being inside all day then you would have to put them on to go outside and your feet would get cold and wet. After we moved from the igloo to the matchbox house, it was better, but it was a cold house until we got a furnace.

The school building was here before the houses, before the matchbox houses. There was the Anglican Church, the RCMP, the school and the Catholic Church. After a while they had to build another school somewhere out there because there was getting to be too many families and Children were moved in from the Land. So they started building another school later on in the 1960’s. The school was a really cool looking building; we never saw anything like it before. We were still living in the matchbox house and we still used an oil stove, but the school was using a furnace! We thought that was cool, and it looked cool. The school had running Water too. I remember I wished I could I get that kind of thing, but I was just keeping warm. But now I have that: running Water and a furnace!
Fanny laughs.

When I was eight years old and living on the Land we came into Baker Lake. There were social services here and police, the RCMP. They use to look after people. My Sister-in-law, my blind Mother, and my Stepbrother came to Baker Lake. Lots of people were taken far away to go for medical for TB. I was alone with my Uncle and my step Brother. We tried to stay on the Land and not go to Baker Lake. There was a RCMP that looked after people. He told us to stay in Baker Lake because there was no body to help us in making an igloo for our home. My Sister-in-law said: “He makes igloo for us,” and pointed to my Uncle. We were told that did not matter. The RCMP told us to stay in the Community, so we stayed. My Sister-in-law got a job cooking and doing the dishes for the school, during the day when I was at school. But we had to go back to igloo at night. It was hard when it was cold, because we were use to the school during the day; but it was okay when it was warm out.

When I was Young and just lived on the Land we were taught things like how to get food to eat. My Aunt, Martha Taliruq, the lady that the Taliruq Centre is named after, she was an Old Lady, she taught us. She used to dress us up in warm clothes like Caribou skin that she made or pants something like that or coveralls that were like Caribou suits. She was the one that supported us, because my Mother was blind. My Sister-in-law helped too, she did not have a Mother, and I did not really have a Mother that could help me, so we helped each other. There was another lady that used to help us from social services and she use to treat us good. When we meet her we had poor clothes and it was kind of hard for us. We were told to move here in 1958 or somewhere around there. We stopped living on the Land ever since that time. We stopped moving around to where we needed to go on the Land and we had to move here.

Fanny pauses.

It was okay to move here. Because when you were living on the Land and are in a tent when it is Thundering and really Raining, sometimes the tent would leak. It was really hard to have a dry stuff when its raining out and everyone is trying to stay dry. It would be really important to have your blanket or anything that belongs to you, like your mats for your bed dry. When the Rain would stop and it was nice out, the people would start drying their stuff
really fast before it start raining again. Sometimes it was not good when it would Rain and Thunder a lot. But when you were moved into the house, it looked so nice and comfortable.

*Fanny laughs.*

I can remember what it was like to live on the Land and how it became easier when we moved into having a house. It was hard on the Land because my Mom was blind, but my Sister-in-law, my Stepbrother’s Wife used to help us around. I always had to be with my Mother, the Old Lady when she needed this or that; I helped her out. My Mother told me to finish school but she also told me not to ever leave Baker Lake. So I never left. I could not finish school because you had to leave to go to high school. I only finished to Grade five because I had to help my Mom. I started to look for a job in town and I end up doing sewing. That’s what I use to do here with my time. Then after that I moved to health centre as interpreter, then the nursing station and then the hospice it was built, so I start working there interpreting or housekeeping. I also did a lot of Babysitting all over the town and that’s how I make a little bit of money. Then a little while after I hear that they are going to build a sewing centre out here. It used to be beside the Igloo Hotel, it was an arts and crafts sewing center. I was a part of that and sewed there for a while. After that I started working at Small Kids Daycare. I had lots of work even though I did not finish school. I moved to Gjoa Haven for one year and then came back because my Father told me to go back with my Mother cause my Stepbrother was getting the cancer so he told me move back her to help. So we had to move back here to be with them but not even a year after that my Brother was gone.

*Fanny pauses.*

My Father in law passed away a few years ago, somewhere around 2007. My Mother-in-law, Ruth, she’s still around and she still helps us to make kammiks or mitts. When I was Younger I use to say: “I can’t do this alone. I can’t do this or that.” Just because I’m left-handed people would say that I don’t know how to sew. So one time one of my Mother-in-law’s Sisters said: “She knows how to sew and you have to let her know how to sew mitts.” So at the time, I did not know how to sew anything. My Mother thought that I was going to have a hard time sewing. One of the ladies said: “She knows how to sew, she
knows how to make wall hangings, you should see her.” My Mother-in-law just laughed. So I say to her: “I know how to sew as long as it is this or that, I can do it.” So I saw her and I made a wall hanging and gave it to her: “Ohh cool, see I told you I know how to sew.” She started laughing away.

*Fanny laughs.*

I taught myself how to sew. Just from looking at things. When I worked at the sewing centre I use to see a lot of wall hangings and wondered how people made them. I really started sewing wall hangings slowly around 1968. I told my Mother-in-law that she should start making wall hangings because she was really fast at sewing and it is really good pay. She laughed at me, but she started making wall hangings. I showed her how to make them and how to use the threads.

*Fanny shows me on one of her wall hangings that is in process of being made. Her work is very beautiful. She shows me some of her stencils and shares the colours she likes to use and explains why she likes them.*

I can sew faster when the materials are in the stores here in Baker. But sometimes in the Winter when they do not have what I need at the Northern Store or at Jessie Oonark it takes me a long time to finish my wall hanging. These are the scraps of the ones I’ve already made. I do not throw them out. I keep all of the scraps in case I might need them again. It’s the same when I’m making mitts or anything, I do not throw anything away because I can always use it for something else another time.

*The phone rings in the kitchen, she answers the phone, speaks in Inuktitut and hangs up.*

*She continues with telling me about the felts and sewing wall hangings.*
I have to draw something first before I start sewing. I draw and see if it’s going to turn out that way I want so that I don’t waste anything or any time. I always use these two bins to put all my stuff in, it is important that everything stays flat and clean because it’s easier to sew that way. I like these colours, the green one, like this is the background, it looks like Fall time. I always have to think about what is going to be in the wall hanging. I think first see if its going to match or not, so I draw something first and I figure out what I have to put in there. I draw them out first and if it’s going to turn out I finally cut it out of the felts and start sewing. Sometimes it changes. I made this bear and thought it was going to go here:

*puts the felt stencil of a bear on in the foreground of the wall-hanging*

But then I thought, “Ugly. It looks too skinny!” So then I decided I would put it in the background so that it looks like it is far away! Then I liked it! So, sometimes it changes when I do not like it. But when it was looking skinny in the front of the wall hanging, I did not really like it, so I had to put it away for a while. Then I had an idea on how to change it.
Sometimes it works like that, you have to put it away and look at again with a new perspective. I like to try to do that sometimes too.

Sometimes people in my Family take pictures of my wall hangings and put them on the internet, on Facebook. I let them take the pictures because I know right away that people will buy them. Especially in Halifax, they really like wall hangings from here. My Family helps me to talk to them and I tell them maybe it would be $250 or more if cause I put lots of stitching in it or maybe it’s going to be a little bit higher because the weight, because they get heavy when you sew them, eh? At first wall hangings are light then they get heavier when you sew on them. When the wall hangings are kind of big I would say something like $500 to $1000. But I have to make some really good designs and think about what I’m going to put on there. I also need to know what the people would really like on a wall hanging. My first wall hanging sold for $86 and I thought that was really good money! Two years ago I started Teaching the Kids at the schools how to make wall hangings too.

The Kids like to do arts and crafts, so I Teach them how to make wall hangings. I show them the way how I make them, how I just told you. I tell them: If you guys go away, from Baker, anytime like when you guys go for school and when you guys have nothing to do, you could make wall-hangings to make money. Down South you could sell them just put them to the Facebook. You just need to figure out how much you are going to charge for them. Your bills will be taken care of if you sell your wall hangings. If you want to buy something, you could make the price yourself I tell them.

When the students are first Learning they say they are having fun. Sometimes when they get bored, like when they are not having school they would say, “I should do something,” they tell their Moms and Dads. And one of the Family was saying, “I was wondering where to start with making things because I really wanted to draw something or sew something.” I tell them to just start and I help them. They Learn really fast. Sometimes I have to draw with them first for them to get it. And sometimes I have to fix it for them, like I have to pull it out sometimes. But they Learn.
One of the Girls I Taught came to me and said: “Guess what?” I say: “Hoova?” She said: “I called around to let people know that I made a little wall-hanging and somebody bought it!” “Oh that’s good.” I tell her.

Fanny laughs.

She said: “ Thanks for Teaching me that”. I remind her that she has to try to draw it first and if it turns out good that she could make it into a wall hanging. You have to think about the design, how you going to put the design together and think about the thread too. You always have to plan and think of everything. This year I’m going to make mitts and parkas with the students. In the Fall I will go back to the school to Teach them.

Some of the Girls taught me how to make parkas. My Sister-in-law did not even know how to make those other parkas, she only knew how to make traditional amauti. So she did not show me. So I had to Learn from other Girls how to make them because I liked the way the other Girls made them. One of the Girls Taught me how to make an amauti in sewing class at the sewing centre. That’s how I started Learning and making parkas cause we use to only make old fashion parkas with only duffle with no cover, with no embroidering. The one they use to send to Yellowknife or somewhere we use to sew them by using a sewing machine. There were lots of Girls taking turns back then when they worked here on the sewing machine. And it would go real fast it was okay. But there use to be a pointed hood, like old fashion. I saw them and I thought, how am I going to do this pointed hood? From the regular hood you just make it pointed like that and you can just sew it from there they told me. Ohhh. And I started Learning slowly. But out here it was really hard to turn around. But I started Learning that and the Girls taught me how to. You have to turn it really slowly go like this, with the sewing machine, and turn it around and that’s how it’s going to finish. I was 17 when I Learned how to do that.

Sometimes I go to the school now and stay from 3:30pm – 6:00pm with the Kids. There is another group that comes from 7:00pm to 9:00pm. This later group is usually the Teenagers and the Young Ladies. They are the ones that are really excited to sew. Their eyes get really big when I asked them if they wanted to Learn how to make parkas. I Teach them that they have to have measuring tape and how to be careful when cutting it out so that you do not
waste the materials. I Teach them to think about not wasting all the time. I tell them: measure, measure, measure. You always have to measure first so you do not make it too small or too big if it’s too big you can snip it up smaller, it’s easy to do that way. It’s sometimes hard to have the right material because you always have to wait till you get paid and look for somebody who has it on sale. You have to look for some materials. I tell them that they can just buy a parka that is already made, that it might be easier to do that, but they want to Learn how to make them and that makes them and me happy.

I Learned English from the school. It was hard because we never use to talk in English, just Inuktitut when I was Younger. We use to have to do those reading classes and our first book was Dick and Jane. I remember Learning Math too. Division was really hard for me. Multiplying, adding and taking away are fine for me, but not division. I had to re-do it and re-do it; but I still can’t get the division!

I mostly use to Babysit when I was a Teenager. I wanted to have free time, but I was not allowed because I had to be with my Mother or my Sister-in-law would be strict to me and not allow me to be with the other Teenagers. I always had to be with the Kids that were small, but I never could have a free time. Now I feel thankful to my Sister-in-law, for that treating me like that because I know how to find work if I need to make money, other people do not know how to do that. My Sister-in-law use to tell me this and that and now I now what to do. My Sister-in-law is gone now, and that makes me sad, but I’m happy for the things that she Taught me.

Lots of Teenagers use to have a free time to do whatever or go out. And I was not even free to go anywhere or do anything else. For like fourteen hours I would have to clean up the house. And as soon as I came from school I always had to be home to cook and make bannock or I’d make tea or whatever like wash the floor. It was hard for me. But I’m just thankful now. So I told my Sister-in-law that I was happy that they told me those things before it was too late, because that is how I was Taught. I was Taught to sew by their words. I want other Kids to Learn how I did. I tell the Kids that I know you guys always want to play or do something but it’s good for you to Learn how to sew an how to make money when you need to. I Teach them these things so that they will not be lazy and they
will know how to take care of themselves and take care of their Children. I’m happy that the students want to Learn.

When I have time I just sew when I am at home, sometimes it’s wall hangings, and sometimes it’s mitts. Sometimes one of my Nieces will come by and ask me to help them sew an amauti and I will help them. When I go to Winnipeg I usually look for threads or needles. Sometimes I have to go to Winnipeg because I have to go far away for medical appointments.

_She shows me the different needles she uses and discusses her preference. Fanny’s Great Granddaughter, who is about 3 years old, cries in the background._

That other one is too bossy (referring to the Baby) that’s Tina Turner with the cheek (calls to Baby) “Tina Turner”.

_The Baby pretends not to hear her_

… So I just collect threads too, when I see threads…

_The Baby is really loud; Fanny continues to try to share with me._

I really like this one when I find it. Every time I go to Winnipeg I see what they have for materials and sewing stuff. I go crazy for that stuff when I find something to sew!

_The Baby comes over to Fanny._

“It’s okay, say hi.” Fanny talks to Baby. Fanny talks in Inuktitut to her; the Baby stops crying. Say “hi to her,” she says to the Baby of me.

_The Baby looks at me, trying to figure out if she knows me. Her Mom tries to coax her to say hi to me. The Baby looks from face to face._

_Fanny continues._

So that was the school years…

_Returns back to the pictures she has brought out._
I missed one. My Husband was somewhere in there too. He used to be in school too. But he finished school when he was around Grade Four just to get out on the Land with his Parents.

*The Baby stays close, she is looking at the sewing stuff and listening to Fanny talking.*

I know there was a picture of him, but I do not know where I put it.

*Finds the picture she was looking for.*

This was my Husband a long time ago. This is when they had to move the 45-gallon oilcans from the barge into the Hudson’s Bay. They use to do it with their own hands.

*Points to picture with Men unloading barges. Her husband is dressed in skin clothing.*

There were even Ladies there with Babies on their backs. They used to unload to make money, so even the Ladies would do it too. My Husband use to go down there, and he would be gone for twelve hours at a time. He has long hair in this picture because he came off the Land just to unload the barge. That’s what people would do; they would come off the Land just to make money. Look, he’s wearing Sealskin pants and rubber boots!

*Melanie’s husband Eddy comes in. She introduces us and we shake hands.*

*I get up to leave and am thanking Fanny for her time. She shares a Story with me of how my Nan influenced her husband to give up buying Nevada tickets. I appreciate hearing this Story and it feels like in that Story, my Nan was brought into the room. I smile.*

You’re welcome anytime; you’re Family anyways.
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Story 6: « Lizzie Ittinuar »

Between the visit with Fanny and this visit with Lizzie I realized that my Aunt who said she would help with translations was unable to help me. Also during the division of English and Inuktitut interviews I was able to spend a couple of days on the Land with my Uncle, his Family and my Son. It was a good time to reflect on the Stories gathered and to focus on the work ahead. I was gifted with dreams during this time that aided in the completion of the re-search. The last six visits with Elders were completed in Inuktitut with the assistance of a translator. My Cousin Josh introduced me to his good friend, Britania Twyee. There are not words that can express my gratitude to her, for her Knowledge, for her relationships and for her kindness. Not only is Britania a fluent Inuktitut speaker, she knows all of the Elders and most importantly they know and trust her. During the interviews I watched her in awe as she spoke, the language sounded so beautiful and the interaction between her and the Elders was melodic. There were many moments when I could feel the importance of what was being said, but I could not understand the words. I would occasionally hear an Inuktitut word or name of someone that I understood and it made me feel again, like I belonged and that I was participating in re-search. The re-search changed when the Stories gathered were given in Inuktitut. I could see the images of the words that the Elders shared and felt the Stories come alive. The Stories still continue to be connected to one another as Fanny suggested I speak to Lizzie, serendipitously this is the first Elder that Britania suggests that we talk to...

Britania suggested we go to the Martha Taluruq Centre to ask Elders there if they would like to share Stories with me. Josh, my Son Miigizens and I walked across town and met Britania out front of the Martha Taluruq Centre, which is a group assisted living residential care facility for Elders in Baker Lake. I felt both excited and nervous to be there. We walked passed the offices at the front door and into the Community Room where there were several large couches, coffee tables and large comfortable chairs. There were a few Elders that were sitting either having tea and visiting with each other or just sitting silently by themselves. I could feel the Stories in the room. Everyone turned and looked at us as we came in. The staff were busy but they nodded in our direction in acknowledgement that we were there. Britania spoke to one of the staff in Inuktitut. They nodded their head and Britania sat down on the couch beside Lizzie. She smiled and looked like she was happy to have company. Britania spoke to her in Inuktitut to establish who she was and who her Family was. Lizzie smiled and nodded her head, but she was looking at me, my Son and my Cousin who were across the coffee table from her. Britania spoke, introducing who I was and what I was doing. Lizzie extended her hand and spoke in Inuktitut, never breaking eye contact with me. I did not understand her, but I felt her — it was a warm handshake and kind words. Josh, Miigizens and I sat down across from her on the floor. Britania continued to talk to Lizzie to share with her who my Family was. Lizzie smiled and then told me who my Family was.
“Lots of Elders have a lot of things to say to the Young people: if you live like this, then you will live well. There are a lot of rules that they want the Young people to do, but now they are just being completed ignored by the lifestyle”
Wednesday August 31st, 2016
Martha Taluruq Centre (Common Area) Qamani’tuq, Nunavut

**In her words (through Britania as translator):**

_She smiles._

Sam Ford was your Grandfather’s Uncle. Sam Ford was the one that named me Lizzie, after his Daughter. He came over to where Baker Lake is now from Labrador and left his Wife and Daughter at home. Because he was gone for so long, he did not get to see his Daughter, so he named me after her so that she could be here with him.

_I feel a connection, a Family line connection that once again, erases the feeling of being an outsider. Because she is named after my Great Uncle’s Daughter, she is an Auntie to me._

It was my birthday on Sunday. I am 85 now.

_Britania speaks excitedly in Inuktitut; they have the same birthday!_  

_Lizzie continues and Britania translates at the same time she is speaking:_

_I have four adopted Boys and four adopted Girls; but I have no Daughters that I gave birth to. What are your specific questions you want to know?_  

_I speak to Britania but keep my eyes on Lizzie, I want to make sure she feels like she is part of the conversation and that I am not speaking about her, I want to speak with her. I ask Britania to ask Lizzie what she remembers about when Women were pregnant and how Children were raised when she was little._

_Britania speaks in Inuktitut to Lizzie._

_Lizzie asks her a question to clarify._

_Britania nods and continues to speak to Lizzie._

_In the Old, Old days we were told that when a Woman is pregnant that they were always instructed to get up first thing in the morning, to get out of the igloo and move around._
It was better for you to go outside and go do something that way you would have an easier birth.

Lizzie waited for Britania to finish translating, and then continued with the Story.

*Britania was translating as Lizzie spoke.*

The Family would add an addition to the igloo.

*Lizzie speaks and watches me as Britania quietly translates.*

Everything was always cooked for the pregnant Woman. They could not eat anything raw and they were given their own room in the igloo. One Woman was picked to serve and help the pregnant Woman during and after the birth, this was a job that only a Woman could do, to take care of another Woman who just had a Baby. Sometimes she would take care of her for a month. No one else was allowed to go into that room in the igloo, just the helper, the Mom and the Baby. The room was created just for her. The helper Woman would go back and serve her. There was always the Older ones that use to help give birth to the Women, it was usually the Elders or one of the Elder Women that was not so Old, but one of the Oldest in the Tribe. Sometimes there were really, really good Midwives and some were not so good. I remember because of how things changed, that the Women were not treated so well, even as newborns.

*Lizzie speaks. Britania watches her. I watch it all. Lizzie looks at me while she speaks. I'm sitting on the floor wanting to know what she is saying, knowing that Britania cannot possibly translate all of what she is saying. Maggie and other Women are near by listening, but not really seemingly participating.*

*Britania starts to speak but then stops as Lizzie interrupts her.*

When I first saw a Child being born it was my Brother’s Wife who was having a Baby. They were all alone on the Land because the rest of the Family was out hunting.

*Britania laughs, and shares Lizzie’s Story.*
The only other person that was there was a White Man and he did not want to do anything to do with the labour because he’s never been around that before; so he was nervous. They had a cabin far out on the Land. It was a good time to hunt so everyone had to go.

*Lizzie speaks for a couple of minutes, then finishes her Story by laughing. She watches Britania translate for it and me feels as though she is waiting for my reaction to the Story.*

For many years when I was way Younger, like before all these buildings came, I used to travel. My first time experiencing giving birth was with my Sister-in-law. We were all alone out on the Land. We were living on the Land and were by the hunting area where my Uncles and Family had to go. It was really far on the Land, far away from anyone else. We were all alone on the Land when it was time for my Sister-in-law to give birth. We walked around for a bit and when my Sister-in-law could not walk anymore, she laid down and gave birth. I was only eight years old when I saw this. My Sister-in-law said to me: “You see that? Over there, go get me that piece of string.” I went and grabbed the string she was pointing at and my Sister-in-law tied it around the cord real tight and then told me to cut it. So I did. Then she wrapped the Baby in a cloth. That was the first time I saw someone giving birth, I was eight years old.

*I say: “Wow!”*

*Lizzie smiles.*

*Lizzie continues to share:*

That was my first time to help at a birth without any nurses. But by the time I started working, when I was Older, I worked with nurses. I helped a lot of nurses in Rankin and there are a lot of Children that I remember helping their Moms to give birth. I did a lot of coaching during births.

*Lizzie speaks. We listen.*

In the Old, Old days if you were supposed to be giving birth in the Summertime, they would have to pitch a tent right away. If it was the Wintertime, and if it was really cold out, the husband would quickly build an igloo. After the Woman gave birth, maybe even the next
day, they have to pack up and be ready go. The Women were really strong and had to do that. I saw that happen when I was really Young. We were travelling when someone had to stop and give birth. The other Woman were kind of, but not really like Midwives. The nurses from the South and the Older Women were the Midwives in the Communities later on. I also remember another time when I was a Child that the nurses asked me to come and help give birth. The nurses were getting tired because that Woman was in labour for three days. I helped because I knew what to do.

In that delivery, the stomach was starting to get hard which can mean that it will be a still labour, and the Mom could get really sick or even die. The nurse came and gave her a shot to help with not feeling the pain. But feeling the pain is a part of it. I spoke to the Woman and told her: “From our culture we are going to do this.”

Lizzie gets excited in the Story and Britania listens while she speaks. I too, am hanging on every word, as I know this is an important Story, it’s someone’s birthing Story. I am humbled to hear what Lizzie; my Auntie is sharing from her own lived experience.

The Woman said the nurse had stopped her and told her not to try to push the Baby out. The nurses had the Woman sitting up in the bed even though the Woman wanted to be on her knees, that is the Old version, the Old way of doing it. Whenever the Woman tried to do that, they would make her stop and force her to lie back in the bed. I knew what to do. I went up to the Woman in labour and told her: “Listen to me if you do not give birth now, you are going to get sick and maybe lose the Baby. They are telling you that you are not supposed to push but you are suppose to push as hard as you can. As soon as you are done pushing and the Baby is born that is when you will finally feel better.” I told her that with authority, even though I was Young, I knew what had to happen. That Woman listened and pushed real hard and her water finally broke.

As the Story is getting more exciting, Britania translates at the same time as Lizzie speaking, as not to leave me out.

Sometimes in labour your liver hurts when you are pushing the Baby out. When her Water broke I ran to get the nurse. The nurse came it and told her to push. I told her to push as
hard as she could and that would make the Baby come out. I helped push on her stomach to help the Baby come out. It was very uncomfortable for the Woman.

*Lizzie was waiting for Britannia to finish translating before she spoke again.*

*Lizzie speaks directly to Britannia, they both laugh.*

*Britania speaks: That was my Mom that she was helping to be born! That was actually my Mom that was being born! Wow! My Mom, Annie, that’s her birth!*  
*Britania smiles and says something to Lizzie.*

*Lizzie speaks again and we listen:*

Sometimes when there were no Women around, there was not a choice and the Husband to help give birth. There was a Woman who was known to have difficulties giving birth.

*Lizzie pauses.*

All of her births had difficulties; she ended up passing away in Childbirth. She was from Whale Cove. I was not there when she passed away, but if I were there I would have helped given birth. She was in the hospital for a long time.

*They are both quiet for a moment, Britannia asks her a question and Lizzie answers:*

It was many years ago, I do not remember exactly when. There were a lot of Women that gave birth that I know about or was there to help. My Daughter-in-law was giving birth and I was there.

*Lizzie pauses.*

There were so many different types of nurses there with my Daughter-in-law, they forced her to force the Baby out when the Baby was not ready to be pushed like that. The Baby came out kind of bluish. I experienced a lot of different types of nurses. Most of the time I had to tell the nurses that I knew how to do things and that they had to be patient. The first nurse my Daughter-in-law had was fine, but then there was a different nurse and she was not being nice and she was really forcing my Daughter-in-law to push the Baby.
Lizzie stopped talking.

At that birth even my Daughter-in-law turned blue. I do not like when the nurses make the Women feel uncomfortable during labour. That is not the procedure during labour. The procedure is to stay calm because the Baby will come out when the Baby is ready.

Miigizens was sitting there listening: “Like me mom, I came when I was ready to come.” He knows his birthing Story: “Tell her!” I tell Britannia my Son’s birthing Story. He was ten days overdue and I would not let the doctors induce the labour. I told the nurses: the Baby will come out when the Baby is ready.

Britania translates the Story for Lizzie. Lizzie asks clarifying questions and speaks excitedly.

I continue with the Story: Eventually, when he was ready, I had the first contraction and 45 minutes later he was born. Just fast. Britania tells her.

Lizzie smiles and continues:

See. The Mother knows. At that birth with my Daughter-in-law I was wondering why the nurses were giving me rubber gloves. It was not time for her to push. After the Baby was born I told the nurses: “You were so wrong!”

We all laugh.

I ask Britannia to tell Lizzie that my Ataatachiach named my Son, Isumatutnaq after Sam Ford’s Brother who had the same name. Britania tells her.

Lizzie speaks and they both laugh.

My husband and I adopted Mary Grace, her name is Isumatutnaq too! We both have an Isumatutnaq!

I smile. Lizzie smiles and shares another Story.

In the Old Days, towards the end of the pregnancy, like in the last month the Men would build the pregnant Woman an igloo. The Woman was given only one person to serve her, it would have to be a Woman or sometimes even a Girl. That’s how it was in the Old Days. The Woman would be in the igloo to give birth. It might now seem hard because there was
not nurses or doctors or even a hospital. But if you had a good helper, like a Midwife that had good experiences helping with other Women then you were nice and safe. That is how the Midwife Learned, from helping Women. The Younger that Girls were able to watch and help, the better they would be at being Midwives, because they would have a lot of experience. I had a lot of experiences and I knew what to do because I the first time I helped with delivering a Baby I was eight years old. I was quite aware of how to deliver Babies.

There was a Women who had given birth to her first Child, but because of how they use to do it in the old days…

*Britania starts to translate the Story, but needs to start over twice.*

*Lizzie starts talking again, as if to clarify to make sure Britania was getting the translation right. She can speak and understand the English translations. She then stops talking to let Britania tell the Story. Lizzie watches me for my reaction.*

There was a Woman who had given birth to her first Child, like how they use to do in in the Old Days. The Woman was sitting with her back pressing against something. But the thing was, this one Women, her hips did not separate when they were suppose to and she ended up getting paralyzed in Childbirth. She gave birth to one Child; but the Man, her Husband maybe because of the situation with the Wife being paralyzed and maybe because they would only be able to have the one Child, the Husband ended up passing away soon afterwards. She ended up finding a new Husband because she wanted to have a Husband and live her life. It was her hips that had the problem with being paralyzed. She ended up getting pregnant from this new Husband and when she gave birth to the second Child her hips separated and that one piece, that one nerve that made her paralyzed released and she was able to start walking again.

*I speak: “Wow!”*

*Britania agrees.*

*Lizzie starts talking again. We listen.*
There was one Woman whose Husband helped during her labours. He was there for seven of the eight Childbirths of the Children that they had together. All of the Children were born sideways so he had to help. He was not there when the last one was born; he was out on the Land. There were other people there trying to help her, but they could not and she ended up passing away because they did not know that when her Babies were born that they came out sideways. Her labour came fast and no one knew about her previous births. The Husband was there for all of the others, he would have to massage and move the Baby; but he was not there to do that for this birth and both the Mother and the Baby ended up passing away. It’s good to have the same Woman or helper there each time so that they know if they had a Baby before what it was like for them.

Not many people know the Old Ways of birthing. When I lived in Rankin some people would come and ask me questions about how things were like in the old days. But now, Rankin has a hospital there and there are Midwives in the town too. Depending on the Women, some of them do things the Old Way, but I think most of the Women want to go South now. They want to make sure that their Baby is safe. They do not know that having a Baby in the North is still really safe. Lots of Women for a very long time had Babies in the North.

I use to guide Women though their pregnancies, mostly just the Women in my Family. I helped my adopted Daughter and Granddaughter in their pregnancies. I told them how they had to be when they were pregnant. The last Baby I helped to be born was three years ago, that was my Granddaughter’s Baby. The first one I helped with was when I was eight years old, and the last one I was 82 years old. That was a lot of Babies I helped to be born. I bet half of them have Grandchildren now!

We all laugh. I ask how did the Women Learn to be Mothers. Britania translates and they have a conversation in Inuktitut together for a few minutes before I am included in the conversation.

From when Girls are born they are taught how to be Mothers. The Boys were always with the Men. The Men would Teach the Boys all the skills they would need to be able to hunt. The Boys would Learn by going hunting. The Men scolded the Boys because they knew
them the best. If the Boys got into trouble, it was the man’s job to help him and scold him in a kind way. There was a stage where the Women did not Teach the Boys, because it was the Man’s responsibility and job towards the Boys to Teach them. I do not even know what those things are because I am a Women. The Women taught the Girls. Women would help the other Women. There were things like knowing even how what colour your Babies poop was and what you should be eating while you were breastfeeding to make sure that the Baby was getting all of the nutrients that they needed.

Lots of Elders have a lot of things to say to the Young people: if you live like this, then you will live well. There are a lot of rules that they want the Young people to do, but now they are just being completed ignored by the lifestyle. You will live well if you live by your Husband, if you live by the Inuit rules.

*Lizzie stops.*

Now everybody wants to go by a different way, but in order to have a good life, a centred life, you should really listen to the Elders. A lot of the advices are still there and the Elders are still there and open to listen and to share. I have a lot of things to say, but no body wants to listen. I have nine Sons. When my Husband was still alive, my Husband always told them how to be. He taught them to strive in their lives to do things. It was my Husband’s role to be the Man and to tell the Boys when they were out of line. Because we had nine Sons it was my Husband who did a lot of the Teaching, he made sure that our Sons lived their lives well.

In the old days, I was told as a Young Woman that I had to be a good Daughter that I had to listen to my Parents and that no matter what a Wife had to listen to her Husband. Today Kids are not listening to their Parents. People are ending relationships, they are breaking up and they do not care about what they were told when they were Younger. They should stay with their Husbands and grow together and they will be in abundance, that’s how it use to be, but now today everything falls apart.

In the Old, Old Days no matter what you had to listen to your Husband even if you were treated bad. Couples never split up a long time ago. Things might have been hard, and situations might have been tough, but you were never alone. You had to face everything fully.
and completely together and grow from it. That is different today because people simply just go their own way. Inuit life was only your Children and your Children only, that was the focus of your life: to live a good life for your Children so that they would have the same.

*Lizzie stops.*

You can put a Circle around the people you care about. In the old days if Inuit saw that there was a couple that they were living with in their same area or vicinity, like an extended Family, if people saw that the couple was struggling, like if something thing was off, it was the responsibility of the others in the Community to go up to them and tell them that their relationship looks like it is having troubles, and that they are not acting how they use to. The extended Family would remind them of how their love and relationship use to be. Usually the couple would walk off holding hands. That’s how it used to be. I’ve done that before. I’ve been the one to go and tell them: you got together for a reason and you need to stick it out.

Also in the Old Days when they saw that there was someone they cared for that was not doing good things, everybody would stop what they were doing and have that person sit in a middle of a Circle. Everyone would talk to them and tell them how they loved them and that what they were doing was not good. The Family and the Community as a whole would tell the person not to do whatever it was that was causing harm to themselves or to the Community.

I know that there was a court system they people use to have to go to Baker Lake Court and there would be some sentencing here using other court systems. I do not like how that system is. There needs to be an Inuit system how it was in the Old Ways. When they had to sit in that Circle that I explained, and they would be told by love that what they were doing was breaking themselves and the entire Community. The Hamlet should make couples have Circles like that too, because there are Laws for getting married. That’s how things should be because in the old days we were the Law. We were the Law of everything. So that now instead of watching Families separate we should help them to stay together by doing things the Old Way.
I do not feel good about the way that things are working now. Even though I'm the
Grandmother of these Children that are doing wrong and doing bad, I can’t help them to fix
it because Social Services come after them instead of letting the Elders handle it. How does
Social Services know who the Kids are? They do not even know who the Family is or how
we use to live our lives a long time ago. They make me feel uncomfortable because they can
make decisions that change our lives. There are things today that are not working for the
Inuit. Qallunaat ways do not work for Inuit. In my memory the way that we did things we
worked as a Family and out of love for the entire Community. Inuit would work as a
council and would notice when someone was doing something wrong and we would work
together to fix it when it first started, not when it got too big to be able to help. We would
support the individual and if it were couple we would help them to work through their
problems for the sake of their Children and the entire Community. It was about love. The
Elders were really, really useful in the Old Days because they were the ones that knew
everything about the Laws.

The RCMP need to know about the Inuit way of doing things. There was one time there
were Siblings that were fighting and the RCMP did not know how to stop them. I was not
afraid of the cops. I went right up to them and said: “This is not the Old Way of doing
things. You are not doing it right.” I went up to those two that were fighting and I gave
them trouble for what they were doing. They stopped right away and listened to me. They
stopped because they knew that I knew there family, they stopped because they knew and
respected me and what I was saying to them was out of love.

I did a lot of things when I was Younger. I worked in the hospital as a translator, and then
because they knew that I knew about helping with delivering Babies, I was able to help the
nurses as a Midwife. I did all the sewing for my Children and when they grew up and moved
out of the house I tried to be a carver for a while. But my Husband’s little Brother told me
that I should not be a carver so I stopped. After that I was a counselor for the people that
got arrested or needed guidance or anything to do with the Law. I was the by-law. And
now I just sit here. I do a lot of sewing. Want to see?
Lizzie gets up to get her beautiful beaded hat she is working on as an order for one of the nurses at the Elders’ Centre. While she is gone Maggie, who had been sitting close by on another couch, turns to Britania and speaks to her in Inuktitut. Britania says that Maggie would like to share some Stories with us…

Figure 22: Photograph of Lizzie Ittiniuar’s beadwork. Taken with permission. Martha Talruq Centre Qamani’luaq, August 2016.

გვხვდებით საფრთხეში შენი ხმა და იყინოთ თქვენი მხრიველობა, თანამშრომლობა და საქმეთა წყვილი. შენ დაძლევა და განცხადება იმისა, რომ თქვენი დამთავრება დამოუკიდებლად შემდეგ გაეხვრელდება.
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Story 7: « Maggie Akerolik »

Maggie was sitting on a nearby couch near where Lizzie was sharing her Stories with me. Maggie overheard Britania explaining to Lizzie what we were doing and Maggie asked if we wanted to hear her Stories too.

Thankfully, my feelings changed drastically from the beginning of this interview to the end. I found this to be a difficult interview because I could not read Maggie. I felt like she was looking through me and was trying to figure out who I was and what I was doing. I realized it was my discomfort and not anything that Maggie, or anyone else was responsible for. I felt as though she did not like me, but as the interview progressed, I realized it was only because what she was sharing with us was important and that she wanted to make sure that I was getting it right. She asked to share, which made it different than me asking her to share.

This interview was also interrupted part way through by staff at the Elders’ Centre. I understand the concern to make sure that what I was doing (interviewing Elders) was done legitimately; however, I felt the staff were condescending, not only to the Elders but also to me in what I was doing. Even though I had obtained the ethical clearance from the institution and from Nunavut and most importantly, permission from the Elders, the confrontation from the staff made me feel inadequate and I felt as though the Stories of the Elders were being guarded by another institution. I was faced with a similar barricade to Knowledge two days earlier when I tried to join the school on a trip with the Elders on the Land. The principal told me that if I did not have a police record check, I could not go on the Land. I was discouraged and choose not to pursue the day trip on the Land with the students and Elders.
“If somebody is hungry you give food to them. If you show that kind of life that is what is given to you too. I was taught that and it is just a part of living and having a good life. I always liked to have a good life and always wanted other people to be like that too”
August 31st, 2016
Martha Taluruq Centre (Common area) Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut

**In her words (through Britania as translator):**

Maggie looks directly at me and speaks in a low voice.

I was born on the Land, in between Red Falls and Coral Harbor. I do not remember when I moved to Baker Laker, I was little. I was taught on the Land by my Grandmothers. Back when I was Young, Young Girls were told how to live by the Older Women in their Families. Women were told about how to give birth to Babies when we were little Girls, so that we knew how to do it when it was our turn. I was Taught that after you have given birth there are steps and other things that you have to be as a Parent for your Child, in order for your Children to have a good life.

* Interruption from staff. I ask Britania to tell Maggie what just happened. Maggie is agitated and says she wants to share with us. We stay and continue with the interview. Britania summarizes where we were prior to getting interrupted. Britania asks her about school.

It is different today. When I was Younger we Learned off the Land from our Elders. Today there are schools. The schools that were here first, like after we lived on the Land were different than the schools today, I think. Today in the school system, the Teachers are much nicer than they were in the Old Days when schools first came to the North.

In the days when school first came to the North they never taught anything related to Inuit life, they did not think this was important for people to Learn anymore. They might have taught a little bit of Inuit stuff with the Inuit Teacher, maybe some Inuktitut. But in the days of school just coming to the North, they never Taught Inuit life skills in the education system. I use to work at the school, as the janitor. I was like a Mother that was always there, always in the hallways of the school for the students.

In the old way of Learning, it was on the Land from the Elders. It changed when schools came. In those early days of school they only taught about Qallunaat things. But nowadays they are trying to use the Qallunaat schools to Teach Inuit things. But there are lots of things Inuit did and still do that cannot be taught in a school. If somebody is hungry you
give food to them. If you show that kind of life that is what is given to you too. I was taught that and it is just a part of living and having a good life. I always liked to have a good life and always wanted other people to be like that too.

I remember being three years old and we did not live on the Land anymore. I remember my Mom being a church kind of person and her Teaching me religion. My Mom told me that it was best to Learn with religion in you, but that was new to Inuit when I was Younger.

When you are giving birth you are supposed to stay calm. You are not supposed to yell, I remember being told that even as a Young Girl. We were told that if a Woman was yelling that it would upset the Baby and that is how they Baby would be in their lives: loud, maybe angry, not calm. It is important to stay calm in labour. If you want to give peace to your Child right from day one you have to be calm in labour. There are going to be crying Babies and they are going to be cranky, but you are going to have a harder time being a Baby if your Mom gave birth screaming, yelling or in that tension. Your birth shows how your life is going to be. The birth shows how you are going to Parent. You can Learn a lot about someone and how their life will be by their birth.

I have lots of Grandchildren, maybe too many.

*Laughs.*

I Teach all of My Grandchildren these Old Ways. It is good for them to know. Long time ago, Parents had lots of Children, but I see now that Younger Inuit aren’t having as many Children as they use to long ago. The new Parents were always told to be nice, because even if other people were not watching or knowing how they were Parenting, there is always the Maker that is watching you. People were told to go through life knowing that others were watching how you were living. The only way to go through life is to be nice and to treat each other nice, even if it includes having to scold somebody if they need it. But, you have to scold in a kind way.

The Older people know that everything falls into place if you live a good life and treat people how you want to be treated. Your whole life will be easier and will just flow faster if you do good things and be kind to other people. Other things would lift away if you
continue to live like this and heavy stuff will just stay in the dark. It is easier to be happy than to be sad. I Learned this from my Grandparents.

I smile and tell Maggie that I like that and I agree with it.

She smiles and says: “Me too.”

I had a Dad and two Mothers and there was lots of Kids in the house. We were taught really good by the adults on how to live our lives so that we always had lots of things. We would help others out too, because that is how we were Taught.

I understand both ways, the Old Inuit Way and the new way Taught in schools. I do not know if they can be put together. I think we can use both ways though. In the Old Days when we lived on the Land, we taught things like sewing for Girls by the Women. The Boys were taught different things from the Men. We were taught also about English and how and what they needed to survive in the new way of doing things. Learning English was very hard.

Maggie asks Britania questions about me. She wants to know when I lived in Baker Lake and if I think the “Inuit homeland is still good”.

I smile and tell her yes, it’s still good.

She repeats after me.

I tell her that I am thankful she has shared.

I am thankful too, because you listened to what I had to say.
አይ 24: ይታ እንወ_requires an input. ይታ እንወ_requires an input. ይታ እንወ_requires an input.
Δεκεμβρίου 23:

Αλλάζει η ημέρα από την συνηθισμένη σας δραστηριότητα σας. Αλλάζει το θέμα σας, την ενέργειά σας. Δεκέμβριος αποτελεί εποχή με αυτοπεποίθηση. 

Στις νύχτες από την 1η Νοεμβρίου, η θερμοκρασία ξεπέρασε τον τροχιακό θερμοκρασιακό σταθμό του Θερμοκρασιακού Σώματος. Στην ημέρα, η θερμοκρασία είχε υποβαθμιστεί κατά 5 βαθμούς και η θερμοκρασία στην ημέρα ξέσπασε κατά 10 βαθμούς. 

Στις Νυχτερινές Διακοπές του Νέου Έτους, η ημέρα ξεκίνησε με θερμοκρασία μέχρι 10 βαθμούς και η θερμοκρασία στο Νέο έτος ξέσπασε κατά 15 βαθμούς. 

Στις Νυχτερινές Διακοπές του Νέου Έτους, η ημέρα ξεκίνησε με θερμοκρασία μέχρι 10 βαθμούς και η θερμοκρασία στο Νέο έτος ξέσπασε κατά 15 βαθμούς. 

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Στις Νυχτερινές Διακοπές του Νέου έτους, η ημέρα ξεκίνησε με θερμοκρασία μέχρι 10 βαθμούς και η θερμοκρασία στο Νέο έτος ξέσπασε κατά 15 βαθμούς.
Story 8: « Margaret Amarok Niviatsiaq »

As Britania, Josh, Miigizens and I left the Martha Talruq Centre, a four-wheeler drove passed us. Britania recognized it was Margaret. “Hey, I bet she has lots of Stories to share with you about what you are asking about,” said Britania. “I wonder where she is going; her home is the other way,” she then added. Josh suggested we go for breakfast and then afterwards see if Margaret would be home. We went to eat at the restaurant and walked back to Margaret’s home. She was back from her visit with one of her Sons.

I felt really comfortable at Margaret’s home. She was very welcoming and invited us to come visit anytime. Her home was filled from floor to ceiling with pictures of Family, awards and medals. This interview was more like a conversation and Margaret had many questions to ask me too.

She shared her beautiful sewing with us and I bought a pair of beautiful caribou skin mitts, which I will cherish. The biggest gift Margaret gave me was her willingness to share her pattern of an amauti with me. It makes me feel even more Inuk to know that I will be able to make my Children clothes. I am looking forward to testing the pattern out and making my Daughter an amauti.

Margaret also said that she saw my Grandfather in me and remembered me when I was little. All of this was validation for the feelings I was having about not feeling a part of the Community. These Stories helped me to feel like I belonged and that I had right to be there and to participate in the work of gathering Stories from the Elders.
“My Grandmother use to Teach me lots of things. My Grandmother use to tell me to listen to what she was telling me because one day I would have to stand up and tell others about the things she was telling me”
Wednesday August 31st, 2016

At Margaret’s house, Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut.

We are sitting at the kitchen table. Margaret’s husband, my Cousin Josh and my Son are in the living room close by, watching TV with the volume off.

Britania tells Margaret who my Family is and what I am doing. I understand what Britania is saying. Margaret asks her a question about my biological Father and the Igloo Hotel, I lived there as a small Child as my biological Parents managed the hotel. Margaret remembers who I am. She smiles. I feel validated, again.

In her words (through Britania as translator):

My late Daughter made your Dad a shirt. He still has it; I’ve seen him wear it.

I was born near Arviat and moved over to Baker Lake in 1948 when I was 16. I was told I was too old to go to school, so I did not have to go. Instead I got a job at the Health Centre as a janitor. When I first came here there the only buildings that were here were the RCMP, two churches and the Northern, now today when you go out you can get lost because there are so many buildings!

We all laugh.

Sometimes when I go out I get lost when I am in between buildings, because I can’t see around me and I wonder where things are. I think it is going to get bigger and bigger here in Baker because there are lots of people having Kids.

My Mom and Grandmother taught me about handling meat, how to sew and how to have Babies. I watched Babies being born from my Mother. The first time I watched a Baby being born was my Mom’s last Baby. I saw my Youngest Sibling being born.

My Grandmother helped with my Mom’s birthing. My Grandmother had a piece of caribou skin about this wide:

holds up fingers about 2” apart
My Grandmother wrapped it around my Mom to help her with her labour and pushing.

My Mom and my Grandmother use to tell me to make sure that my Children had good clothing and that I had to have a good Family life with my Husband so that my Children would see that too. I was told if I did that my Children would have good lives and would be good Parents too.

My Grandmother use to Teach me lots of things. My Grandmother use to tell me to listen to what she was telling me because one day I would have to stand up and tell others about the things she was telling me. She said that when she was no longer around I would have to be able to Teach these good qualities to Younger people. My Grandmother would explain that she was not always going to be around, but the good qualities and things that she was Teaching me would always be around. As long as I could remember what my Grandmother Taught me I could Teach other people too.

I gave birth to nine Boys and three Girls. Some of them I have buried. But I have more Children now, a lot more because I’ve adopted six. My husband I wanted to adopt because there was Families that needed to have a home for their Children. We would adopt them and would do the best we could at Parenting them. My husband was a social worker so he knew when there was Kids that needed a home. Sometimes the Parents did not want another Baby, or they could not afford to feed them or they did not have good Parenting skills. Whatever the reason was, we would take the Child and would just become their Parents. Inuit always adopted other Babies when they needed help. Long time ago before there was bottles the Mom would feed broth to the Baby from her own mouth. We always took care of each other’s Children. Nowadays there is paper work you are supposed to do when you adopt. We just did it the Old Way, we just took care of the Children and gave them what they needed. Babies were just given to the Family. It was like that for life, the Child had new Parents when they needed them.

*Points to one of the many pictures of Family members on the wall.*

That little Boy there, his Family could not take care of him. So we did. He is our adopted Son, now he has two Sons of his own.
She speaks lovingly of him and shares his nickname. She laughs to herself.

I was going to go see him on my Honda when I saw you guys coming out of the Martha Taluruq Centre.

I think the school should Teach about Inuit things because the students need to know where everything started and how things should be. Students should know how to do things the Old Ways. It should not be the Qallunaat Teachers to Teach them though. There should be Inuit Teachers Teaching Inuit things. The students need to Learn both ways from different Teachers. There is an education committee that makes decisions on what should be taught and how many hours are spent a day Learning Inuit things. If people wanted to change the way it was being taught they could phone or go to an education meeting to tell the committee what they wanted. I’m Teaching a course right now, not at the elementary school, but at Arctic College for clothing making. There is a new class starting in September. We make everything; kammiks, mitts, attigis, anything people want to Learn to sew, I Teach them. Anyone who wants to Learn, at any age can take the class. There are not that many people in my class. It does not seem like many people want to Learn how to make clothes, but it is important to Learn because it is part of our culture.

Margaret leaves the room to get a pair of hairless caribou skin mitts she has just finished. They are beautiful. I offer to buy them and we agree on a price. We have a conversation; Margaret is asking a lot of questions about me and when I will be back to Baker.

I see your Grandfather in you. That makes me happy.

In English Margaret says:

You should come visit again. Some Elders understand a little bit of English, some Elders know a lot. I know a lot, I can have a conversation with you. We can have bannock.

Margaret gets up and grabs a grocery bag that has a raisin and berry bannock wrapped inside. She offers us some and some tea. We look at pictures on her wall and she shares the names and some Stories of her relatives. She speaks to her husband in Inuuktut then asks me if I have a Boyfriend. They all laugh.
Margaret leaves the room and comes back with a beaded amauti (pictured above). She explains it is for her Daughter-in-law.

I will have it finished for her for Christmas. I like to make my Daughter-in-law things.

There is lots of laughing.

I ask Margaret if she knows where I can get a pattern for an amauti.

If you have paper you can copy mine. I will help you if you find paper.

This makes me really happy. Getting paper in the North, past the tree line could be a challenge if I did not have Family at Jessie Oonark Centre. When I was at Jessie Oonark a few days earlier it was Fanny who came over to get pattern paper, I know exactly where it is. We make arrangements for Margaret to come over and help us trace an amauti pattern. I’m so happy that I cry.

Figure 25: Photograph of author wearing Ancestral amauti Thorold South, Circa 1997.
26: წამლი დო პარები, ხანჩხიჭარე ჰაერი, თეირაჟი, მაზბურო, 2016.

ამჟობით, ახალგაზრდობი უფრო ლაპარაკო შეუღწევით. ახალგაზრდობი და პარები პარამარარგანი შეუღწევი. ახალგ. და პ. ჟანერი შეუღწევით.
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Story 9: « Winnie Ikinilik »

As Britania, Josh, Miigizens and I left Margaret’s house Britania suggested we go visit her Aunt Winnie. She knew that Winnie would be willing to share her Stories with us. We walked down the main road in Qamani’tuaq reflecting on the amazing Stories that we heard that day. As we walked past the Jessie Oonark Centre my Uncle was outside. Miigizens asked if he could hang out there instead of coming with us to Winnie’s house. Josh figured Miigizens had heard enough Stories about Babies being born. We all laughed, but it was probably true! Miigizens spend the afternoon with my Uncle while the three of us continued to re-search.

I felt very comfortable at Winnie’s house. I felt as though I could sit on her living room floor and listen to her tell Stories for days on end. She was so free with what she shared with us. I am thankful for Britania’s ability to translate. During this interview I aware of the complexities of the role of the translator and how it must be a challenge not to interject one’s own interpretation on to the translation. This reminds me of the role of the listener in a Story. It is not my responsibility to make meaning from the Stories that I have gathered. I am conscious of my place in listening and recording of the Stories.

I again am validated and made to feel a part of the Stories and communities through the sharing of birthing Stories.

I’m humbled by the knowledge of medicines and healing practices that Winnie shared with us. I will continue to reflect on these, as well as the other Stories gathered for a very long time.
“There were lots of Parents who taught me things. There was my Parents, but also their Parents and the Parents that came before them. Everything my Parents were taught was from generations of Parenting from many, many Inuit”
Wednesday, August 31st 2016  
At Winnie’s house, Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut.

**In her words (through Britannia as translator):**

Back in the Old Days the Young Women before they were going to start to bear Children, where told from their Parents how they were supposed to behave when they were pregnant. They were told if they did these things, that the pregnancy would be easier and that the Child would have a good life. Young Women were told that they were to get up right away from an igloo in the morning. Once they were up in the morning they were told to go outside right away and begin the work for the day. If Young Women listened to these guidelines on how to be it would be easier for them to have more Babies in the future. Your body changes with a pregnancy, but in order for it to be easier for you to have more Children it was important to be constantly moving, especially first thing in the morning. The pregnant Woman had to get up out of the igloo and do something or take a walk to someplace to occupy your time first thing in the morning.

There were lots of Parents who taught me things. There were my Parents, but also their Parents and the Parents that came before them. Everything my Parents were taught was from generations of Parenting from many, many Inuit before them. My Parents Learned from the Inuit before them and it was always passed on so it was like Old Knowledge that came down from generations.

*Winnie speaks quickly and rhythmically.*

The Inuit had a lot of Knowledge before the Qallunaat education system came, all of that was taught to them by their Parents who carried it from their Parent’s generation, from a long time ago.

In the Old Days there was two different porches to an igloo. One was to go into your igloo and one was to go out of your igloo. Women who were pregnant were told that when they were on their way out of the igloo that they had to go all the way out, not to stop part of the way. It was important that they do not just crawl half way through. This represented how the Baby would come through the birth canal. Just like the pregnant Woman Learns from
her Parents, the Baby, even inside of the Mother was Learning too. The Baby would remember that the Mother only went part way in the porch, and the Baby would do the same when it was leaving her body: to stay part of the way in.

Everyone had to completely listen to the words from their Parents because there was reason for everything that was said. There were steps there to help you to be able to cope with things in life. You had to always listen and watch everything because you would Learn how to take care of yourself. You would know what to do even if you were alone, because at times you would end up being alone out on the Land, you’ll be able to coach yourself for the pregnancy and for the delivery and everything.

_Winnie pauses and looks from Josh to Britania to me._

Young people today do not listen to their Parents. It is really important to listen to what your Parents have to say to you. Parents know because they lived it before. Also, when a Woman gets a Husband she was told never to you say anything against him and no matter what you had to be by their side. Women were told not to think of animosity for the relationship or to think of how it would be easier if there were not a relationship. Women were told not think about considering a relationship outside of their marriage. Your marriage is what you have and were told never to go against your Husband. A married couple should be working towards each other, not working away from each other.

_A soon as Britania stops, Winnie starts._

The only way that a Woman was allowed to be with another Man other than her Husband was if she lost her husband. Even then there was rules. There were rules on who and when a Woman who lost her Husband was allowed to re-marry. A Woman who lost her Husband could only re-marry a Cousin of her late Husband or the little Brother of her late Husband. It was believed that the late Husband and his close relative would have had the same values and that would make it okay for the widow to re-marry. There was no straying away in relationships in the Old Days. The reason for that was so that the Children would have the same beliefs and not have a chaotic life from having only one Parent, or more than one set of Parents.
I gave birth four times, right out on the Land with just my Mom there. I had one experience with giving birth in the South version of giving birth, like lying on the hospital bed and pushing. This way really, really upset me because it was an uncomfortable time, an uncomfortable moment to have to give birth like that. The way my Mom helped me was like this:

Winnie demonstrates over the side of the coffee table. Her arms are on the table and her knees on the ground. She is speaking to us as she is demonstrating.

It was more comfortable for me like this. It was also faster and easier with no pressure to deliver like this. When the Mother was in this position and she was able to hold on to something it was easier for the Child to come out like that this than to be on your back and have to push.

I am overwhelmed with the connection I am feeling, to the Story and to my blood memory, which is another validation for me. When I shared my Son’s birthing Story with Lizzie and Britania this was the position that I wanted to be in. I remind Britania of this Story and she tells Winnie. Winnie giggles.

Right from the land I helped three other Women to give birth.

Britania stops translating and Winnie starts her Story again. Britania agrees with her as she is talking. Winnie’s Story gets more exciting as she talks faster towards the end of it. They both laugh at the end of the Story. I patiently wait for the translation to understand.

There was a Woman who was having a Baby with the nurses, she had an Inuk with her. The nurses were trying to tell her that she had to lie on her back and that she had to do it that way to have the Baby. The pregnant Woman was scared. When the nurses left the room the other Inuk stayed with her and said: “No, do not listen to them, just push if you have to push. It’s going to be ready when you are ready and the Baby is going to come out and that’s when you have to start pushing.” She helped to keep the pregnant Woman calm. The pregnant Woman listened to her and sure enough it was easier for her to pay attention to the Baby and to push when the Baby was ready to be born.

You have to listen to your Mother. Mothers remember so many different things from the Old Days. The Mothers would tell their Daughters the things that they needed to know on
how to live their lives. It was important that the Daughters listened to the things their Mothers would tell them about the birthing of Children, so that they would not have problems and then the Daughters births would get easy.

_Winnie snaps her fingers._

I remember hearing this Story. I do not remember where I heard it. It used to be really scary when a Baby’s head would crown and sometimes things just happen, really quick. Like in a split of a one second something could happen. I remember hearing about Women who’s Babies would start to crown, but then it would stop moving and would just not come out. I’ve heard of people just trying to grab the Baby by the head and then the head would just bend or even break off. That was scary to hear that. It was told that would happen like that because the process where the pregnant Woman was told to move around, like when I said she had to get up in the morning, she probably was not doing that when she was pregnant. Those things the Parents and Older Ones said were for a reason. The Women moving around in her pregnancy was to make sure that the womb would not stick or would not separate like your walls, so that’s probably what happened. There was always a reason for the things that the Old Ones told people. That’s why it is important to always listen to what you are told.

The Women that did have problems during their pregnancies and labours were the ones that skipped a lot of the process of being pregnant. They did not listen to the lessons on the process of being pregnant. Or maybe they did not follow the instructions exactly because they did not take it seriously. The ones that ended up having difficulties giving birth could be helped, sometimes other Woman would have to help push for them. Sometimes other Woman would hug the Woman in labour to help her push. They would not just press on them, they would hug them. That way they would not be putting too much pressure on the Baby. They would slowly hug them. Once the Mother in labour realized that your not suppose to tug or push it made it easier for them. The hug would help this.

They would use braided dried Caribou sinew to separate the Mother from the Baby after it was born. It was tied on the umbilical cord and it would help it to fall off. When you first help to give birth it is scary, but it gets easier.
Winnie names off several people in the Community that she helped deliver.

I was born at Garry Lake. That’s where my Dad was born too.

Winnie speaks and we listen. Her voice is quiet and I can sense what she is talking about is important. I long to know the language she is speaking, not only to understand, but to be able to speak with her. Britania waits to translate until Winnie is done talking. She agrees with her then starts to speak. I understand some of the words. Her Mother, her Grandmother, something about a smell...

Long time ago my Mom was looked at by many as though she was a nurse. She was somebody who would fix medical problems. I saw her help somebody with a broken arm before. She also helped somebody with a gunshot to the head. But this one time, she helped this Woman that is the Story I am going to tell you. There was a Woman, she was my Dad’s Sister, my Aunt, she lost a lot of blood during birth, and when that happens sometimes people go into a shock. My other Aunt was there helping giving birth with my Grandma and my Mom. My Grandmother asked my Aunt to take the Young Kids out because the little Children were told they were not to watch. At that time Children were told they were not allowed to watch births until it was just before they were going to start to have their own Kids. This was different from when I was a Child. These Children here, in this Story, they were Younger, so they did not need to be there. I was told to watch the Children.

Winnie names the Children that were there in the Story. They are now adults, maybe middle aged, still living in Qamani’lux.  

My Aunt and I took the Kids outside and after a bit the Baby was born. But my Aunt that was in labour went into shock from either losing too much blood or from something else, but she went into a shock and my other Aunt had to help her, but she could not help because she was scared or something. She went out of the room to watch the Kids and told me to go in and help.

I went into the room and my Mom told me to hold my Aunt’s neck at a certain angle because she lost consciousness. Her head was just hanging. I listened to my Mom and I opened my Aunt’s mouth and held her head the way my Mom showed me. While I was holding her head and holding her mouth open my Mom coughed and spit into my Aunt’s
I saw a huge yellow spit or something come from my Mom’s mouth to my Aunt’s mouth. My Aunt woke up right away; she looked like she was shocked. I do not know what my Mom did, but it made my Aunt wake up and start to breathe again. That is how my Mom brought my Aunt back.

The phone rings and Winnie gets up to answer it. I say nothing and sit listening in both shock and honour to be hearing what is being shared. Winnie hung up the phone as quickly as she answered it. She is back on the couch and begins to talk again. She laughs as she is talking I can understand that she is talking about her Mom.

After a while when my Aunt was better, her and my Mom were talking. She was thankful that she was alive but she said she was grossed out that she had eaten my Mom’s spit. My Mom told her that if she did not do that she would not be alive, but my Aunt was still grossed out by it!

We all laugh.

Winnie begins to talk again. We all listen. Britania agrees with her occasionally. The phone rings again in the background, she gets up to answer. It is an automated telemarketing phone call, in English. Winnie does not speak any English. Winnie sits back down on the couch. We lost track of the conversation before the phone was ringing. This reminds me of interruptions to gathering the knowledge and I am annoyed.

There is a pause.

Winnie suggests something Britania. Britania agrees and Winnie begins to talk again.

I'm done talking about birthing Stories. I have another Story about my Mom helping. There was a time when there was a gun that had a bullet stuck in it. There were a few people that were trying to find ways to fix the gun, but they did not know how to do it. Someone figured it would get fixed if they could shoot it out. But because of how the bullet was stuck in the gun, it ended up exploding and the person who was holding it had their arm broken. My Mom helped him.

Winnie got up to talk to her Grandson who was leaving the house. A small Child is with him. He is trying to get her jacket and boots on and leave the house. Winnie helps him to get her ready to go outside. She
comes back to the couch and asks Britania where she was at in the Story. Britania tells her. Winnie continues.

The Man started throwing himself around; he was yelling and was very scared. The only way that it was attached was through …

Britania pauses, as if she cannot think of the English word that she is translating. I offer words: the sinew? the veins? the artery? the bone? the skin? Each word I offer Britania shakes her head to. Winnie watches our interaction and Britania tries to explain to me:

Britania: not any of those things. You know, nukik, your strength. We all have these nukiks, that, the one way I can explain it. Caribou have these two strings that connect everything in your body.

_She is speaking slowly to get it right, and so that I understand._

Those are your nukik, those are the strong parts. That was the only thing that was holding his arm onto his body.

_Whether or not nookiq are something physical, or grounded in spiritual belief, Britania gave an example of a Caribou to illustrate what they are to me, and I appreciate and accept the definition._

_Winnie was waiting for Britania finish explaining to me, she immediately begins to speak once Britania was finished. Like almost in the same breath; there was not a pause. Whatever it is that she is saying, Britania agreed with her very loudly and aggressively._

The down’s fill, you know the pieces when you are taking off the feathers of a bird and there is the softer part, a softer level underneath? That’s the stuff that my Mom used. She took a piece of wood and put the arm on it then she took the down fill from the birds.

_Britania stops. Asks Winnie a question to clarify to make sure she has it right. Winnie explains again and Britania translates:_

There is a plant called kiviut.

_Winnie nods._
That’s what they use to call it, kiviut.

The phone rings again. Winnie says something in Inuktitut that sounds frustrated and gets up to answer the phone again. Britania talks to her as she is getting up to answer the phone. She quickly returns to the couch and to the Story, clearly annoyed with being interrupted so many times.

My Mother put the plant down as the first layer and then there she out the soft feather down part next, then that piece of wood to set it all straight. Then my Mom took a piece of Caribou skin and wrapped it up. And it healed even better than before the gun explosion.

I am agreeing and hanging on to every word of the Story. I ask her if the plant is still around Baker Lake and if people still use it. Winnie answers. Her voice sounds different. Stronger. Britania agrees with her as she is speaking, but does not speak till she is done. Winnie speaks for a minute. I want to know word for word what she is sharing. I am in such gratitude and in debt to Britania.

The plant that we used to take all of the bad fluids out of the body tasted really bad. It was important to take all of the bad fluids out of your body because that’s what made a person sick: bad fluids in the body. We would we boil the plant a lot until it looked like tea, then you would have to drink it. I remember it and it tasted really gross. Those were the plants that my Mom would tell me about. I know Stories about different plants that you could use for your remedies.

Britania is very careful in her word selection.

It is hard to explain it properly, there were different plants for different remedies, I can’t remember the exact plant but I would remember it if I saw it.

I sit very still as not to interrupt the flow of the translation or to distract from the Story as it is being told.

And again, it as though Winnie is sharing the same breath as Britania, she does not speak till Britania is done. Her next Story comes fast. Britania agrees with her at the end of her Story and Winnie laughs.

Not too long ago a Man was sick in the Community. He was sick for a long while. He was not seeming to be getting better even though he was getting medications from the Health
Centre. After a while he just got tired of being sick so he finally had asked me what plant he could use to make him feel better. I did not know what it was called, but I knew where to find it. I took him out on the Land to show him what the plants were that he needed. Over time he started collecting the plants when he would see them. Eventually had enough to boil some to make tea. It turns yellow when it is ready. He took that and since then he has never touch medications or been sick.

Winnie speaks in the same breath, as Britania is finishing; it is a beautiful exchange: on the same breath the Story is told, translated and shared. I am in awe and humbled.

The phone rings again. Britania asks Winnie in Inuktitut if she can answer, but before Winnie agrees, Britania is up and answering the phone. Winnie agrees and makes a frustrating comment in Inuktitut that makes me laugh. We all laugh. Britania answers the phone and it is an automated English recording. She selects the option to talk to an operator and explains that the automated machine keeps calling her Aunt, who cannot speak English. She asks that the calls stop.

It’s quiet in the room while we wait for Britania to come back. I look at the pictures on the wall of Winnie’s Family and tell her that she has a beautiful Family. She smiles. You can hear the clock ticking. It is quiet, but not awkward.

Britania hangs up and comes back to sit on the couch. She explains in Inuktitut to Winnie that she asked them not to call back.

Winnie speaks to Britania and they have a short conversation.

Here is another Story about a Woman that lives here in town. Back when we still just lived on the Land and were getting ready for bed we noticed that this Woman was really swollen on her leg. There was no puss coming out so they could not squeeze it to make it smaller. Someone there had a lemming skin, and they made it just a little bit wet, that’s what you have to do in order for the hide to react, make it a little wet. They put it on the swollen part of her leg and the next morning when she woke up the swelling was totally gone. It was always good to have a lemming skin around.

Winnie speaks melodically.
We learned from the Inuit that were here from before my time. My Parents learned from all the other Inuit before them. When I was born there was already White People up North but when my Mom was born there was nobody that was a different colour.

*I ask Britania to ask her if there are still people who remember the plants and old ways of helping with healing. Britania asks her. Winnie answers, she is speaking fast and talks for a few minutes and laughs part way through her Story. They both laugh at the end of her Story. Britania starts to translate, but Winnie is still talking. They laugh again together.*

After we were moved into Baker Lake there was 2 people that got sick. They were flown out to Churchill to go to the doctors. When they came back they had this big bag of food with them. I recognized biscuits and there was meat in a can that I saw before. I knew what tea was, but everything else was new to me. It looked really different and I did not understand what it was. I started and making tea but I kept looking at this one container trying to figure out what it was. In my mind it looked like sugar, but it was coloured. Everybody was adding it to their tea, but it made it taste really bad! It was juice crystals! Even today I do not know about all of the food that is at the Northern. All I know how to cook is Fish and Caribou, so that’s what I cook!

I moved to Baker Lake in 1967 or 1968. I was already a Parent so I did not have to go to school. We were living on the Land and would sometimes come into Baker. But when my Daughter got older, she wanted to stay in Baker and get a job. I did not want to be left behind alone on the Land, so my oldest Son and my husband they went back to live on the Land. I had a Cousin that did not want to go back to the Land either. She wanted to stay and work. Qallunaat that lived here told her that she was getting to be too old to live on the Land. She said they were telling her that Inuit had to come and live in houses and live like Qallunaat. It was hard for my Cousin to go back to the Land; the RCMP just took her Dogs away. It was hard for her; because it was a foreign Land here in Baker Lake. She did not know where the Fish were and at the time the Caribou were so far away, it was a bad starvation time. She did not have her Dogs anymore, so she did not really have a choice.
So I stayed too. My Cousin and I figured out how to set nets under the Ice and at the time I started to wear clothing like this and I stopped wearing Caribou clothing. I went to try to go set nets but when I was walking back the weather started to go bad. I ended up going past the airport and missing the town completely! I got really cold but I also found out too that when you are extremely cold your blood gets so cold that your senses forget that your actually cold; this happens right before your body freezes. There is a freezing point in your body and then your brain starts to think its your not cold anymore. This happened to me. I kept walking hoping to find my igloo. When I got kind of close to where it was I could see all these people driving snowmobiles around. It was a search party looking for me! I did not realize how bad it had gotten or how long I was gone for. My Cousin drove right by me! He saw me and he turned around and grabbed me. He put me on the snowmobile and I did not know what was happening. That was one of my Stories of when I was trying to get Fish but I did not know where the Fish were in this new place. I was just trying to get meat for my Family because we were hungry. They gave me some hot tea and it felt like I was melting, then I started to shiver. I shivered so much that my teeth were even making noise. Because I was so cold and my sensors were turned off I did not know that I was supposed to be cold! I did not realize how close to death I was. I realized that when you think you are not frozen you really are freezing. I never experienced that before! When you get that cold you can’t tell that you are starting to freeze because that is when your brain goes the other way!

_Winnie speaks again, slow and quiet and laughs at the end._

When Inuit get so flustered with a lot of things they just hold on to it; and they maybe they should not hold on to something!

Nobody is from the Land now. So it is hard for people to Teach about that in school. Even today there are Inuit that do not know how to live on the Land or how to speak Inuktitut, so why would they Teach it, when they do not know it? When I Learned all of the things that I know it was so embedded into what you did in order to survive. Then we were told how we had to become and what we had to do in order to live in Baker Lake. The Qallunaat shaped us into who they wanted us to be. They are still trying to shape us today. But, our skin cannot change and I do not understand why we have to change!
Winnie laughs. She continues to talk and laugh at the same time:

Even today, I do not get why Inuit think that when they dye their hair that they are a different person: they the same person. They are Inuit, they should be that!

We all laugh. Winnie says something else and they both laugh.

Here their face is folding inside out and is all wrinkles, but yet they are trying to turn their hair black like they are still Young! They think they are hiding being Old by dying their hair, but you can tell in their wrinkly face that they are old!

We all laugh. Winnie continues to talk.

There were these Woman that moved from the Land at the same time that I came to Baker Lake and we were told that we had to live Qallunaat way, as if we did not know how to live without them telling us how to live.

Winnie speaks on Britania’s breath.

Now, not all of my Family can speak or understand Inuktitut. I do not speak English and I have to have someone help me to speak to my Grandchildren. Like they understand me, but they can’t speak Inuktitut back to me. Sometimes I have to repeat myself a few times and say it a different way before they can understand me.

Even now, when I go to the Health Center, the translators and others there do not know what the actual meaning of some of the Inuktitut words are. I can tell which translators know what I’m talking about and I know who I can talk to.

It's quiet for a moment

There is a difference here. We are Learning at a different level today now.

Britania is being careful with her words.

Learning is different now. Before you were not Taught like a Teacher and a student you were Taught to watch. There are different ways to Learn and they do not Teach you the Inuit way of Learning at the school. There is Learning by watching, like where you really
watch. There is another type of Learning where you are shown how it is done, you are shown and you watch, then the person who is showing you how it is done then watches you do it to make sure that you are doing it right. That does not happen in the school. There is one more part to Learning: you have to like what you are Learning, you can’t be told what you have to Learn, you have to have a reason to Learn it.

It is funny, we were told when we came to Baker Lake that we had to Learn English because we live in an English word. But I do not agree. It is important for an Inuk to speak Inuktitut. I can see in people that are non-Inuk, they have more of a freeness and a drive to Learn things, but it is not the Inuit way that is being available to Learn. I see it at the Northern too, I see Inuit speaking English and I tell them: you are an Inuk so you should Learn how to speak it too!

*It’s quiet for a minute. BT is inventorying if she has translated all she can from Winnie to me.*

There is the Learning and the Teaching part that are different today in the schools. There are different ways to Teach so that the Children can take in the information. You really have to draw the Children’s attention towards you; you have to be clear with them. My Grandson’s Son Learns through body language. So if you put body language and words together, it may be that way that can help Young Children to Learn, because they Learn so fast. I know that. Young Children Learn so much, it’s just that we are not showing them the right things to be Learning.

There are curriculums in the education system today that do not work for the Children. If they are being told to go to school all day, it’s going to be harder for them to want to Learn Inuktitut outside of school because there is not time for them to Learn it. So the education system has to fix something because if you are forced to go to school all day just Learning Qallunaat things, at the end of the day you are tired and can’t Learn anymore. I think the reason why the Children do not want to know Inuktitut is because the education system does not give them classes to Learn it. They spend all day Learning in English and there is not enough time or ways to Learn Inuktitut.

*It’s quiet for a moment.*
I am 84 or 85, I can’t remember. People always ask me, “How do you still look so Young?” I tell them because I was always afraid of my Parents so I would listen to every single thing they told me and I would live by what they told me. I still do.

_We all laugh_
Δοκιμαστική έρευνα

Story 10: « Hugh Tulurialik »

I had made arrangements the day before to go to Ruth and Hugh’s to gather Stories on this day. We walked from Winnie’s house (which was just up the road, as are most things in Qamani’tuaq) to Ruth and Hugh’s house. I was very nervous for this interview. I think it was because of how much respect and love I have for Hugh. I grew up hearing Stories about how great of a man he is. I know that he has saved both my biological Father and Grandfather’s lives while out on the Land. My Nan use to tell me a Story of when there was a visit to Baker Lake from Britain’s Royal family back in the 1980s. Hugh was asked to guide them on the Lake. He refused the request as he already had agreed to go fishing with my Grandparents.

When I came to Qamani’tuaq in 2013 with my Daughter, it was Hugh and Ruth’s house that we stayed at. Although he doesn’t speak much English and I don’t speak Inuktitut we were able to visit and communicate through fishing. We went out fishing together and laughed when I caught more Fish than him. That day I would cast my line and would catch a Fish faster than he could get his hook in the Water. He said it was “boring”. We laughed. When we got to shore and it was time to clean the Fish he made me watch him clean three Fish before he would let me clean one. Although I know how to clean Fish, I was nervous for him to watch me. He looked at it and said “good enough” and made sure that was the one he cooked for us to eat for lunch. I felt proud. He told me that being an Inuk was hard work. I agree, but it is work that Hugh doesn’t shy away from.

Before this interview started Hugh gifted me with an ulu that he made. This was a great honor and was truly humbling.

As he spoke, I could see the images of what he was saying. It was a beautiful experience.
“We are now living in a world where we aren’t starving anymore because of lack of food; but as Inuit we aren’t practicing our cultural ways because we don’t have to do that to survive anymore”
At Hugh and Ruth’s house, Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut.

Wednesday August 31st, 2016

I start to talk, but, then laugh nervously.

My Cousin Josh is there, he says: “we are waiting on you”

I reply: “I know. I’m feeling nervous”

Hugh Speaks: Me too!

Britania: “I’m starting to sweat”

We all laugh.

In Hugh’s words (through Britania as translator):

I’m from Baker Lake. I’ve been here since before Baker was the Community. I was born close to the mouth of the Thelon. I’ve stayed here since 1954, maybe it was 1953. There were two churches, the RCMP and the Hudson’s Bay. That was all that was here. There weren’t any houses when I first lived here. I remember Sally Webster’s Father was helping with the RCMP, there was other staff, but her Dad was there too.

The phone is ringing in the background, Hugh’s wife, Ruth answers it; she likes to talk on the phone. She answers in English, but speaks in Inuktitut.

Hugh continues with talking. Britania listens to him and waits till he is done to translate.

When my Family came to stay in Baker Lake permanently, there were only igloos in the Winter and tents in the Summer. We moved here before there was houses built in the town. When we first came the school was here, but I only had to go to school for a year.

It is quiet for a moment. Then Hugh speaks, his voice is low and melodic.

When I was a Child you really had to watch to Learn the skills to survive. Sometimes it must have been a bother for the adults to take the Children along with them to Learn things while
they were out on the Land, but that is how the Younger people learned. It would have been easier for the adults to just go and hunt without having to take care of Children and Teach them at the same time, but the Men would always take the Boys so that they could learn from watching them. When I was small I always watched and followed the adults around to know how to survive. The one year I went to school it was different from how I learned from my Dad on the Land. On the Land there are no papers or anything to read to know how to do stuff, you just had to watch and follow what everyone else was doing.

*It's quiet for a minute, I'm still feeling nervous, wanting to get it right, wanting to be respectful.*

A lot of my hunting skills came from my Father and my Father's Uncle. At a young age I lost my Mother, but I had my Grandmother. My Grandmother wanted me to be a good hunter so she encouraged me to always learn and be with my Dad and Uncle.

*As Hugh is speaking I can understand the words and can see pictures as he is talking. It is beautiful. Britania sits and watches. She agrees with what he is saying and translates for me so that I can understand too.*

I was really little when I started to tag along with my Dad and Uncles. I really wanted to learn how to hunt. Even when the weather was bad or there was a treacherous trail, I wouldn’t even realize that it was hard work. Sometimes my Dad would put me on his shoulders to carry me through the Water or on trails that someone as little as me couldn’t follow easily, so he would carry me. My Dad always helped me to cross a River or get through the hard parts on the Land. I must have been a bother to the Men for them to have to take me all the time, I didn’t care at the time because I just wanted to learn. Sometimes they would leave me behind.

I wasn’t taught directly how to build an igloo. I just watched a lot of igloos being built and figured out how build an igloo from looking at it. I looked for things that I wanted to learn and I would watch, then figure them out and then I could do it. I wanted to learn how to do things so that I could help other people out. I wanted to have the skills of hunting and building igloos. I didn’t have to be told to come and watch and to learn, I wanted to know these things so I was there watching and learning. Maybe others had to be told to watch,
but I don’t know, that is not how I was Taught. If there were a Dog team that was ready to
go on the Land, I would want to go with them too.

*Hugh is speaking fast, but his voice is low and soft. I sense what he is saying is important.*

My Father never told me that I was wrong. I learned a lot about how to fix an igloo from my
Father-in-law, Tapitai. Tapitai would tell me when I was doing something wrong with
building the igloo and would show me how to fix it so it was right. I learned a lot from him,
and I am very, very thankful. The things that he taught me kept me alive.

*I realize that he is speaking of my blood relative as his wife, Ruth and my Grandfather are first Cousins.
Hugh’s voice is filled with love and respect for the man he speaks about.*

Tapitai told me that I had to Learn things to tell people in the future. He said that it was
important that I remembered so that I could tell others when I was older. He really scolded
me on how to do things to make sure that I did them properly. It wasn’t like the scolding
was in a bad way, it was so that I would know it in the right way to Teach it in the future.
Like in today’s time.

When I was a Young Man I picked up what I could Learn by myself about building an igloo,
but I always knew that if it wasn’t right, that my Dad would fix it without me knowing. I
wasn’t worried. It was different with my Father-in-law because he would scold me and show
me where I did it wrong. I realized that I really had to Learn these steps instead of
depending on my Dad. I wanted people to depend on me. I am really thankful that I got to
Learn from my Father-in-law, by him showing me how I was doing it wrong. It might sound
bad, but it wasn’t because that is how I needed to Learn.

I remember watching my Grandfather getting ready to go out on the Ice. Sometimes he
would go and get pelts for The Hudson’s Bay Company. My Grandfather would pack the
qamatik. I would hurry and walk ahead of the qamatik because I would know which way my
Grandfather was going, so he had no choice but to pick me up and take me along too.

*We all laugh.*
My Grandfather would stop and tell me to go back to the igloo to get warmer kammiks or mitts. But my Grandfather knew that I was already packed and ready to go, my warmer clothes would already be packed in the qamatik. I would hold on tight to the qamatik and be ready to go. I really wanted to Learn and go hunting all the time, so I was always ready to go. When I started to be aware of things about hunting it was already after my Dad and Grandfather had a gun. But before that, the era before my time people would use bows and arrows and harpoons. It’s a lot easier today in how we are living. We are pampered and supplies are easier to get compared to the Old Days. It was really limited in the Old Days for the things that we had or could get.

Everything is easier today. It is like we don’t even have to try, it is just easy. It is easier to be an Inuk now then when I was a Child. It some ways it is good that it is easier. We are now living in a world where we aren’t starving anymore because of lack of food; but as Inuit we aren’t practicing our cultural ways because we don’t have to do that to survive anymore. It is a different world.

In the Old, Old days all of the Families that are living in Baker Lake now, wouldn’t have lived together like we do now. All the different Families, like tribes lived in different areas. Maybe there was a Family that had a Caribou cache, they would be considered to be rich if they had a lot of meat. But, the Inuit way back then, people would always help each other out. If one Family knew that another Family was having a hard time, and was hungry, they would share so that others wouldn’t starve. It was a big deal back then to share with one another. Sometimes today people aren’t like that. Sometimes people only think of themselves or think that they are better than other people because they have more things that other people. Families aren’t always helping each other. It is a great passion of Inuit to help other people, with hunting, with Parenting, with anything that anyone needs help with. In the old days people would help one another with hunting if a Family was hungry or wasn’t having any luck for whatever reason with hunting. Today it just seems like people just think of themselves, or that they try to be better than other people because they have things when people need things. It is very different today then from when I was growing up.

When I was a Child I wasn’t allowed to know or be a part of when a Woman gave birth. Little Children weren’t allowed to know things about birth or even death. With the Child
birthing and stuff, I never learned that. I remember that Children were told not to pay attention to when couples were arguing because it was an adult thing. My Grandmother taught me some things and I will try to help with what I know. My Grandmother told me that if you see somebody out there that needs what you have, then you help them. I live by that because that was the one thing that she made sure that I knew.

The one year I had to go to school I was fifteen or sixteen years old. I had to learn the book “Fun with Dick and Jane.”

*We all laugh at the way he says it.*

I had to Learn stuff that I had never, ever even heard of before. I didn’t know why I had to Learn those things. I knew a lot of things about how to live on the Land, but I didn’t know about the things that they were trying to Teach me at school. None of those things they taught at school had to do with survival. I know that I never really liked the stuff that I had to Learn, but I can’t really remember anything else, other than Dick and Jane that they taught me at that school.

The things and skills that I Learned the Land when I was a Child were important to how I grew up and who I am today. It would really help the Kids in school today if they Learned more about how to live on the Land. The skills to be Inuit should be taught in school, because this is where the Children are from and this is who they are. The things I learned are important things that Inuit for generations learned, skills like hunting, survival and reading the weather are all things Inuit Children today should be Learning. They need to learn these Old Inuit ways on the Land, not in books.

There are lots of things that children should be Learning about snow. There are different types of Snow, there’s soft Snow, there’s solid Snow and everything in-between. If you just look outside it just looks like Snow, but it’s really important to know what kind of Snow it is, which Snow you need to work with which Snow is going to help you.

I remember the first time I ever walked into a building. It was Sally Webster’s Dad’s house. I was so curious of how it was built, I really wanted to know who built the house so that I
could go and watch and learn how to build them too. I was really fascinated with how they built the house. I'm always curious to learn how things are made, ever since I was a child.

I also remember watching Qallunaat when I was younger. More of them would come up to Baker Lake in the summertime. I remember they were always doing something and were very busy. I would get out of my tent in the morning and I would like at them and would wonder if they ever slept!

\textit{We all laugh.}

Figure 28: Photograph of my Cousin Josh and Hugh taken with permission, at the home of Hugh and Ruth, Qamani’tuaq, August 2016.
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29: የወሳኝና የእርሱ ኤርትራ በስር ከርወ የከቻ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፈር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፍር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፍር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፍር ያለ ይሉ፣ ያንስ ያስፍር ያለ ይantu,
I felt emotional with this interview, maybe it was because I knew it was the last one, maybe because I knew I was leaving the next day or maybe because Ruth is a close relative with my Grandfather. I know that the two of them grew up together and that she would be able to tell me a lot about him.

Ruth seemed to be shy to be interviewed and I wanted to make her feel comfortable. This makes me feel shy to ask her questions. This was this shortest of all of my interviews.

Ruth had been busy making lunch during the interview we did with Hugh. During Hugh’s interview their son Casey and his Family came over for lunch. This reminded me of old Inuit life still being lived out today in sharing a mid-meal together. Everyone takes lunch at the same time. Ruth had made us bannock and fish, but since we were busy talking with Hugh, it got eaten up. Hugh went out to the Northern to get us some microwavable burgers so that they had something to offer us to eat.
Figure 29: Photograph of Ruth Tulorialik and Britania taken with permission, at the home of Hugh and Ruth, Qamani’tuaq, August 2016.

“The Inuit that came to Baker from living on the Land didn’t know how to live in the Community, so I would tell them and I would help the ones that didn’t know what to do. I don’t speak much English, but I would help the Inuit to know what it was like to live in Baker Lake, tell them the things that they needed to know.”
At Ruth and Hugh’s house, Qamani’tuaq, Nunavut.

Wednesday August 31st, 2016

In Ruth’s words (through Britania as translator):

My name is Ruth Tuluriak or Annatusie. My name before it was Ruth was Annatusic, that is my Inuktitut name.

Ruth laughs. Casey is still there. She asks him something in Inuktitut. He answers. I realize she asked him what the English name of where she was born is.

I was born near Qammanalu, the Kazan River is it’s English name. I came to Qamani’tuaq in 1934. My Mom and Dad worked for the priest, so that is why we moved here. That was a long time ago.

We all laugh.

There wasn’t much here in Baker when we first came. There was barely anything here. There was the RCMP, the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and The Hudson’s Bay. I didn’t have to live in an igloo when we moved here. Because my Parents worked for the Anglican Church, we were given a house to live in when we came to Baker Lake. I haven’t lived in an igloo in a long, long time.

I don’t remember a lot about when Women were pregnant from when I was a Child. My Mother helped with the birthing, but I wasn’t allowed to help. I was only a Child, so I don’t quite remember what birthing was like when I was a Child. I was adopted, my Mother who raised me couldn’t have any Kids of her own, but she always helped the other Women that had to give birth. I learned from my Parents, my adoptive Parents, they were the ones that raised me. My Parents taught me how to be a Parent. Do you remember Martha Taluruq?

I nod. I remember her. She was my neighbor when I was a small Child. We had a litter of puppies and I was allowed to keep and name one of them. I named it after Martha! I shared this Story with Ruth and ask Britania to translate. We all laugh.
Martha is my Mom, but she gave me to her big Sister, so that is how I have an adopted Mom. Both of my Parents taught me the things I needed to learn. My Parents didn’t need to worry about me because I always did what they told me. I always listened to my Parents. I had really good Parents who took really good care of me. I never had to worry about anything as a Child, and my Parents didn’t have to worry about me. I had a really good life. My Parents helped me out a lot and there wasn’t much that I had to Learn that they didn’t already Teach me. I didn’t go to school when I came here to live in the Community permanently. I Learned some things like reading from the Church when I was a little bit older. I don’t know what the Children today are Learning in school. I wouldn’t know what to Teach them if I was a Teacher!

Ruth laughs.

When I was Young, before I had any Children I use to work at The Weather Station. I was eighteen when I worked there. After I worked there I went and worked at the Health Centre for ten years. I did a lot of different jobs when I worked at the Health Centre. I would bake bread, wash the nurses’ clothing, someone had to stay there at night, and so I would do that too. Most of the time I was a translator there. At that time there were a lot of people coming to Baker that lived on the Land. The nurses didn’t know how to talk to them or know how to take care of them. The Inuit that came to Baker from living on the Land didn’t know how to live in the Community, so I would tell them and I would help the ones that didn’t know what to do. I don’t speak much English, but I would help the Inuit to know what it was like to live in Baker Lake, tell them the things that they needed to know. At first, I couldn’t understand the people that were from Igloolik because they had a different way of talking, but today I can understand them very well.

Sometimes there were people that were really sick. They were told that they had to stay in their igloo. That was only if they were really, really sick. I remember a time when there were a lot of igloos all around.

I remember hearing Stories about your Grandfather. He is an older Cousin of mine. He came to Baker Lake before me. I remember hearing about him when he would come back when I was Younger.
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シーガー 12: シーガーに残っている

<< シーガー >>

シーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガー

シーガー 30: シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残っているシーガー、シーガーに残している
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Այս 42-րդ տարելիճը ՀՀ Հայաստանը խաղողում է նախագծային գործունեության իրավական համարակալման հետ մասնակցությամբ։ ՀՀ Հայաստանը ապահովում է այս տարելիճը նախագծային գործունեության իրավական համարակալման հետ մասնակցության համար։ ՀՀ Հայաստանը ապահովում է այս տարելիճը նախագծային գործունեության իրավական համարակալման հետ մասնակցության համար։
44: ՊՐԵՆԵՐԵՑԵՐ ՀԱՍԱՐ, ԲԱԺԻՆԱԿ, ԱԶԵՐ, ԶԱՐՀԱՏ ՀԻՆԵՐ 2013Հ.-Ա.
գր 45: ծնվ են դեռ ՀՀ կառավար. բացատրվում է վճարաշարժան և մշակութային մարմարական շարժան։ Ապագայի, արձան սենյակ, փրկում են 2013 թ.հ․ դեր։

ըր ծնվել է ՀՀ Հայաստան։ Խորհրդարանի համայնքում տեղական տնտեսության մեջ իր տեղը գտնելու համար իր գործունեությունը կառուցելու համար հանդիպում է մեծ հաջողությունների հետ։ Սակայն հետագա օրերում հատուկ պահանջների պատճառով դարձում է, որ նա երկրորդ կողմին և ավելի հեռու զբաղված է այս հարցում։ Հայաստանի տնտեսական պատմության մեջ նա զբաղեցնում է նշանակալի տեղ։ Այստեղ մինչև օրեր շատ երկրորդ կողմին հաջողությունների հետ զբաղվել է իր տեղական տնտեսության մեջ և իր տեղը գտնելու համար հանդիպում է մեծ հաջողությունների հետ։
46: የለ መታረም ይበታታ ይፋታ የሚመራ መጋቢት, ይፋታ ይፋታ, ይፋታ ይፋታ 2013 ይፋታ.
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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צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  גראם"מכ"ם;  גראם"מכ"ם.  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע.  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע.  בצ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע.  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע.  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע.  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע,  צ"א  ק"א מ"ב לע.
Story 12: After Words

« Athlucetuk »

Spring 2017, not in Qamani’tuaq, NU

Figure 30: Picture of author’s computer taken while in the coffee room at Jessie Oonark Centre, Qamani’tuaq, Summer 2016.
In my words:

Sitting with the Elders was a humbling experience. I was challenged by my identity, as well as my right to even be asking the Elders to share with me. During the interview with Vivian it was clear that I was not prepared. I had completed the requirements of the institution: completed the course work, written the qualifying exam, presented a proposal and submitted the required ethical applications, including a Nunavut Research License. I followed all of the protocols of the academy and was deemed ready to gather research. However, all of those steps were completed through a western academic lens. That is not to say as an Inuk that I did not use Indigenous methodologies: I carefully talked with Inuit Elders in Qamani’ tuaq and respectfully asked them to participate. Yet, the processes for completion of a dissertation are still very ridged and colonial, the product of non-Indigenous thinkers and systems. In order to complete a dissertation with authentic Indigenous methodologies, the academy must be more receptive to supporting Indigenous students’ (and allied scholars) desires to utilize Indigenous pedagogy at all stages of the dissertation: from the course work to the defense. I think that since Indigenous ontology and pedagogy was not embedded in previous stages of the re-search is the reasoning why I felt ill prepared in gathering the Stories from the Elders.

My dissertation has been a remarkable journey in which I have been able to further Indigenize my thinking in regards to Indigenous learning, theories and application of knowledge. In this final Story, I have examined how my theories explored underlie the re-search I was able to participate in. I relate each of the Elders’ time that they shared with me to one of the Seven Grandfather Teachings outlined in Anishinabe Theory as well as to one of the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, which is the basis to Maligait Theory. In explaining the connections to the sharing from the Elders to my theory I am also exploring that some of the ontological and epistemological perspectives of some of the Inuit Elders from Qamani’ tuaq are.
Revisiting My Learning; Making Meaning for Myself

Earlier in the dissertation I wrote how I was challenged with the idea of making meaning from the Stories that the Elders shared with me. I am careful in the reflection section of the Elders’ Stories that I note that I am making meaning from my perspective in this current time on what I understand the Elders’ Stories to have meaning for me. I do not want to presume or make a definitive meaning for the Elders’ Stories for all readers as that would not be using Indigenous pedagogy nor methodology: one person presuming they know the Teaching the Elder is sharing. It is my understanding, though the Teachings of the Elders that I have been fortunate to have in my life that it is the readers and listeners responsibility to make his/her meaning from each of the Stories shared here and in any context where Indigenous Knowledge Keepers are sharing Stories. For the purpose of this dissertation in order to show how I answered my research questions, I will share how I made meaning from each of the Stories that I was humbled to have gathered in this re-search journey. I am sure when I revisit this dissertation at another time I will be able to make meaning in different ways from what I have written here, as that is one of the many gifts of Stories: their meaning changes as you gather more life experiences and are informed by other Stories.

Again, the three research questions I used to lead my story gathering with the ten self-identified Inuit Elders in Qamani’tuaq were:

1) What are the customary Inuit practices of Child rearing and Teaching?

2) In what ways can customary Inuit practices of knowledge sharing be adapted and utilized today?

3) How can customary Inuit practices of Teaching and Learning (i.e., pedagogy) support students in the current educational system?

I began my re-search journey by first asking the Community if there was an interest in helping me. From there I developed what I thought were open-ended questions. When I travelled home to gather the stories I did not deny anyone from sharing stories with me. I asked for self-identifying Elders that would be willing to share with me their stories about Learning. I had an organic experience of the Elders coming forward to share their Stories.
with me, one set of Stories led directly into the next set of Stories. I used an interpreter with many of the Elders since Inuktitut was their language of preference. The interpreter translated as the Stories as they were audio recorded. I transcribed all of the interviews and wrote brief introductions to each Story in order to ground and place myself into each of the Stories (for myself, but also for the reader). After the Stories were written they were translated into Inuktitut and given back to each of the Elders for their review. Once the syllabics were returned to me I put the Stories together and submitted the dissertation to my supervisors for review.

Potential Suggestions for Curricular Development:

I do not want to make assumptions about how the curriculum in Qamani’tuaq should be developed and delivered: this would not be following Inuit pedagogy nor methodology and would be disrespectful to Qamani’tuaq to make assumptions and recommendations that are definitive from one individual. Regardless that my Family bloodlines come from the Community, I am cognizant that I do not live in the Community; therefore I do not have right nor authority to say how the education should be delivered to the Youth in the Community. This re-search journey has never been about me presenting myself as an expert on Inuit education nor making suggestions on how education should be delivered. I have been encouraged by my Ph.D. supervisors to present ideas in regards to the implications of the Stories shared with me as potential suggestions for curriculum development in Qamani’tuaq. Additionally, presenting potential suggestions in the dissertation also serves purpose and accountability to the re-search questions I set out to find answers to. Ultimately it is the decision of the members of Qamani’tuaq how and if they desire to implement the suggestions outlined below. I do not have the authority to make definitive decisions and the potentiality of these recommendations is that they are all relational, just like each of the Stories shared by each of the Elders. The interpretations of the curricular recommendations can change over place and time.

I started at the beginning of this re-search gathering with the intention that if I was asked by the Community I could assist with curriculum development in Qamani’tuaq. Potentially a re-working of the current curriculum in Qamani’tuaq could support the preservation of culture and potentially encourage students to complete school. At this point, it does not feel as
though this is the request of the Community. I feel that this might change over time once the Elders have had the opportunity to reflect on how their Stories shared with me might best be used to help the Community. I recognize that dissertations are meant to offer conclusions and potential paths for application; however, when working with Indigenous people and using Indigenous methodologies I feel that the response from the Community in regards to what can or should happen needs to come from the Community in their own time. The writing of the dissertation and the oral exam time period does not give enough time for respectful nor adequate conversations as to what should come out of the gathering of Stories.

I was very fortunate that the Elders shared their Stories with me. From their conversations they explicitly (and implicitly) made suggestions for ways to incorporate the way and the content of their knowledge gained as Children to the generations of today. I have come to understand the following as suggestions from the Elders in my re-search for potential curriculum development. I am careful not to impose my own analysis of their Stories; I’m reiterating what they have shared with me here in response to the re-search questions I set out to find answers to in this re-search and dissertation. I have chosen to separate the ideas for curriculum development not by theme, but by each of the Elders who shared with me in order to keep the Elders’ Stories and ideas together, but also to not make inferences on what was shared with me by separating Stories into themes, which I have been consistent with during the writing of the dissertation.

**Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Vivian Jodee:**

Vivian implicitly suggested that the knowing of one’s Inuktitut name is important. Knowing one’s own name will give insight to who you were named after, your responsibilities in the Family as well as Community. The practice of Inuktitut names and naming could be taught and used in school as a means of teaching both History and Culture.

The strong connection to the Land was something that Vivian talked about directly. Through classes in local Geography, Youth in the school in Qamani’tuaq could be learning about the physical elements of the Land that could be reiterated through the Family Stories.
to show the significance of the Land. It would be important to spend time on the Land from people who are knowledgeable of the Land in order to make this practical application of knowledge acquisition both safe and meaningful.

Knowledgeable Inuit Women could be Teaching Young Girls about the roles of Inuit girls and Women. The specific gendered roles of Women could be taught in an educational setting so that the transfer of customary knowledge that happened pre-contact with Qallunaat could still happen. There are opportunities in areas of the curriculum (such as History and Health) where female Inuit Elders could come in to the school to teach Girls about Inuit Women’s Teachings such as pregnancy, child rearing, sewing and other customary knowledge that was shared intergenerational between Women and Girls.

Knowledge about survival and the content of what was taught changed with the seasons; this could be imitated in the schools as well. It is evident through the continued adaptability and survival of Inuit that Inuit are very knowledgeable about what they learn (knowledge grounded in Inuit culture) and how it is that they teach it (intergenerationally and from the same gendered Teacher). Inuit knowledge is rooted in survival in the changing and often harsh climate. There are different skill sets and Teachings that were taught as the seasons changed, this could be replicated in the classroom as well.

Vivian shares that she learned many of the skills that still ensure her survival today by watching others. Inuit pedagogy is based on watching or being shown how to do something with the intent that the learner will someday have the responsibility to teach others. Vivian learned how to sew by watching her Mom. Although Vivian has never tried to sew kammiks nor parka, she uses the skills she observed in her Mom’s customary sewing to make living sewing contemporary items. As a Child, she shared that she spent a lot of time watching and learning from her Father trap and hunt, again skills she learned decades ago that still serve her today.

There was a responsibility presumed on older siblings to their younger siblings. This was both directly and indirectly taught to Children. I see this an example of an Inuit pedagogy that could be incorporated into the school by a mentoring program where older students are
responsible for assisting in the Teaching and well being of younger students. This idea could fulfill many of the Teaching styles and customary ways of Inuit learning such as sharing the responsibility of Teaching with members of the extended Family and sharing common memories of Inuit knowledge (both customary and contemporary). Prior to relocation, the Learning on the Land was only about Inuit knowledge and was done within close proximately to Family. The Elders were the primary Teachers, but everyone in the immediate and extended Family had responsibilities to rearing and educating Children.

Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Martin Kreelak:

Teaching must be taught by the same gender. Martin shared from his experiences as both a Learner and Teacher that Inuit pedagogy includes the transfer of knowledge to Boys from Men and to Girls from Women. It is the responsibility of Men to Teach young Boys about the roles and responsibilities of Inuit Men. Martin Learned as a Boy from watching the Men in his life on the Land. As an Elder, Martin now Teachers younger Men and Boys what and how he Learned. Martin learned from the mistakes that he made in his younger years and has the goal (that he is actively fulfilling) to Teach others so that they will not make the same mistakes as he did.

From Martin’s stories, I infer that customarily, everyone in the Family had a responsibility to help one another; Teaching was included in the Family responsibilities. Learning begins as soon as the individual can walk and knowledge is primarily transferred from the Learner through observation. Martin shares that the Learner must watch the Teacher and stressed the importance of not speaking, just observing. This can be replicated in the school via Elders sharing skills and the students observing.

Prior to relocation, Learning happened in the moment on the Land and the Learning had a greater purpose to it (such as Learning an important life skill to sustain the Family such as hunting). Learning today must have purpose to it and be relatable to the students. The curriculum at the school must be rooted in Inuit culture. What is being taught at school is just as important as who is teaching it. Customarily it was the Family’s responsibility to Teach, this can be replicated in the school by inviting Families to attend the school to share
what it is that they know or even just to support the student his/her Learning. Martin suggests that there needs to be a blend of the old way of Learning and doing things with that of modern knowledges and understandings. A blending of the old with the new is how Martin sees schools being successful with curriculum. One of the major barriers Martin sees to the delivery of Inuit pedagogy and knowledge is a lack of funding in the schools. Funding for Inuit based learning and programs is not consistent and is disruptive to the Learning of Inuit ways in a school setting. A way in which to address this barrier is to have dedicated financial commitments from school boards and territorial governments for Inuit education funding. There must be a continuation of Inuit pedagogy, methodology and knowledge that is consistent from year to year.

**Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Martha Noah:**

Martha shared that customary transfer of Inuit knowledge came from like genders of Teacher and student. Boys had to learn from Men and Girls from Women. The separation of genders and what and how was Taught was imperative to Inuit pedagogy and methodology. After birth, the first Teacher to the Baby was the Mother. Mothers are essential to the survival of Children. If there were older siblings they too had an important role in the education of the Baby. As other Elders mentioned, it was expected that older siblings had a significant role in the raising (and therefore, education) of their younger sibling(s). Customary Inuit Family structure ensured that there was always someone who was depended to provide care to another Family member: Mothers to Baby; Women to Men; Men to Women; everyone to Elders. When a Baby grows a little and isn’t so dependent on his Mother (perhaps after he walks or is weaned from breastfeeding), it becomes the responsibility of the Men in his Family to Teach him. Boys must learn from Men because Men’s Learning and Teachings are different from Women’s. Additionally, Women were not Taught the things that Men know as they were not permitted to learn what and how Boys were Taught; therefore making it difficult for Inuit Women to teach Inuit Boys.

Martha shared that the Elders, specifically Grandparents taught younger generations how to
live off the Land. Customarily, Inuit did not know any other way other than to work hard. Working hard was how one learned, but more importantly, how you survived, it was a physically intensive model of learning. The opportunity for physically working hard (kinesthetically) for learning is not necessarily easily available for students in the current educational model for students in Qamani’tuaq. Considering that students spend the majority of their days sitting passively learning from teachers. One way the current curriculum can support Inuit pedagogy is by adding more kinetic learning opportunities in the classroom. Customarily, Inuit learned by being kinetically connected to the learning. Younger Inuit were taught by their parents and elder Inuit how to do everything to make living possible, everything from how to fish and hunt, care for the meat, sew, build shelters and how to take care of each other and yourself including medicinal and ceremonial ways. Arguably, this is not being replicated in the current educational setting for Inuit youth living in Qamani’tuaq. Martha suggests that due to the conveniences of today, that it would be challenging for Inuit today to go back to the customary ways of living because it has been too easy for too long for Inuit that going back to pre-relocated living would seem much harder than what it actually was for generations previously.

Also, Martha warns that the modern conveniences cannot replace the customary ways of learning. For example western systems such as social services, western religion and education assume that Inuit pedagogy, methodology and even ontology cannot provide the structures and systems that are most beneficial to Inuit. It is the influence of western thought and through practices such as education systems that attempted to rid Indigenous people of their identity that is the root of Indigenous people’s struggles with their own identity. Furthermore it is through the introduction of foreign systems and notions of being that have made Inuit complacent to their own ways of knowing and being.

Martha suggests that youth today cannot learn how to fully be an Inuk from a book or by going to school. The learning must happen customarily which is from elders on the land. Additionally, Inuit pedagogy must be delivered as the main part of school, it cannot be just an add on or a special class that only happens occasionally. Knowledge of Inuit ways and learning must be authentic and meaningful to the student and be an integral part of the current curriculum.
Customarily, Inuit knowledge was transferred in Inuktitut from Elders to younger people. Inuit pedagogy is fluid and serendipitous; much like what was replicated in my re-search journey. Customarily, Inuit Elders would share Stories from their previous learned experiences. The Learning always had purpose to the Learner to which they were responsible for figuring out the significance to their lives. Martha suggests that skills that Inuit customarily used on the Land prior to being relocated could be adapted and made relevant today for things other than survival. Her example of this is her own jewelry making. She shared that she remembers what and how things were made in regards to jewelry as a child and how she has modernized her materials to make a living today. Much like Vivian’s sewing, Martha’s skills she Learned as a child in regards to making jewelry as a Child still have relevance today.

Memory and how one stores and shares memoires, as suggested by Martha is a component to Inuit Knowledge. While in Residential School Martha shared that she was careful whom and how she shared her memories of living on the Land. She knew that the memories and stories she had from living on the Land were important and even sacred to preserving Inuit Knowledge. In Martha’s Stories about her memories she told me that she was careful not to talk to many Inuit at Residential School about her memories of living on the Land. It was important to keep some memories to herself in a way to preserve the Land for herself so that she could share with others when the time was right, perhaps in future generations.

According to Martha, there are differences in the way that Inuit and Qallunaat learn: Inuit way of Learning is through watching whereas Qallunaat way of Learning is through listening. Martha self-taught herself to read and write by watching others do it. She did not understand the verbal instructions on how to read and write but utilized her customary ability as an Inuk to learn through observation. Potentially, a Learning strategy that can easily be incorporated into the classroom for Inuit Learners could be Learning supported via visualization.

Customarily, on the Land, different Inuit tribes would come together naturally (be it via hunting or fishing spots or for common uses of the Land). When different tribes came
together they would Learn and share with one another; a reciprocal relationship was naturally formed. This coming together of different Inuit tribes happened organically and cannot be replicated. When Inuit where forced to move into Communities or to attend Residential Schools with different tribes there was conflict as the natural coming together of different tribes was replicated in a foreign setting (a location that is not practical on the Land or a sterile school teaching curriculum that was/is not relevant to Inuit pedagogy and methodology. It was hard for many Inuit when they were forced into these unnatural settings with Inuit from differing tribes because the relationships were not founded in customary ways or purposes. There was not a sharing of resources and Knowledge amongst different Inuit tribes as the Inuit ways of doing things was not permitted. This artificial blending of different Inuit tribes had detrimental impacts for several reasons: Inuit customs were not permitted and lack of resources for all Inuit to be sustained are the two major causes that there was (and arguably still is today) conflict amongst Inuit Communities (as they were relocated to areas that are not customary to certain Inuit tribes). In reimagining a curriculum for Qamani’tuaq it would be beneficial to look at the pedagogy and unique sets of Knowledge from the various Inuit tribes that were forced to relocate to the Community in the development of curriculum that would have relevance for the Youth today.

Lastly, Martha infers that customarily Inuit had to get along with one another and that was the way. Conflict, especially from Youth to Older Family member(s) was not permitted. Perhaps this notion could be replicated in the school in Qamani’tuaq via an Inuit based discipline policy at the school that would include an integral role of Elders from the Community in the school. This idea, as the other ideas suggested from each of the Elders, would have to be brought first to the Elders in the Community for their input and support and then to the Education Committee. I cannot make the suggestion for implementation as that would not be authentically using Indigenous methodologies to make assumptions on what is best for the Community (even if it is my own) without the support and direction from the Community (starting with the Elders first).
Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Fannie Avatituq:

In the Stories that Fannie shared with me she noted the importance of Knowledge to the weather. Knowledge of the weather and moving when the weather permits (not on schedules set for the convenience of Teachers and schools) is essential for survival. The customary Knowledge in regards to weather could be replicated and have a core function within the curriculum at the school in Qamani’tuq from a Science perspective, but could be cross-curricular to Math and even the Arts. Through the sharing of Stories from Fannie about knowledge of weather it can be presumed that an integral part of customary Inuit knowledge and Learning was about survival. Curriculum developed for the school in Qamani’tuq could use survival skills as the basis of Teaching that could be incorporated to all areas of the curriculum from Science to the Arts.

How one shares and uses their memory is an example of Inuit pedagogy that can influence curriculum at Qamani’tuq. Fannie shared how the things that she Learned as a Child were from memories of previous generations. I was able to witness from Fannie how the memories and images of her Childhood were released in the Stories that she shared with me. Inuit Elders could be invited in to the school to share their memories of their Childhood that are inevitably ingrained with Inuit Knowledge. Students can also be taught from the Elders how to remember so that in the future they too can share their memories with Youth.

The Stories that Fannie shared about her Mother reiterated many elements of Inuit pedagogy that can be adapted into curriculum at the school in Qamani’tuq. Fannie’s Mother was blind and was insistent on doing things independently. She is an example of doing the hard work that other Inuit Elders spoke of, on her own. The Teaching that is exemplified is that everyone is responsible for doing the hard work of survival on their own and not to ask others to help you, even if it was hard as it may put a burden on them and interfere with how they are taking care of their own survival. Fannie’s Mother did not even ask for help while she was sewing very complicated things such as the hood on a parka. To me, this also shows that Learning and Knowledge come from repetition. Since she had the responsibility
to sew and make parkas, she would have had previous experience in sewing, she was able to draw on her previous experience through repetition in order to complete tasks. The skill of repetition can be reinforced at the school in Qamani’tuq. Another pedagogical practice that Fannie shared in her Stories is how Inuit learn by looking at how things are made or done and repeating the same process for themselves. Again, this can easily incorporated into contemporary Learning in the school in Qamani’tuq by giving students opportunity to engage in their Learning and figuring out how it was made or how it functions.

Inuit Knowledge and pedagogy is resourceful. In many of the Stories that Fannie shared she reiterated that everything has a purpose and that nothing is ever wasted from skinning to sewing and even the curriculum and resources that are currently being used in the school at Qamani’tuq. From Fannie’s stories about using all resources to the fullest extent of their usefulness these Stories made me realize that if things are not working for Inuit in the particular manner or intent that the resource was designed for (i.e. current education and curriculum) that it can be repurposed and developed to make something that is meaningful and can have purpose. The current curriculum and polices at the school in Qamani’tuq could be revisited from the perspectives of Inuit Elders and Knowledge to be reimagined to be more practical and relatable for Inuit Youth today.

Using skills learned from one’s own experiences as Fannie did with figuring out how to sew by observation can be used to take customary Knowledge and create meaningful application that can assist with contemporary survival. Fannie exemplifies how her previous Knowledge and skills have helped her to survive and in turn Teaches Younger generations to do the same as well which further extends the Knowledge across generations. Fannie also shows Younger generations how to connect new learning to prior knowledge and how to adapt previous Knowledge into something new. An example of this is how Fannie is able to look at how something is sewn together and figure it out for herself but to change it into something different as Fannie did with creating a different kind of parka hood. These inquiry skills and application of Knowledge can be incorporated to curriculum development and delivery at the school in Qamani’tuq.

Problem solving can also be integrated into the curriculum at Qamani’tuq as part of the
students’ Learning to replicate customary knowledge acquisition. Teachers can use problem solving as a strategy for success that can be modeled in everyday tasks in the classroom.

Another idea for curriculum development that arose from Fannie’s Stories is the notion to explicitly Teach students to avoid taking shortcuts in life and in their Learning. For example, Fannie suggests that Young people learn how to make their own parkas instead of buying an already made parka. It is suggested that through the observation and figuring out how things are made that the Learning takes place. Also through the act of making something oneself, you make it your own, tailoring it to your own individual needs is another example of Inuit Learning that could be adapted to curriculum development. The process of reviewing the school’s current curriculum to incorporate Inuit knowledge and pedagogy is an example of the Stories that Lizzie shared.

The last example from Fannie’s Stories that could be used for curriculum development is through the Stories that she shared about working hard. Fannie’s Stories illustrated Children from a very young age were Taught how to work hard and take care of yourself as a Child so that you will become a successful adult because you do not have any other concept of how to be but a hard worker and independent. In curriculum development Teachers could provide opportunity for Younger students to have more ownership of their Learning and reinforce how the lessons Learned can be applied into adulthood. Adults and Elders could be invited into the school to share how the Knowledge they learned as Children is still applicable to them today.

**Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Lizzie Ittinuar:**

In repurposing and development of the Social Science curriculum at the school in Qamani’tuaq to be more reflective of Inuit Knowledge and pedagogy Lizzie in her stories suggests that knowing who your Family are and how each of the Families in Qamani’tuaq are connected to one another could be the core to the curriculum.

Inuit Knowledge is embedded in Inuktitut. This is evident in Lizzie’s Stories as they are
shared with me via an interpreter as I cannot speak Inuktitut. Inuktitut must be integrated authentically in the curriculum in Qamani’tuaq.

As it was shared by Fannie, Lizzie too shared Stories about the significance in the Elders’ memories from their Childhood. Curriculum development at Qamani’tuaq could include the memories of the Elders in many different forms. Lizzie’s Stories suggest that there are different types of memories that each have purpose. There are memories that are generational, based in the Land and connected to survival. Each of these categories of memories could have function to the education of younger Inuit and could be taught by the Elders at the school in Qamani’tuaq.

In discussing curriculum development based on the Stories shared by the Elders the elementary school is not the only institution that should be consider for the potential reimagining of curriculum based on Inuit Knowledge and pedagogy. According to all of the Elders who shared some of their Stories for this dissertation, Inuit Knowledge transfer begins in utero; therefore curriculum reimagining with an Inuit Knowledge focus should be incorporated into pre-natal care, be included in early childhood education and continue through post-secondary Learning. In the Stories that Lizzie shared Children begin their Learning while their Mothers are pregnant, this can be replicated though the Elders spending time Teaching pregnant Women for the benefit of their Children Learning. Customarily, young Girls were expected to help and Learn about birthing and as a Child grew s/he was told about their own birthing Story as the Story of one’s birth gave direction as to how that individual was going to live his/her life. Lizzie shared the birthing Story of Britania’s Mother and it was a beautiful moment for Britania (and I as a witness) to hear. Midwives learned from helping Women, the younger they started helping to deliver Babies the better midwives they became as adults. There was (and still is) value to the Mother to have the same midwives at each birth as the midwife would know the birthing Stories of the previous children and would be able to anticipate how to help both Mother and Baby based on previous knowledge of working with the same Mother in birth.

Lizzie’s Stories, as do all of the other Elders’ Stories is the understanding that gendered roles are important so that everyone knows what is expected of them. Specific gendered roles can
only be transferred from a Teacher and a Learner who are of the same gender. The application of this idea would include gender segregation at the school in Qamani’tuq for both the Teachers and the Learners to reflect Inuit pedagogy authentically. Customarily, gender roles were important so that everyone knew what was expected of them but also created a sense of belonging and purpose. Prior to relocation, Women were well taken care of by the Men in their Families and Communities. Lizzie talks about a change that happened with the influence of Qallunaat ways that created a shift in the way that Women were treated and how Women were no longer respected in the ways that they had been previously. Through the same gendered Teachers, younger generations would have an opportunity to Learn the roles of their own gender and perhaps the understanding and respect that once was given to Women would be reestablished. Due to the practice of gender specific Teachers many of the Elders who shared with me reiterated the idea that there are Teachings and understandings that only one from that gender knows and therefore has rites to share. Lizzie shared that there is a stage in Learning and development where only the Men Teach the Boys and she admitted that that as a Woman, she does not know what those Teachings are. Martin and Hugh also shared with me that as Young Boys they were not Taught specifics about what Women’s Teachings and roles are, so therefore they too do not know what those Teachings are.

Lizzie is a good Teacher as she demonstrates how to Teach in the Stories that she shared with Britania and I. She tells us Stories that have meaning to us: who my Family are and Britania’s Mother’s birthing Story. She also scaffolds the Storytelling process with Britania as she gentle corrects Britania as she was interpreting for me. Both of these Teaching strategies can be incorporated into curriculum development and delivery at Qamani’tuq: the Teachers could ensure to Teach meaningful content to the students and could scaffold the Learning for each student (regardless of the subject).

The Stories shared by Lizzie talked about how Community would observe and intervene in Families where they saw that there were problems. This could be incorporated into the school by having the Community and Families involved in the education committees and boards in the schools and sit as Inuit Circles. This customary model of observation and being aware of the needs of the individuals could be used in a school concept to be used as
preventive strategies and would be important to incorporate as customary disciplinary and behavioural strategies. Lizzie explained these Circles as prevention to assist when the Community saw that individuals were not making good choices. Being gently corrected and reminded that the individual was loved and cared for was essential to the individual as well as to the health of the Community as a whole.

**Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Maggie Akerolik:**

Maggie’s Stories also reiterated the need for Children to Learn their specific gender’s roles and responsibilities from the same gender Teacher. Maggie shared that she Learned on the Land from her Grandmother as it was the role of Grandmothers to teach Young Girls. In those Teachings Girls were Taught how to be a good parent so that the future generations would be strong. This method of Teaching, as suggested by Maggie, cannot be replicated in the current educational model as the old way of Teaching and Learning cannot be mixed because they are contradictory to one another. Learning off the Land cannot be replicated in classroom.

**Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Margaret Amarok Niviatsiaq:**

Margaret’s Stories, as did all of the Stories from the other Elders, reiterated that it was the responsibility of Grandmothers to Teach young Girls. Customarily it was the Grandmothers who in turn gave responsibility to the young Girls to Learn what was being given as they would be given the task to be a Grandmother one day and having to Teach themselves. The skills that were Taught were about survival: how to handle meat, how to sew, how to take care of babies. In this customary transfer of Inuit Knowledge it was explicitly taught to the Girls that they would have the responsibility to be Teachers in future generations. In curriculum application Inuit Grandmothers could be given opportunity to Teach Inuit young Girls important customary Knowledge. Margaret shared that Inuit Children in the schools should be Learning Inuit curriculum by Inuit Teachers. Qallunaat have a role in educating Inuit Children as well, but only about western and Qallunaat Knowledges. It is not appropriate for Qallunaat to teach Inuit Knowledge. Due to the influences of Qallunaat it is important for Inuit Children to Learn both ways.
Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Winnie Ikinilik:

Just as Lizzie, as well as other Elders in this research journey suggested that Learning begins during pregnancy Winnie’s Stories outlined how Mothers who are pregnant have responsibility to be Teaching their unborn Babies. Therefore curriculum development must be included in early Childhood education starting with prenatal care through to daycare.

Inuit Knowledge is ancient Knowledge that is passed down intergenerationally. Inuit pedagogy is through listening and watching everything. Children were explicitly taught to observe everything so that they can remember to teach others in the future. Winnie’s Stories suggest that the customarily there was not a division on the Land from Teachers and Learners, that everyone had opportunity to Learn from one another’s Knowledges and lived experiences. Winnie further suggests that Qallinaat ways of Teaching do not permit the flow of Knowledges to be reciprocal from Teacher to Student. In reviewing contemporary curriculum these methods could be applied in giving Students opportunity to Teach the Teachers.

Winnie suggests that the current education model at the school in Qamani’tuaq is not giving opportunity for the right way for Inuit Children to Learn. Winnie shares that Learning needs to be kinesthetic as that is how Inuit customarily Learned: by doing. This can be addressed by having more opportunity for Students to participate physically in what it is they are Learning instead of sitting passively in the classroom.

Her Stories are somewhat contradictory to one another, which is also reflective of the current curriculum delivery at the schools: Qallunaat cannot deliver Inuit curriculum and Inuit Children cannot learn Inuit customary ways in a classroom. Winnie suggests that since people are not from the Land anymore that Knowledge from and about the Land (including the language) should not be Taught in the school. Inuit pedagogy and the content for Inuit curriculum was based on Teaching the skills for survival. Translated into present day, the skills needed for survival are very different than what they were even sixty years ago.
Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Hugh Tulurialik:

Hugh’s Stories share that Inuit pedagogy is grounded in kindness. Customarily, Younger people learned because adults had the patience to show them how to do things. It is because of this patience and kindness that the Children would learn. Prior to relocation, Inuit Children would follow adults around, the Boys would follow and learn from the Men and the Girls from the Women. Hugh shares that he had opportunity to learn whatever he was interested in just by observing the Men in his life and that the things he observed and learned were integral to his survival. The current education system does not support this way of learning.

Prior to relocation, people always helped each other and shared what that had. Hugh suggests that this concept is not explicitly taught in the current educational context and that is fundamental to Inuit pedagogy and Knowledge. These Inuit concepts of living and being could be incorporated into curriculum development at the school.

Hugh suggests that Inuit skills and Knowledge should be taught at the schools because the Children at the school are Inuit and should have a strong understanding of who they are as Inuit. However, Inuit Children need to learn Inuit skills such as hunting, survival, reading the weather, knowing different types of snow from the Land on the Land not from books and not from Qallunaat Teachers.

Potential Suggestions for Curriculum Development from Ruth Tulurialik:

Ruth’s Stories suggest that it is the role of the parent to be the Teacher. She learned from her parents and had responsibility as a parent to teach her Children. From Ruth’s Stories I think that having parents more involved at the school is a way to incorporate the customary role of parents as Teachers into a contemporary context.
My Understandings about Curriculum Suggestions:

From the experiences of hearing and reviewing each of the Elders’ Stories in response to my re-search questions I have developed a list of potential themes that could be used by Qamani’tuaq for curriculum development and application. Again, I want to reiterate, these are only suggestions from me at this time of writing this dissertation and are only my interpretation of what the Elders have suggested for potential curriculum development for Qamani’tuaq.

- **Inuit must teach Inuit Knowledge using Inuit ways of Learning**: Qallunaat people and knowledge have a place within the curriculum: but it is not appropriate for Qallunaat to teach customary Inuit Knowledge.

- **Inuktitut**: Acquiring and applying Inuit Knowledge needs to be taught in the original language of the Inuit, in Inuktitut. English has a place within the curriculum, but Inuktitut needs to be taught first and be the main language in the school.

- **Knowledge of your Inuktitut name**: Several of the Elders shared in their Stories that knowledge of one’s Inuktitut name is integral to one’s own Learning. Knowing your Inuktitut name is your connection to your Family and your purpose to the Community. Teachers can support this Learning within the school.

- **Connection to Land and Weather**: Inuit Knowledge acquisition is based on a strong connection to the Land and the weather. The Learning environment of Youth in Qamani’tuaq should be reflected in the natural environment.

- **Gender and Teaching**: Customarily Inuit Knowledge was transferred from the same gender intergenerationally. Children at the school in Qamani’tuaq could be separated by gender for school and be taught by the same gender of Teacher. Potentially gender, instead of age or grade could be a method used to separate Children for Learning at the school that would be based on Inuit pedagogy. These same gendered Teachers would be Inuit Elders who are using their memories and Stories of customary pedagogy, content and methodology as the basis of curriculum delivery.
• **Observation:** Each Elder spoke of the importance of watching in Learning. At every stage of curriculum development and application, Inuit Youth must be given opportunity to observe skills before application. After sufficient time in observation of the Learning or skill being Taught, Inuit Youth could be scaffolded in their Learning and encouraged with kindness in the application of Knowledge. The application of Knowledge through kinesthetic application of skill is also a crucial step in the development of Inuit Learning.

• **Learning must have meaning:** The curriculum at the school in Qamani’tuaq must have meaning to the students and the meaning must be explicitly Taught to the students with the sharing of how the Knowledge gained and applied will assist in their success and survival (on the land and in modern times and skills). Additionally, Youth at the school can be shown how customary Knowledge can be applied to contemporary skills (such as sewing and hunting as economic independence).

**Looking Back: Reflection on each of the visits and how they have shaped my Learning in this re-search**

In this re-search gathering I was fortunate to have many opportunities to apply the Indigenous methodologies that I was writing about. For the conclusion of this dissertation I have chosen to write how each of the visits with the Elders has shaped my Learning and understanding at this point in time.

**Reflecting on My Visit with Vivian and What Her Stories Mean to Me:**

When Vivian shared with me how she felt when the plane came to her Family’s camp on the Land and how she was taken away to school I wanted to stop the interview and forfeit the re-search. I held her hand while she cried and I felt responsible for re-traumatizing her by having her relive the pain in the re-telling of the Story. I comforted her and apologized for asking her to relive painful memories. She smiled and assured me that she was okay and that it was part of her Story that she wanted me and others to know. This reminded that I now had a responsibility to share what I was told so that others know of Vivian’s experiences with the clash of differing ontologies in the attempts of colonization and forced relocation of Inuit. I am also reminded that with knowledge acquisition there is sometimes discomfort in learning the Truth. I am thankful Vivian was kind and patient with me.
When I came into Jessie Oonark that day in the Summer of 2016 to gather Stories, Vivian was working on sewing aprons, like the one she is pictured wearing in the section of the dissertation with her Story. It depicts an ulu, which is cleverly designed to be a pocket. This apron makes me smile, it is an example of the innovation of the Inuit, and how we are adaptable. She shared she did not learn how to sew using the patterns her Mother did in making kammiks; yet she still uses the skills of sewing for a means of survival. She identifies as “mixed now” and that is evident in the sewing that she does as she mixes a combination of traditional skills, tools and design to make something modern: which is her adaptability, an example of the Inuit as a whole. She has found a way to make money and survive from traditional skills and knowledge. She was busy trying to complete an order of aprons at the Jessie Oonark Centre for an upcoming fashion show (figure 30). Vivian was working on what seemed to me as an overwhelmingly amount of aprons to make; however, she was quite content with the pile of sewing she had to complete.

Figure 31: Picture of models at Baker Lake Fashion show: the reason for Vivian’s large apron sewing order. Taken by author, used with permission. Qamani’tuq, NU, Summer 2016.

Vivian speaks of being in the middle. She is an example of the transition of learning styles from customary to contemporary. I am assuming that when her Father taught her previously reserved knowledge for Boys that this was an act of preservation of knowledge
but also was an example of the adaptability to the changing ways of knowledge acquisition. The theme of being in the middle, mixed or floating is evident in some of the Stories shared by other Elders. The Elders that I was able to interview are from a generation that was born on the Land and has lived the transition from the Land to the Community. It is remarkable to think about the changes they have seen in their lives. In just one generation so much has changed; these Elders interviewed really are the conduits to the Inuit life of the past. Quite literally, all of the Elders who shared with me are in the middle, the middle of the knowledge and ways of Inuit pre-contact to Inuit of the future through their connection to their Grandchildren.

Figure 3: Picture of Arctic River Beauty flowers on the Land. These flowers remind me of resiliency. Even in what is seemingly a barren Land there is beauty and new growth continuously. Taken by author. Qamani’tuaq, NU, Summer 2013.

I, too, feel like I am mixed and in the middle too. Lots of things for me are mixed, my identity as an Inuk adopted into an Anishinabe Family and as an Indigenous person using western education as a means to further my Indigenous knowledge. I feel like I am in the
middle of my understanding between how to accept these binaries; however, this dissertation has given me the opportunity to think these ideas through.

It was the school system that changed how Inuit lived in previous generations. No one lives permanently on the Land anymore. Vivian shared that because kids had to go to school, there was no choice for her Family: they had to move to the Community. I feel the irony in using school and obtaining a Ph.D. by gathering Stories of the institutions that have taken so much from Indigenous people. Education was the tool that was used for forced relocation. It is empowering to now use the academy to preserve Inuit Stories.

One of the themes that are reiterated in many of the Stories shared by the Elders in regards to their Learning experiences is Residential Schools. Although Vivian does not specifically talk about what or how she learned at Residential School, she shares with me about the experiences of going to Residential School, explicitly about being picked up and the travel to the school. Vivian talks about the separation from family and how she had to leave the Land and go to a foreign place without the comforts of her Family or home. One of the foundational ontological perspectives of the Inuit that shared with me is that Family are the first Teachers. For Girls Learning is achieved through time spent with the influential Women in their lives, namely their Mothers, Grandmothers and Aunts. Residential Schools systematically removed the possibility of Family relationships and therefore Learning opportunities by displacing Children from their influential Teachers, namely their Parents and Grandparents.

In using an Anishinabe theoretical lens in making meaning from Vivian’s Story, for me she exemplifies Aakwa’ode’ewin (Bravery). Vivian is brave, not only for surviving Residential School, but for the bravery in her willingness to talk to me about it. It must have taken her tremendous amounts of strength to survive being taken away from her Family. She was taken from the Tundra in Nunavut and flown to Manitoba. I can only imagine that it was a frightening experience to be stolen from her Family and have to survive in a foreign environment without the comforts of her Family to whom she had very close ties with. She was a brave young Inuk and is now a brave Elder. I appreciate her bravery and her willingness to share with me.
Vivian’s Stories reminded me of the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit value, Qanuqtuurunnarniq, meaning problem solving. She shared of her experiences with resiliency and how she overcame adversity through her ability to problem solve. For example, as a small child she helped her Dad with hunting and knew that she had to walk great distances without complaining in order to survive on the Land. She also shared about how she dealt with the separation from her Family while away at Residential School by spending time with other Qamani’tuaq Youth and sharing tears and Stories together: this made their sadness a common sadness and was manageable that way.

Vivian also shared about problem solving with the idea of being in the middle. Being in the middle, as discussed, is the notion of having knowledge of the ways of the past and knowing how to best utilize the skills of yesterday in order to survive today, an example of this is her ability to be successful in the face of adversity.

Vivian’s Stories showed how her Parents problem solved in order to get Qallunaat items for their Children such as flour, sugar and candies and bullets for themselves by working for the Hudson’s Bay Company, moving freight to make money. Vivian’s Parents were successful problem solvers because they had to be in order to survive living in a harsh climate. Vivian did not share if her Parents taught her directly or indirectly about Qanuqtuurunnarniq, but regardless if she was taught it explicitly or not it is evident it was a hereditary trait – an example of Inuit ontology.

Another example of Vivian’s ability to problem solve is her ability to get a job using her sewing skills. Although she does not make customary Inuit clothing, she is able to utilize those skills while exercising her idea about being in the middle: by using something old to make something modern, her aprons. Perhaps Vivian realizes her knowledge of sewing is most marketable through making contemporary items.

During the interviewing and writing stages of the Story gathering with Vivian I had to share what I thought was relevant and not share what was too sacred in the dissertation. I, too, had to exercise Qanuqtuurunnarniq in determining what I put into the dissertation. Most importantly, I had to problem solve when I was gathering the Stories from Vivian. For
example, when she shared with me about things that were difficult I had to decide how I would comfort her and move to a place of respectful re-search.

Reflecting on My Visit with Martin and What His Stories Mean to Me:

When I was Younger I used to follow my Uncle Dave around. I always wanted to know where he was and what he was doing. I was constantly in the way of what he was trying to do. Since then, I have had many great Uncles in my life that I choose to be close to. I try to help them out the best I can and not get in the way. When I met Martin, I felt that same Uncle aura in him. I knew that I wanted to be around him to listen and learn from him and do my best to help him with what he needed.

Martin shared freely with me about his life experiences with learning and the work that he does to help others with their learning and Healing Journeys. He is a natural Teacher. He learned from watching with careful guidance and kindness from his Dad and Uncles; so he does the same.

Martin shared with me a Story of his memory of his birth. This reminded me of my Tat. He, too, remembers being born. It reiterated for me the strength of Inuit memory and made me wonder if the reason why Inuit today cannot remember the way they used to in the past is because of new cultural influences blocking the part of one’s brain that holds the ancestral ways of knowing and remembering. Is it because Inuit have been forced to learn in a different way that the brain is actually re-wired and does not have the ability to think as the Inuit of previous generations did? What does that mean then, to use the opportunity of completing a dissertation using western school systems to preserve Inuit Stories? Is it even possible?

Customarily, Inuit learned by watching. The forced relocation changed what it was that Inuit were watching. Skills taught in western schools were not based on survival on the Land; instead there was a focus on reading, writing and foreign math skills\textsuperscript{21}. Acquisition of

\textsuperscript{21} Please note that there were and are traditional Inuit math skills, but the instruction in abstract math framed around examples from a foreign environment did not lend to a connection between Inuit math and western math.
these skills will not assist in survival on the Land. Martin suggested that what the school system in Nunavut is doing to bring in cultural programs is good; but not as good as learning from one’s own parents. Due to forced relocation and Residential Schools a lot of Inuit customary knowledge has been lost, so learning in schools about Inuit language and culture is better than not learning about it.

Figure 33: Author and Uncle Dave: heading out on the boat to check nets. Used with permission, Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2016

Martin spoke a lot about the differences in life that he has witnessed since he was a small Child. Learning of western influences and systems was scary for him: he remembers the first time he saw a drunk person; his first experience of working and not knowing he was going to get paid; and being scolded by Qallunaat at Residential Schools. He talked about cultural shock even with the music and dancing that people were participating in as different from what he previously knew. Martin shared that his Elders advised to take what you can use from both cultures, and at this time Inuit are floating between old Inuit ways and Qallunaat
ways. These words resonated with me as I am trying to find balance between gathering and sharing Inuit knowledge though the process and confines of a western Ph.D. program. The idea of floating between two very different realms of knowledge, ontology and pedagogy is fascinating to me. It lends itself to the idea that a mixing of the two realms can be created. As Martin said: take the best from the two worlds and use what you can.

Figure 34: Photograph of author’s Grandparents’ home. I have memories of following my Uncle Dave to and from my Grandparents’ home. Taken by author. Qamani’tuaq, Nu. Summer 2013.

Many of the Elders addressed the theme of healing. Most prominently, Martin shared Stories of his own Healing Journey. As discussed previously, Martin uses Inuit pedagogy of teaching from his own lived experiences. It is an Inuit ontologically perspective to only speak of what you know from your own experiences. Inuit Elders have warned me not to share Stories of things that have not been told to me directly by people who have experienced them.

Martin shares in his Stories about a time when he was struggling with addictions. Even at his darkest times he shared that he knew he was not acting like a true Inuk. He spoke repeatedly of hearing and feeling the notion of what he was doing was not him or who he should be. He knew that he would have to work towards healing through identifying what caused him
the anger and hurt that led him to believe it could only be addressed with the use of alcohol. It was only when he was able to move towards healing through addressing his childhood traumas that he was able to give up alcohol and live like a true Inuk. Like his Ancestors previously who gained knowledge through their experiences, Martin also taught others from his experiences with his Healing Journey. He shares to get to a place of healing one must look back to the difficult times and forgive others in order to be healthy yourself. Martin has shared this message of healing with many Inuit Men across Nunavut through leading Men’s healing circles and workshops on healing, which are both examples of Inuit pedagogy. The Men’s healing circles are examples of Inuit pedagogy; it was shared by all of the Inuit Elders that Boys and Young Men learn their role as Men from their Older Brothers, Uncles, Fathers, and Grandfathers. Martin creates and recreates in these Men’s healing circles the Inuit male teaching pedagogy. The workshops are an example of Inuit pedagogy because one person, Martin, speaks from his lived experiences and/or demonstrates a customary Inuit male life skill.

In addressing Anishinabe Theory, Martin exemplifies Gwekwaadziwin (Honesty). Martin was very Honest with me (and others) in how he shared about a particularly difficult time in his life. Martin knows through Honest self-reflection of his lived experiences, that he can help others who have experienced or are experiencing similar challenges in their own Healing Journeys.

He is Honest about his knowledge in what he does and does not know. Martin shares that he only knows about Men’s Teachings, as Men only taught him about the roles of Men. He acknowledges that there are different knowledge sets for Women, but he does not know what they are.

Martin’s Stories also show the gift of Honesty in the notion that he shares about both the positive things he knows and has experienced as well as negative experiences he has learned from. He speaks with Honesty in the telling of the abuses that he endured at Residential School in addition to thoughts about suicide. As already addressed, his use of lived experiential knowledge and speaking from Honesty is an example of Inuit pedagogy in assisting others who may have similar experiences and thoughts.
I was Honest with Martin when I begin the interview in sharing that I was feeling nervous. He immediately made me feel at ease and validated my feelings and shared that he, too, used to feel nervous in interviewing people. I was able to experience first hand how both his lived experience and example of Honesty in admitting his similar feelings made me also feel at ease.

Pijitsirniq, meaning serving, is the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle that is most clearly evident to me in the Stories that Martin shared. He spoke about how as a Young man he attended Residential Schools even though he did not want to, in order to ensure that his Parent’s would receive the government allowance. Martin was thinking of his Family and their greater good; he was thinking of how he could be serving towards them rather than what was in the best interest for himself. Martin knew if he left Residential School his Parents would not receive the financial support that they had become dependent on since being relocated from living on the Land to a Community. Another example of serving that Martin shared with me was in the Story about working in an office for three months without getting paid. He shared that he did not know the concepts of money nor getting paid but worked for three months because that was what was asked of him. He worked without any expectation for personal gain for himself. He worked, serving others, as that was what was asked of him with no anticipation for anything in return. Lastly, as Martin continued through his Healing Journey he realized he had an opportunity to help others as well through sharing Stories of his lived experiences and creating a safe place for Men to do the same. He decided that he could take counseling classes with the intent to assist in serving and giving back to others what he had gained through his knowledge.
Figure 35: Photograph of author’s Uncle and his Family. My Uncle is a good man, a true Inuk who takes care of his Family and lives like a true Inuk following IQ. Taken by author with permission. Qamani’tuq, NU. Summer 2013.

Figure 36: Uncle Dave showing Miigizens how to properly clean a fish. This is an example of how Uncles are Teachers. Taken by author with permission. Qamani’tuq, NU. Summer 2016.
Reflecting on My Visit with Martha and What Her Stories Mean to Me:

In a kind tone, Martha shared that kids today do not know about Inuit traditions. She thinks that they spend little time on the Land and they think that they know what it means to be an Inuk; then they go back to living in their houses with their warm bathrooms. She stresses that you cannot learn to be Inuk in a short amount of time. The idea that the only way to learn Inuit life and culture in the future will be from a book or an institution is so contradictory to the natural life, but it is a real possibility if the Younger generations do not pick up the work in watching and Learning from the Elders of today. The idea that any institution can hold the memory of the Land, the people and the art is absurd. The idea of learning ancient customs in a ridged academic setting is unsettling. In response to the third re-search question I set out to find answers to, Martha in her Stories, suggests that Inuit Knowledge cannot be learned from book or in a classroom.

She suggested that the mixing of different tribes together in a small area that would not have customarily lived together forcing them to share resources created animosity and competition that did not previously exist on the Land. Forced relocation and moving into homes is foreign and caused cultural shock amongst the Inuit. Putting limitations on movement, to confine nomadic people to the boundaries of a Community is unnatural; the people are still healing from this recent attempt at colonization. The attempts at colonization of the Inuit are recent, the North was undesirable for a long time due to the climate and remoteness, but with the discovery of marketable opportunities in non-renewable resources and a desire to exert Canadian sovereignty over the North, the Arctic has become desirable.

The exposure to White Man’s things changed the way Inuit thought. For example, it was not difficult to live off the Land or go to the bathroom outside before you knew of anything else. Convenience made what life was like before seem hard, even though no one thought that prior to being introduced to the influences of convenience. Heating, housing and stores made people think they were weak and dependent on those foreign luxuries, which has created a residual impact on today’s generation.
I think the feeling I had of discomfort when I walked down the hallway to Martha’s studio came for a variety of reasons. I felt that I should know things that I did not. For example, I felt like I should have known who Martha is, who her Family is and how my Family is connected to her Family. Also the lack of knowing the Inuktitut language made me feel uncomfortable. I struggled to communicate with Martha although she is proficient in English; I had difficulty in finding the right words to use to talk to her. I did not want to infantilize her with my vocabulary but I wanted to make sure she understood and, in turn, that I understood what she was saying to me. When she shared with me about the punishment she endured for speaking Inuktitut while in Residential Schools, I felt like I was reiterating that by interviewing her in the language that attempted to take away her identity. I longed to be able to speak with her, to share in that interaction that she and other Inuit had with one another to help remember what life was like living on the Land.
Just like Vivian with her sewing, Martha uses jewelry making influenced by traditional methods, tools and materials to make a living. She has adapted modern tools to a customary practice to create beautiful jewelry. This is an example that the conveniences of modern times, when influenced by knowledge of the past, can create something that is both beautiful and useful.

All of the Elders who shared Stories with me talked about the theme of Learning. Martha spoke of her Learning and the innovation and adaptability of what and how she learned. When Martha first started sharing with me, she admitted that she did not remember learning the things that she knows explicitly, that she just learned things from watching and knowing what to do. One of the most memorable things shared with me during this entire research gathering was when Martha shared the wisdom of how Mothers were integral to the learning and development of babies: “As long as children have Mothers they survived. Doesn’t matter how hard it is, as long the Mother is there, the kids become people” (Martha). Mothers are the first Teachers to Children, regardless of their gender; it is Mothers who teach the Children the basic skills for survival and the basis of ontological framework.

Martha, much like the other Elders who shared Stories, spoke of how her Learning was a blend of customary knowledge and contemporary practices. For example, Martha is a very skilled jeweler. When I asked her how she learned how to make her jewelry, she said her Cousin taught her what she remembered from old ways of making jewelry with old tools. Martha wanted to learn more about contemporary jewelry making so she attended Arctic College and took a course that showed her how to use modern tools with ancient materials (tusk and bone). The jewelry that Martha makes now is a blend of the two styles of learning, again showing how Inuit are adaptable to their surroundings with their learning being innovative and adaptable.

In connecting my experience of Martha sharing her Stories with me to Anishinabe Theory I can relate the experiences to the teaching of Dbaadendiziwin (Humility). When Martha shared with me about her parenting she displayed Humility in stating it was very challenging. She shared that she had six Children that she raised on her own. She admitted at times that
she would leave them to their own devices to get dressed. As her older Children grew up they would try to help her with their younger siblings.

Another example of Humility shared from Martha’s Stories was when she shared about being bullied at Residential Schools by other Inuit. She shared that many different Inuit from Communities across Nunavut, which she referred to as Tribes, were forced to go to school together. Oftentimes she was bullied because she was different from the other Inuit that were there. Martha shared that she was called different and made to feel like a stranger by other Inuit.

Humility was shown in how Martha shared that she does not miss customary Inuit life of living on the Land. Martha admits that she is thankful for modern conveniences of the Qallunaat to make her live easier. This is an example of Humility because she knows this is contradictory to what other Inuit Elders might suggests for preserving Inuit knowledge. Martha shared that moving into the Community made living easier for the Inuit. However, Inuit challenges changed from survival of the harsh climate to survival of Qallunaat influences such as technology and mind altering substances (drugs and alcohol and Qallunaat thinking). Martha said it was difficult to live on the Land, but moving into the Community was a different kind of hard such as the challenges of raising six Children on her own.

I experienced Humility myself with my visit with Martha. I shared earlier in the dissertation about my feelings of discomfort when I walked down the hallway with Martha towards her studio. I had to humble myself and remind myself that I was a re-searcher not a researcher. As an Indigenous student who chose to use her home Community as her re-search site, a Community where I do not presently live, I knew I would be faced with an internal conversation in regards to insider-outsider privileges. After I visited with Martha I spent some time reflecting on what and how I was gathering re-search. I am thankful for Martha’s examples of Humility through which I was able to follow myself as well.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit’s principle of Piliriqatiigíngniq (collaborative relationships or working together for a common purpose) is displayed in several of the Stories Martha shared with me. When she was a small Child Martha had to work collaboratively in her family unit for everyone’s survival. Martha shared that after her Father passed away her responsibilities
shifted to help her Mother more with the raising of her siblings. Martha’s Mother was hospitalized for mental illness after she was moved to the Community. Martha’s responsibilities changed to be the primary caregiver for her siblings. She knew in the absence of her parents that she had to take care of her siblings.

Martha shared a Story about when she was at Residential School and how she worked with other Inuit from Qamani’tuq towards preserving common experiences of life on the Land. She would share Stories with other Inuit from Qamani’tuq about the Land for the purpose of preserving common memories. This preservation of common memories of life on the Land and of Inuktitut would be shared with the threat of consequences from the Qallunaat; however, the consequences far out weighed the importance of preserving Inuit life on the Land and the Children’s connections to the Land despite being so far removed from it. The process of sharing common memories would help to ease the pain and burden of separation from Family and the Land, which is an example of Martha and the other Inuit from Qamani’tuaq working together.

As she mentioned, at the Residential School Martha attended there were Inuit from various regions of the Arctic and there were Cree First Nation Youth that attended as well. Martha admitted there was a conflict between these two Indigenous groups of People. Martha said that this conflict between the Youth at the school made her uncomfortable. As small Child, Martha was taught by her family that Inuit are to get along with one another. She shared that the Inuit way of doing things was to get along and to not talk back to your family because it made things easier to work together rather than to work against one another.

I am attempting to use Piliriqatigiingniq in the process of my re-search gathering and the writing of this dissertation. If the Elders that shared with me their Stories desire for me to continue to work with what they shared and create something practical for the Community of Qamani’tuaq, I will do that. I am Humbled that the Elders shared so much of their lives through their Stories and I hope they accept that I have been working towards preservation of their Stories for all Qamani’tuaqmiut.
Reflecting on My Visit with Fanny and What Her Stories Mean to Me:

The feelings I had of inadequacy and discomfort that began the interview with Martha were not there when I went to Fanny’s house. It was evident that her home was central to her Family. Fanny loved to share her Stories, and she had so many to share.

Fanny echoed what Martha shared in regards to modern influences making life easier and how moving from the Land to the Community made life easier for Inuit. She knew that the life the Qallunaat brought with them to the North was much easier than the life she grew up with. I can see how Inuit values of Teaching Young people important life skills has transcended through the generations and with the ease of technology. The evidence of this is when my son Miigizens was given the keys to a four-wheeler. My Uncle said, “He’ll figure it out”. And he did. Actually, he almost ran over my Uncle and drove into the Lake. I was there to stop that accident from happening. My Uncle did not look phased by the situation. My Uncle said “He would have figured it out before hitting me.”
Fanny talked about life before contact with Qallunaat and how Inuit used to all work together. When people worked together and helped one another out, life on the Land did not seem hard. But, once Inuit were introduced to the comforts brought by Qallunaat such as the oil stove and then the furnace, without these amenities life was hard.
Although she spoke at length about how much she wanted to have the modern amenities to make her life easier, Fanny never lost sight of who she was as an Inuk: she still followed customary Teachings in regards to being a Woman. She was not sent away to Residential School out of the Community because she had to stay with her Mother who was blind and needed Fanny’s help. She also shared Stories of her Great Aunt who was hard on her and made her work hard and would not let her have free time. She is thankful now for that hard work because she is not lazy and always has something to do. These are examples of Inuit customary practices that she was able to fulfill, and that she gained through her Mother and Aunt and other women in her family.

Fanny taught herself how to make wall-hangings by watching and figuring out how to make things, another example of Inuit customary Knowledge acquisition and pedagogy which Martin also spoke of: the importance of watching to learn. Her whole process of learning and Teaching others is rooted in Inuit pedagogy. Fanny happily showed me stencils, and stressed the importance of planning: background, scene, quality of fabric and most importantly, not wasting anything. These fundamental practices of wall-hanging sewing can transcend into life lessons as well with the importance of planning and being resourceful. She teaches sewing at the school so that kids will have a means to make money if needed. Fanny shared that her Family helps by putting pictures of her wall-hangings on Facebook to sell, so she is able to use technology to assist in selling her sewing: she is able to take from the Old Ways and use modern platforms to sell her work and provide for her Family.

One of the over-arching themes that was shared from most of the Elders was the practice of learning arts such as drawing, making wall hangings or carving soapstone. I see this ability to re-create life in art as an example of teaching. Not only do the artists re-create something beautiful, but they can also use the art as a teaching tool. The process of watching and learning through observation is reiterated in many of the Elder’s Stories and is also an example of them preserving their Knowledge and Stories. Fanny shared with me a wall hanging that she made and shared a Story of how her artwork depicted a Story from her Childhood.

Fanny learned how to sew from her Mother. Although her Mother was blind, she was still able to sew. Fanny shared with me about her Mom’s sewing ability and how she was able to
sew difficult projects, such as the hood on an amauti. Fanny’s Mother relied on her memory, presumably from being taught as a Younger person from the influential Women in her life. In addition, Fanny’s Mother, also used her other senses to sew. Fanny shared about how she would watch her Mother use her hands to figure out what and how to sew. As Fanny picked up the skill of sewing to make wall hangings, she shared that some people in the Community were surprised that she knew how to sew because the Community knew that her Mother was blind. Fanny was fortunate to have an Auntie and a Sister-in-law (in addition to other Women who influenced her) to help her learn to sew.

Another theme that is evident in a lot of the Stories that were shared with me was the idea of adaptability, which is a trait of Inuit. Fanny talks about how the conveniences of the modern world changed her Learning and how she lived, from the house she was moved into, to the running water, the modernization of the furnaces in her home and the eventual electricity in her home. Fanny shared that since she was living in the modern world that she had to learn from the modern world.

Things changed drastically for Fanny when her Family was forced by the RCMP to move from the Land to the Community. Instead of relying on her customary Knowledge for survival, she had to find jobs based on the skills that were taught to her by her Mother. She was able to adapt her survival skills into employable skills. For example, she shared that she was always able to find work in the Community doing such things as: sewing, interpreting, housekeeping and babysitting. Each one of these jobs is rooted in knowledge that was taught explicitly by her Mother for survival.

Fanny has an impeccable memory, she is able to look at photographs from over sixty years ago and name all of the people in the picture as well as tell me where all of the people in the picture are now. Drawing on Anishinabe Theory, Fanny exemplifies the teaching of Nbwaakaawin (Wisdom). Another example of Fanny’s Wisdom is how she talks about her kammiks at school. While she was still living in an igloo and being escorted back and forth to school, she shared that her Caribou skin kammiks would get wet and cold from thawing out inside the school building during the day. At the end of the day when she would leave from the school to go home to her igloo, she would have to walk back to her igloo with wet kammiks. She thought that it was silly that the Children would be taught to bring their boots
inside to thaw and become wet and thought that they were best left outside so that they would not thaw. The Inuit Youth knew that it was best to leave their kamiiit outside but the Teachers insisted they bring them inside. The building and the heat changed the kamiiit making them no longer practical. This reminded me how the school building attempted to change the Inuit also.

Fanny’s Knowledge is also exemplified in her Stories about weather. She shared that as a small Child they were not to leave the igloo while the weather was stormy as it was not safe. Fanny shares when this knowledge of weather was in conflict with when she was attending school in Qamani’tuaq. In Fanny’s Stories about attending school she shares that it was expected students attend school even when the weather was severe. Knowledge of the weather, especially when it is safe to travel far outweighs anything that could have been taught at a Qallunaat school.

Fanny alludes to her Knowledge of Hitler in the Stories she shared about her former Teacher, Mr. McMaster. In transcription and in reflection of her Stories I realize that I did not ask Fanny who taught her about Hitler. I am curious now, as to how world events were taught to Inuit in the North during this time period. I feel like I have many more questions for the Elders than when I began this re-search, and for that, I am thankful.

The Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle that I would like to address with Fanny’s Stories is Pilimmaksarniq, which is skills and knowledge acquisition. Fanny’s ability to learn new things such as her sewing and how to use modern conveniences are examples of her skills and knowledge acquisition. Fanny learned things through observation and then in turn teaches Younger generations, another example of Inuit pedagogy. She teaches by scaffolding the skills to the Young people. At first she helps Youth with their drawing and design, then she encourages them to try on their own. Fanny shares how she builds up new learner’s confidence by telling them they are doing a good job. She also helps them if they are stuck in the design and fixes their sewing with them if they have made a mistake so they do not get too discouraged with their learning.

Regrettably, the RCMP did not recognize that Fanny’s Uncle was fulfilling the roles and responsibilities of Fanny’s Father after he had passed away. Fanny shared that she and her
Sister-in-law attempted to tell the RCMP that they did not need to move into the Community as the RCMP believed there was not a Man to build them an igloo. Through the Stories shared with me by the Elders, it was essential for survival to have both Men and Women fulfill their duties and responsibilities within the Family unit. When there was a need, such as a physical impairment like Fanny’s Mother’s blindness, or death in the case of Fanny’s Father’s passing, other Inuit from the extended Family stepped in and fulfilled the roles. Inuit adoption was a way to ensure that there were always Men and Women within the Family unit to fulfill the roles and responsibilities needed for survival.

![Figure 41: Photograph of Martha Taliruq Centre taken by author. This is the home where Lizzie and Martha live (amongst other Elders). Used with permission. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2016.](image)

I had thought that I had secured a translator prior to coming to Qamani’tuaq. I knew the limitations of only doing interviews in English. Unfortunately, my Aunt who committed to
helping me was no longer able to help. I felt defeated. Even after the beautiful welcoming and visiting I had with Fanny, I was immediately brought back to the feelings of being an imposter: again the researcher, the outsider that represented the institution and all things colonial. After hearing the news that my Aunt could not help me I went for a walk with my Cousin, Josh. I cried and told him how I felt frustrated. He listened and reminded me that anything worthwhile is always going to take work. Then he laughed, which surprised me. He said, “There are lots of Inuktitut speakers here that will help you”. I had to laugh at my own despair in thinking that there was only one translator, or thinking that there would not be others that would want to help me.

Figure 42: Britania and author outside of Jessie Oonark Centre. I’m thankful for Britania’s help in gathering Stories. Taken with permission. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2016.
Reflecting on My Visit with Lizzie and What Her Stories Mean to Me:

The first interview I did with the assistance of a translator was with Lizzie. It was a challenge as again I felt like I was not prepared. I needed to learn through trial and error how to communicate to Britania so that she could convey my questions to the Elders. I knew that I was hearing the Elders’ Stories as interpreted through Britania. I also knew that Britania would work hard, but she would not be able to word-for-word translate what the Elders were sharing with me. I knew going in to this re-search that not speaking Inuktitut was going to hinder the Stories that I gathered; I experienced this first hand and needed to adapt quickly to this barrier to make the best of my experience.

During the Story sharing, I would watch Lizzie as she talked, at first not knowing where to look, but wanting her to know that I was listening to what she was saying, even if I could not understand Inuktitut. I was aware of the importance of Britania; but I did not want to look away from Lizzie. I wanted to know what the Elders were saying. When Lizzie spoke and I saw that Britania understood, I felt a pang of jealously and then immediately felt remorse. I had no right to be jealous of Britania’s Knowledge acquisition; I, too, have that right and responsibility to Learn my original language. It was both a humbling and learning experience for me.

While Lizzie was speaking of the preventative Circles that the Family would have for people that were rooted in love, I could feel the beauty and the magnitude of what she was saying, even though I could not understand the words. Her voice was soft and melodic. Britania was overcome with emotion and needed a minute to translate the beauty of what Lizzie was sharing; it was a powerful moment. After the interview Britania thanked me for asking her to translate, as she had never heard of some of the Stories that Lizzie shared with us.

There were times when Britania would speak at the same time as Lizzie and other Stories where Britania would wait for Lizzie to be done talking before she started to translate. They would literally talk at the same time, Britania’s voice was just slightly lower than Lizzie’s, which made it hard to hear; but is a metaphor for the translations coming in layers of understanding and value. I am in awe.
Occasionally, Lizzie would interrupt Britania to offer additional information or to clarify what Britania was saying. I did not realize that Lizzie could speak and understand English; yet, she chooses to only speak Inuktitut. After Lizzie would interrupt Britania, she then would sit back and listen to Britania tell the Story. This is Inuit pedagogy: she is scaffolding her, she is testing her and she is supporting her. How the Stories were told and delivered are just as important to the content of the Stories. When Britania stopped and restarted a particularly complicated Story, Lizzie added more in Inuktitut to ensure that Britania was getting the Story right. It reminded me of a time when my Uncle Hugh made me watch him clean fish; even though I knew how to do it, he made me watch him. After he cleaned three fish he finally let me clean one. He watched me silently as I gutted the fish. It was not an intimidating feeling, I knew what I was doing and confident in the knowledge and skill I had. When I was done he examined the cleaned fish. “It will do,” was his comment. I felt proud.

Regarding the theme of Learning, in Inuit pedagogy there has to be a reason and a rationale for the Learning. Much of the Learning that Elders spoke of was Taught to Young Inuit as they were Children in preparation for life. To have a good life meant that you worked hard at learning the values of the Elders who Taught you what you needed to know and in turn you are able to reciprocate and Teach others who are Younger than you.

I felt as though Lizzie was eager to teach me. She was eager to share with me and was thankful that Younger people were asking her about customary life. After my Family connection was established, she wanted to know specifically what I wanted to know and was willing to share with me anything that I asked of her. She was modeling Inuit pedagogy: as an older Inuk Woman she was telling me and Britannia the things that we needed to know as Younger Inuit Women. Many of Lizzie’s Stories were rooted in the principle that Young Inuit Girls learned from Older Inuit Women and that Young Inuit Boys learned from Older Inuit Men that was established a long time ago.

Lizzie’s Stories reiterated the importance of learning through participation. Lizzie shared that the first time that she participated in assisting with a birth was at the age of eight. From that experience she was led down a life path of coaching many Women during labour and delivery. She shared Stories of challenging births where the Mother and Child’s lives were in danger and how she showed the Qallunaat nurses the customary Inuit birthing methods
that ensured the Mother and Baby survived the delivery. Lizzie’s Stories suggest that nursing and the health care system in general have a lot to learn from Inuit Ways of doing things. Lizzie also suggests that law enforcement could take some lessons in understanding Inuit Ways as well. A Story was shared about how the RCMP could not stop two Brothers from fighting. Lizzie intervened because of her knowledge of the relationship of the Brothers and their Family and was able to easily diffuse the situation. It is because Lizzie has relational connections and understandings of Family that she was able to assist the RCMP in this and other situations.

Similarly, Fanny's early life experiences with learning formed her future employment opportunities, as did Lizzie’s. From an early age the experiences that Lizzie was exposed to as a child shaped her opportunities for employment. She was able to find work as a translator, coaching the delivery of Babies and even trying to be a soap stone carver, a skill she learned through observation. Lizzie shared that her Brother-in-law told her she should not pursue carving, so instead she worked as a counselor to those in trouble with the law, since she was taught about Inuit customary life as a Child and understood how the Teachings shared from her Elders could help people in trouble with the law. She also shared that the skills she acquired as a small child with sewing have always been means through which she can make money.

In addressing Anishinabe Theory, the teaching I am relating to Lizzie’s Storytelling is Debwewin (Truth). When I first sat across Lizzie, as I did with all of the Elders, I attempted to ground and place myself into the situation: I thought I was telling her who I was and to whose family I belonged; Lizzie smiled and then told me who my Family was and how she fit into that Story. She knew the Truth of who I was and how I was connected to her and the Community. She knows Stories of my Family that I do not know. She also holds Stories of Britania’s Family; she shared the birth Story of Britania’s Mom, Annie.

The evident Truth of being a Woman is to know Women’s Teachings: starting from a very Young Girl, through Childhood, adolescence and into Womanhood. Lizzie shared sacred knowledge in regards to guidelines for how Women were to eat and act when they were pregnant as well as the roles of other Women that were around the pregnant woman. Lizzie explained the roles of a customary Midwifery and how it was like a Sisterhood. Helping
Women birth Babies is sacred work; Lizzie was fortunate to have been able to help with many births in Qamani’tuaq for almost 80 years! Because of her experiential knowledge in assisting with so many births she was able to inform nurses when they were not making decisions that would lead to the best results for the Mother and Baby.

Lizzie shared that it is the role of the Elders to remember what the rules of having a good life are and if they see that there is an imbalance to people’s lives that the Elders are to correct the way people are living their lives. It is through knowing the Truth of the Teachings of the “Old, Old ways” as Lizzie refers to them that the Elders can restore balance. She suggested that the Elders of today have a lot to share from the Elders of previous generations; yet, the Young people are not asking. I feel honoured that she is sharing this with me and I will do my best to carry the Truth of her Stories.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit’s principle of Piliriqatigiingniq, meaning collaborative relationships or working together for a common purpose, is clearly described in many of the Stories that Lizzie shared but also in the process of gathering Lizzie’s Stories. I had to learn how to work with a translator, understand what I needed to say to her in English so that she knew the questions to ask Lizzie in Inuktitut. Learning to work with Britania was a challenge because I knew that the Stories that would be shared would be based on the questions that she asked. I was very careful with my words. Britania, with her relationships to the Elders, also knew that she had to take my words and carefully craft them as to not accidentally offend the Elders (see Story 8, Margaret). Lastly, the Elders also worked with us carefully to share their Stories so they could be shared with others in this dissertation.

Lizzie shared Stories of her Childhood in which she witnessed how Women worked together for the survival of the entire Community. Through working together the Women shared the work and responsibilities and there was a greater chance of survival. I think in today’s fast paced society that people often only focus on what is happening in their homes and do not think about how they can work with their extended family or even neighbors to lighten the load for all. There is a lot to be Learned from the Inuit customary practices of how life was lived.

To me, the Story that most clearly describes Piliriqatigiingniq is the Story that Lizzie shared about how the Community would “put a Circle around” couples that were struggling or individuals that were not making good choices. Lizzie describes how the Community would
intervene in a preventative measure to help couples that appeared to be struggling in their relationships. In this process of putting a Circle around them, Family members who know the couple would remind the struggling couple of the love that brought them together, the commitment they have made to one another and lastly the love the Community has for the couple. Through this process the couple would be surrounded by love and support from the Community to continue in their relationship together. Lizzie also shared how putting a Circle around an individual who was seen to be making poor decisions or acting in a way that did not support living a good life was a way to prevent the individual from continuing down a destructive path. The notation of the Community working together to remind individuals how they are loved and valued is an example of preventative measures instead of reactionary measures that are often taken in the Canadian Justice System. Lizzie suggested that it would be good if Qamani’tuaq could continue this practice from long ago today.

Figure 43: Photograph of the Lake taken by the author. The Water is clear, showing the impressions that the Water has made on the sand below. The Wind has changed the patterns on the sand below: much like interpretations from the interpreter, there are many factors that can change the elements. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2016.
Reflecting on My Visit with Maggie and What Her Stories Mean to Me:

With some Learning comes discomfort and I’m reminded of the words my Cousin shared with me about anything being worthwhile taking work. I am coming to realize that through this discomfort, in many areas of my life, I learn a lot. I misinterpreted the feelings of discomfort I had with Maggie’s interview. At the beginning I felt like she did not like me; it felt as though she did not trust me. I thought it was because she did not know who I was, even after she was told who I was in Britania’s introduction. I understand the importance of relationship, especially between the re-searcher and Indigenous people. I am aware that building relationship is integral to participating in Indigenous re-search. I thought that if Britania had pre-existing established relationships with the Elders, and that if she was able to convey who I was by sharing who my Family bloodlines are, that it would be easier to have the Elders trust me. I am thankful for Britania’s established relationships, as she made it easier for me. I figured out during the interview that the feelings of tension I was experiencing with Maggie was because of the content of what she was sharing with me, and that it had nothing to do with who I was, or who she thought I was (or was not). This realization was humbling.

Figure 44: Photograph taken on the Land by author. Although the Elders did not always recognize me, I felt like the Land remembered who I was. I felt most comfortable on the Land, near the Water. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2013.
Maggie reiterated that Girl’s Teachings come from Women and the fundamental life skills, such as Childrearing are taught to Girls from a very Young age. The interviews that were done in Inuktitut with Women focused a lot on birthing, which is interesting that birthing Stories were not prominent in the English interviews. I appreciated hearing Inuit Grandmothers speak of birthing and was amazed to hear a lot of what was shared was connected to how I was feeling while I was in labour during the births of my two Children. This affirmation from Inuit Grandmothers made me feel like I belonged as I had a connection via blood memory how the delivery of my Children was to be, without having explicit knowledge or Teaching about birthing Stories.
Inuit ontologies are discussed in many of the Stories shared with me from the Elders; these are the foundation for living a good life and how to live life being happy. I am thankful for the Stories that Maggie gave us. She shared that learning about survival and the Land were integral to Inuit life prior to contact. With forced relocation and new schools the early curriculum did not address Inuit ontology or even survival skills anymore. In the schools of today, Inuit Knowledge and practical skills are taught for only a limited amount of time. Maggie shared that she has seen a shift in education to where they are trying to teach Inuit ways again, but she feels it cannot be done in the schools, and Qallunaat cannot do it. I agree. You cannot learn to be an Inuk in the school, but what you learn in school should support you being an Inuk.

Learning, specifically how there was gendered differences in who and what you were Taught, was discussed by all of the Elders who shared Stories with me and was a large theme in this re-search journey. Customarily, Inuit Women taught Inuit Girls about gendered roles and responsibilities such as birthing to Girls at a very Young age. There were expectations from Older Inuit that Inuit Girls would assist with the Child rearing of their Younger Siblings in such tasks as preparing food and sewing. In Maggie’s introduction at the beginning of her Story sharing she stated that she was born on the Land was taught on the Land by Grandmothers. In this she established who she is and where her Knowledge is from. Maggie shared Stories of being present at births as a Young Child in preparation for when she, too, would give birth as a Woman later in life. Older Inuit Women explicitly told Inuit Young Girls that they would be Mothers some day; the act of watching, then eventually assisting with births was preparation of knowing what to expect in Womanhood.

One of the Teachings that Maggie was Taught in regards to birthing was the importance of staying calm when in labour. Maggie told us that it was important to stay calm during the birth of a baby because the environment of the birth has an impact on how the individual’s life will be. This important life skill, of staying calm in adverse situations, can be applied to other situations as well. In reflection of this Teaching I am reminded of the importance of my energy and how what I am feeling has an impact on others around me.

In connection to Anishinabe Theory, the Teaching I am reminded of in Maggie’s Stories that she shared is Dbaadendiziwin (Humility). Maggie shared that she worked for many years at
the school in Qamani’tuaq as the janitor. She said that she loved her job because to the students she was like a Mother; she was always there for the students as she was always in the hallways. She was a good connection for the Inuit Youth attending the schools from the ways from the Land to the school of modernity.

Maggie shared that it was important to have Humility in helping others. She told us that if people around you need something that you have, you share it with them. Maggie said if you shared with others when they were in need that you too would be taken care the same way when you are in need of something. Maggie suggested that this is how you live a good life.

I was very humbled by the entire re-search journey. As I previously mentioned, the visit I had with Maggie gave me opportunity to address Humility for myself as a re-searcher. I am thankful for my feelings I had while I sat with her and for the opportunity to revisit those feelings of Humility in writing my reflections on her visit. I am aware of my role in the gathering of Stories from the Elders and I am in awe of what was shared with me.

The Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle of Qanuqtuurunnarniq, which means problem solving, is evident in the experiences I had with gathering Maggie’s Stories. Maggie shared with us that even when things are hard that it is important to treat people how you would like to be treated. She said that it is easier to be happy than to be sad and that people need to problem solve ways to focus on the positive things in life instead of the things that are not good. For example, Old Inuit ways cannot be taught in schools and there is a need for Younger Inuit to be aware of Qallunaat ways (such as English, reading and how to use technology). Both Inuit and Qallunaat Knowledges are good ways, but Inuit need Qanuqtuurunnarniq to figure out how to preserve Inuit ways alongside modern technology. One of the ways that Maggie suggests the preservation of Inuit Knowledge can happen is if Girls are able to Learn from Women and Boys are able to Learn from Men on the Land about the important gendered Teachings and ways of doing things.

Lastly, I was faced with an opportunity to exercise problem solving during my visit with Maggie when we were interrupted by staff at Martha Taluruq Centre. My first reaction to this interruption was to be annoyed and frustrated that the staff thought that in some way (personally or academically) that I did not have a right to be there visiting with Maggie.
But in hindsight of what Maggie was sharing with us, the importance of showing kindness towards others, focusing on being positive and being calm in adverse situations, I problem solved and approached the interruption drawing on Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

Figure 46: Photograph of a sik sik taken by author. The gathering of Stories made me feel like a sik sik. A sik sik runs around gathering sustenance that they need. They are entertaining to watch as they scurry around, seemingly not knowing where they are going, or what they are doing; but they know where they have to go to gather what it is that they need. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2013.
Reflecting on My Visit with Margaret and What Her Stories Mean to Me:

When Margaret speaks I can understand that she is talking about her Family. I recognize relational names, as well as individual people’s names. I again feel that sense of belonging. She watched me during the interview and was very welcoming with her answers. She’s a beautiful and kind Woman.

I realized that I was excited, and it was impacting my interviewing skills. I was asking questions without validating what had been shared. I am embarrassed at this realization. I realized in transcribing the interview that I should have used more follow up questions rather than making sure I was asking the scripted re-search questions. I feel as though I missed an opportunity to be more authentic in my interviewing. I attribute my poor interviewing skills to being nervous, as well as being ill prepared as an interviewer, particularly with using a translator. I know from previous life experiences that it is important to pay attention to the environment and to the people; I got too caught up in being a researcher rather than a re-searcher.

Figure 47: Photograph of Baker Lake taken by author. I appreciate the time to just look out at the Lake and reflect. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2016.
In transcription I am also aware of the role of the translator. I wonder how much of what has been shared has been influenced by Britania’s interpretations, insights and biases. I question if Britania is taking too much liberty in the questions she is asking and the information that she shares with me about what is said. This is an uneasy feeling I have and Britania and I have a conversation about this during the interview when I feel she has answered the questions either how Britania feels about the question or how Britania thinks Margaret would answer.

In the first instance I was asking Margaret about adoption and she had answered (through Britania) about how to feed babies. This made me realize that adopting was not about a ceremony or something that happened, it was about providing nurturing and sustaining life; as is the intent of the relationship between parent and Child. It was revered to be adopted and there was not re-call on the birth relationships, but the adopted relationship was highly respected. This was because to take a Child on as your own was a huge risk as you had to provide for another person when resources were limited. I asked Britania to clarify. She did not and instead just agreed with what I said.

The second instance is when I was asking Margaret about the content of the curriculum that is being taught at the school. I had asked if Margaret felt as though it was possible to teach Inuit Knowledge at the school. Britania asked Margaret but was careful and slow with her word choice. I questioned Britania’s methods. She explained to me that she did not like the question and did not think it was appropriate to ask Elders. Britania knows that the Elders will say that Inuit Knowledge should be taught by Inuit outside of the school. The reality is that the Teachers in the school are mostly Qallunaat, they do not have the knowledge, experience or right to teach Inuit about Inuit within the institution that tried to take away what being Inuit means. Britania explains to me that it would be rude to ask Margaret or any Elder this question as it might also lead to the Elder thinking that we are criticizing them for not Teaching Younger generations.

I understand and I do not doubt Britania again.
I asked Britania to explain to Margaret what we were talking about so that she does not feel left out of the conversation. Britania speaks to her in Inuktitut. I am not sure what she said, but I trust her.

In my experiences of gathering these Stories from the Elders, each Elder shared Stories that exemplified the theme of Learning to be an Inuk. The Elders suggested that the process of Learning how to be an Inuk could not be done authentically and solely within the confines of a Qallunaat educational setting. Learning how to be an Inuk comes from time spent on the Land and learning from Older Inuit. There was customarily a large responsibility instilled from a very Young age – that the Family, the extended Family and Community had responsibility to teach the Younger generation about traditional life and Inuit Knowledge, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Margaret shared that she learned how to be an Inuk on the Land from her Mother and Grandmother. She spoke fondly of how these influential Women taught her about skinning Animals, sewing and having babies. Margaret shared that she watched the Women in her life enact all of the skills that she would be responsible for fulfilling later in life. She was educated as a Young Girl to know the skills for survival from Older Inuit Women and told that she too would have responsibilities towards others later in life to remember the things she was taught as she would have to tell others about how to live life in a customary way: she would have to Teach others how to be Inuit. Margaret shared a beautiful Story about her Grandmother telling her that eventually she would pass on, but her Stories and Knowledge would live on through Margaret remembering and Teaching others. She was told by the Women in her life to take good care of her Children, because one day they, too, would be parents.

Margaret suggested that the school in Qamani’tuaq should teach Inuit customary ways, but that it should not be taught by Qallunaat. She acknowledged it is important that Young Inuit are well versed in both Inuit and Qallunaat ways. Margaret is an instructor for Arctic College where she teaches a class on how to make customary Inuit clothing. She shared that anyone can attend, at any age, but not too many people do. Margaret said she would continue to teach the Old Ways of making clothes, even if only a few people attend. It is important people Learn the way she was taught to preserve the knowledge, but also for the fact that she was told by her Grandmother that she had a responsibility to teach.
I can connect my experiences of gathering Stories from Margaret to Anishinabe Theory by relating the experience to the Teaching of Zaagidwin (Love). Margaret’s Stories were all grounded in the notion of Love. Margaret shared about her Family and how she and her Husband adopted many children as they were in need of loving homes. The act of adopting, as previously mentioned, is an act of Love. I was adopted, too, so I understand the special bond that one has with their adoptive Family that is grounded in Love and the importance of establishing familial bonds that were not displayed by biological family. Adoption is an act of Love: to provide for others who do not have family.

Margaret shows Love towards me in the permissible teasing about marrying me to one of her Grandsons. During the visit she left the kitchen where we were sitting and she came back into the room with a beaded amauti she is making for her Daughter-in-law. The amauti is a gift of Love towards her Daughter-in-law as it takes a great deal of time and energy to create a unique, stunningly beaded amauti. She then teases me that she likes to make gifts for her Daughters-in-law, raising her eyebrows as if to insinuate if I married one of her Grandsons that she, too, would make me gifts. We all laugh. Instead of agreeing to marry one of her Grandsons, I accept the offer for her to share a pattern for an amauti. This act is also an example of Love. Margaret is fulfilling her responsibilities as an Inuit Grandmother, as well as showing me Love by giving me an opportunity to Learn customary Inuit sewing.

She tells me that she sees my Grandfather in me, I do not know if that is a physical resemblance or in my traits; regardless, I feel Love in this comment. Even as we were leaving, she sent us away from the visit with a feeling of Love. Margaret encouraged me to come back and visit any time to have tea and bannock with her.

Aajiiqatigingniq, which is an Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle that refers to consensus decision-making, is apparent in the Stories that Margaret shares about the education committee in Qamani’tuaq and how they make decisions. Margaret suggested that if she has an issue (or anyone in the Community for that matter) that they could phone or attend an education meeting and make suggestions on how to change the way things were being taught in the school to the Inuit Youth. Although her personal belief as shared with me is that Inuit Youth need to learn Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit from Inuit and Qallunaat ways from Qallunaat; she respects the education committee and the consensus based decisions they make on behalf of Qamani’tuaqmiut.
Figure 48: Photograph of berries taken on the Land by author. One of the things my Nana taught me about was the importance of gathering berries. Berries are good Teachers. I was able to learn about patience and how to look for berries as well as how to pick them: never taking all of them from one plant and how it was important to share them with others. These are IQ teachings that I have relied on my entire life. Qamanituaq NU. Summer 2013.

Reflecting on My Visit with Winnie and What Her Stories Mean to Me:

I have great admiration for Britania in her ability and knowledge of the Inuktitut language in translating the interviews; it is natural to speak your original language and to be able to speak to the Elders, but that does not mean it is easy in these times with modern distractions such as speaking English.

As Winnie shared Stories she became increasingly excited to share ancient knowledge with us. Winnie’s Stories of her Mother helping people who needed medical attention are examples of Inuit knowledge and pedagogy; she is told us through the Stories how we could help, too. I desire to learn more about customary medicines and practices that sustained life for Inuit for generations.
Figure 49: Photograph taken by author of Sirluaq Site: a place where Inuit would dry and store skins and food to return for them in the Winter. These rocks were placed in this structure generations ago and still stand today; yet another reminder of the strength and knowledge of the Ancestors withholding time and temperature, as do these rocks. Near Qamani’tuq NU. Summer 2013.

In the process of the Elders’ sharing Stories about forced relocation I came to understand that limiting Inuit to one small area did not permit the continuation of customary Inuit life. The Inuit living on the Land had an intimate relationship with the Land and the animals. The relocation of the people disconnected them from knowing where the Fish were and how the Caribou migrated through this particular part of the Land; many Inuit died of starvation. Furthermore, forced-relocation of Inuit to Baker Lake created a dietary restriction: lack of access to the coast meant Whales and Seals were no longer a part of their diet. Forced relocation created a barrier for Inuit to pass on intergenerational Knowledge of the Land.
During the interview with Winnie, Britania was challenged to find the words in English for what Winnie was talking about. I sense it is very complex to translate pedagogy into words that are foreign and cannot explain the multitude of levels of Learning in the English language. I simultaneously felt left out and in awe of the beauty of my Ancestral Knowledge and language. This solidified my thoughts that Indigenous ontology and pedagogy cannot be fully taught nor understood in a colonial system with a foreign language.

Many of the Elders spoke to the theme of the importance of Land and Learning from the Land. Winnie shared the importance of being connected to Land and the relationship to the plants and the animals. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is in the Land. Customarily Inuit would know about plants that had medicinal and nutritional properties. Winnie's Stories included her Mother's Knowledge of medicinal plants and how other Inuit recognized her for this Knowledge. Winnie shared that her Mother knew how to make salves and teas that would help people in need of medical attention. The Knowledge that Winnie’s Mother had about the Animals also aided in her assisting people who were injured and sick. Knowing which parts of the Animal would help people (such as the down, sinew, bones and skin) was Knowledge Winnie’s Mother learned from previous generations of Inuit.

Winnie commented on the idea that there were different ways of Learning now, compared to when she was a Child. Winnie shared her understanding of different types of Learning on the Land prior to being moved to the Community: Learning was achieved by watching. Learning was achieved by being shown how the task is completed, then the Teacher would watch how you did it (scaffolding learning). Winnie also suggested that Learning had to have a meaningful connection to the Learner: if you do not like or need the skill that is being taught then you will not want to Learn what is being taught to you. The notion that Learning had to be participatory and embodied in the Learner was also relevant to how Learning happened customarily.

Through Winnie’s Stories I interpreted that how one interacts with nature has an impact on how one’s life will be. Winnie shared customary Stories with Teachings about how pregnant Women are to behave. One of the things Winnie shared is that a pregnant woman was not to hesitate when she was leaving the igloo. The understanding behind this Teaching was that the Baby within the womb would remember that his/her Mother stalled in the narrow
passageway of the igloo and that he/she too would stall in the birth canal. This Teaching resonated with me: the actions and connections with Creation of the Woman and her behaviour has an impact on how the Baby will be born. Many of the Women shared teachings of how Women were to behave during their pregnancies and the responsibility they had to take care of themselves on a physical and spiritual level to ensure the health of the Baby.

Winnie gave further insights to the connection to the Land and the Land as a Teacher when she shared that she adapted her Learning from when she lived on the Land to when she was relocated to the Community. Winnie shared a Story about when she figured out how to fish under the Ice with nets. In this Story she shared how she got lost and could not figure out where she was because the Landscape was new to her. It took some time, but eventually Winnie learned about the natural surroundings and was able to apply her Knowledge of the Land to her survival in her new location. She shared with us that as Inuit we come from the Land and we speak Inuktitut and that as Younger Inuit we have a responsibility to carry on as Inuit doing those things: living and Learning from the Land and speaking Inuktitut. I have a lot of Learning to do.

In connection to Anishinabe Theory, the Teaching of Mnaadendimowin (Respect) is clear in the Stories that Winnie shared with us. I am careful with the Stories that were shared with me: careful to be respectful of what was shared, careful not to interject my meaning on to the Stories and instead offer my reflections as to what was shared with me. Another reader may interpret meaning differently from what was shared, and I respect that. Perhaps when I read this dissertation again in a few years I will make meaning differently than what I wrote at this time of reflection. I have a great Respect for the Stories that Winnie shared with us. She shared with us the Stories and Teachings she knows come from her Parents who Learned from Older Inuit who Learned from even Older Inuit: this Knowledge, the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, is ancient Knowledge. Winnie shared that it was important to always listen to everything that is said to you from Older Inuit as it was said with a purpose, probably for your survival.

Avatimik Kamattiarniq, the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle that means Environmental stewardship is relatable in what was shared in Winnie’s Stories. Winnie shared Stories about
the role that Inuit had with the Environment from the Plants, the Animals and even how igloos and tents were built on the Land with the intent to cause the least amount of impact on the environment. Winnie’s Mother taught her to only take what she needed from the Land to ensure to leave resources for others that would be coming behind her, noting that they would have needs dependent on the Environment as well. The idea to take only what is needed also ensures that there is no wasting of resources. I am careful with what I have gathered in the Stories, as they are a valuable resource; I will not take more than what I am capable of using and will ensure to leave much behind for others gathering coming behind me.

Figure 50: Photograph of Lake taken by author. There is much to be learned from the Knowledge of knowing what the signs in the Clouds and the Lake mean; one just needs to know the language. Qamani’tuq, NU. Summer 2016.
Reflecting on My Visit with Hugh and What His Stories Mean to Me:

We can spend the day together in the boat laughing and not having any issues with trying to communicate with one another despite Hugh speaking limited English and me understanding very little Inuktitut. Maybe it is because I know he was really close to my Tat, or that he is a good man and a good Uncle, a true Inuk. This interview was very emotional and nerve wracking for me. I wanted to get it right because I have so much love and respect for him.
I sat beside Hugh for his interview. I never did that with anyone else, and I am not sure why I chose to for him. I handed him the English consent forms by accident and he put on his glasses to read them. Britania and I sat quietly as he turned the pages. Britania asked him if he had any questions. He replied: “No, looks good to me. I cannot read English but it looks good to me”. He enjoys making people laugh. I felt silly giving him the English version of the consent forms. I will chalk it up to being nervous for this interview. I then handed him the Inuktitut version.

Another time I felt silly in this interview was in asking him where his igloo was after his Family was forced to move into the Community. I realized in transcribing that was a silly question to ask and is an example of western thinking. An igloo was never a permanent structure, it moved, as did the people when they needed to for survival. The igloo was natural and returned to the earth, or melted depending on the weather leaving no ecological footprint or sign that the people were there. From the Land they used what was needed and did not create waste or ecological imbalance. There was no need for material possessions that did not serve the purpose of survival.

Hugh talked about Inuit pedagogy and the process of hard learning. He shared Stories of his Father-in-law correcting him. It is a stage in learning and development, as Children (or arguably at any stage of life), we watch and we try new skills or activities. When we make mistakes, there is somewhere there to help us, give us the confidence to try again. As we get older the skill has to be corrected so that real learning can take place in the present and for the future generations. Hugh talked about being scolded, but in a kind way. I can relate to this and have experienced this in my life with my Mother and with my Aunty. They tell me that they are correcting me because they Love me, although it may feel harsh, to be corrected, it is done from a place of Love.

The Stories that he shared about tagging along with his Dad and Uncles reaffirmed what the other Elders shared about Boys learning from Men and Girls learning from Women. I wondered, but I did not ask, how Boys learn about Women. I was afraid to ask Britania as I do not want things to get muddled in translation and for us to accidentally ask questions about sex, as this may be embarrassing. However, I do know if we were to ask about sex, specifically when Children are taught about it from a customary perspective that he would
answer respectfully. I am considering that my interview skills are weak because I have difficulty communicating (generally), but specifically in the context of working with a translator.

One of the themes that many of the Elders shared was the importance of Learning from others who had lived experiences. Arguably the most important way to Learn was through watching. Hugh addressed how he was taught to watch so that he could Learn. Hugh was eager to Learn, even to the point where in his reflecting back on his Childhood he considers if he was a bother to the Men in his life because he would follow them around and slow them down from their tasks of hunting. Learning from observation is an example of Inuit pedagogy.

Hugh shared a Story with us about how his Father did not correct him when he made a mistake. For example, if in construction of an igloo Hugh did not build it properly, instead of his Dad telling him and showing him how to fix it, Hugh’s Dad would just fix it. Hugh shared that his Dad would never tell him when Hugh did something wrong. Perhaps this was because Hugh’s Dad did not want to embarrass him, or maybe it was because it was difficult for Hugh’s Dad to tell him when he did something wrong. Hugh Respected his Dad for this as there was another influential Man in Hugh’s life that was able to point out where his mistakes were. Hugh talked about his Father-in-law, Tapitai, and how he was told and scolded in a good way (as Hugh described it) when Hugh made errors. Hugh noted that the errors that he was corrected on by his Father-in-law have saved his life, many times. Hugh shared that the way his Father-in-law corrected him was respectful and loving. This Story is an example of the many roles and responsibilities there are to Parenting. It was the role of the extended Family to assist with the challenges of Parenting. I think that when things were difficult to talk about or correct in ways of Parenting that it then fell to the extended Family to assist. Tapitai had a vested interest in correcting Hugh’s understanding about survival since it would be Hugh’s responsibility to ensure that Tapitai’s Daughter (Ruth) and Grandchildren would be taken care of.
Men's Roles were discussed in most of the Stories shared by the Elders, but Hugh shared Stories specifically about the role that Older Inuit Men had in Teaching Younger Inuit Men about survival skills such as hunting, fishing and building igloos. The Men would take the Young boys with them on hunting trips to show them through experiential Learning. It would have been easier without the Young people with them, but the Boys Learned how to hunt by going on the Land and Learning first hand. Hugh’s Father and his Great Uncle taught Hugh everything he knows about hunting. Hugh shared a Story about how his Dad was really patient with him, even when he was a small Boy and wanted to tag along with the Men to learn how to hunt: Hugh’s Dad would have to carry him. Hugh shared that hunting changed from the time his Father was a Young Boy to the time that he taught Hugh about hunting. Hugh’s Dad was able to adapt his hunting skills and knowledge from hunting with bows and arrows or harpoons to the new technology of hunting with a riffle. Hugh shared that by the time he was old enough to remember, the Men already used guns to hunt.

Nbwaakaawin (Wisdom) is the Teaching from Anishinabe Theory that I connected to the Stories Hugh shared with us. The ways of Old Inuit are preserved in the Stories that Hugh shared and how he lives his life. Hugh knows that he has responsibility to Teach his lived and inherited Knowledge from Older generations to the Younger generations. Hugh was told when he was a Young Man that he had to remember things so that he could tell young Inuit Men of the future the ways of the past: Hugh is the connection of the past into the future.

Hugh’s Stories, much like the other Elders are filled with Wisdom. Hugh shares some Wisdom that was given to him by his Grandmother: if you help others out it makes it easier for everyone. Hugh shared that when he was growing up that everyone always helped each other out and that today he does not see the same thing happening. Hugh said that sometimes he sees people competing with each other to have better things than someone else and that he notices that this is not the Inuit way of doing things. Hugh’s Grandmother taught him that he should be thinking of the entire Community’s well-being and not just his Family. I think this is a good way to live, through thinking of the entire Community and how you can help more than just your own Family.
The Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle that I can connect to Hugh’s Stories is Pilimmaksarniq, which is skills and knowledge acquisition. In his sharing Stories of Learning, Hugh shares that he learned through a process of watching, trying, and being corrected in a kind manner. Hugh also shared that he did not have to be told that he had to watch to Learn, he knew this inherently because he knew how Knowledge was earned.

Hugh said that it was easier today for Inuit and that there were benefits and downfalls to the new way of living and Learning for Inuit. He shared that it was a different world Inuit are living in now; the main difference now being Inuit do not have to work as hard to survive. Hugh noted the things he learned as a Boy on the Land from his Dad and Uncles were practical and about survival. When he was forced to go to school the curriculum did not relate to him or things he needed to know in order to survive. Hugh knew fundamental life skills for survival, but the school was attempting to teach him (as well as other Inuit) about Dick and Jane, which did not have value to their lives as it did not further their Knowledge about how to survive.

Figure 52: Photograph taken by author on the Land. I feel most comfortable on the Land. I do not have trouble communicating on the Land. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2013.
I am honored that I have been able to use Pilimmaksarniq in my gathering of Stories through this re-search process. I may not have used customary ways of gaining Knowledge as I did not just gain Knowledge from Inuit Women; I was able to gather Stories from Inuit Men, too. Although it is apparent (and understandable) that in earlier times, children would learn from adults and older Children of both genders (and was evident as well in Hugh and Vivian’s Stories). Unintentionally, as I did not have any restrictions on who could participate other than the fact that the person had to identify as an Elder, I was able to gather Stories from eight Inuit Women and two Inuit Men. It seems appropriate as an Inuk Woman that I have a stronger focus on Inuit Women’s Stories. Through this re-search process I was able to gain much Knowledge and practice many of the principles of IQ as well as Learn valuable skills such as re-Learning my Childhood skills of Fishing and the opportunity to be given a pattern for sewing an amauti from Margaret. Although I have Learned a lot during this re-search gathering journey, I am aware that I have a lot more to Learn.

Figure 53: Photograph taken by author of the Community of Baker Lake from across the Lake. This image of the Community from a distance is reflective of how I feel about my home. There is a great distance from the Community and I feel as though I only have a small understanding of who and what the Community is. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2013.
Reflecting on My Visit with Ruth and What Her Stories Mean to Me:

During the transcribing of Ruth’s interview I realized that due to the fact her Family (which is my Family, as her and my Tat were first Cousins) were connected with the Church, they were afforded privileges such as living in a house as soon as they were relocated off the Land. There are stark differences between how she learned and that of her husband, Hugh. I find it interesting that Ruth’s Father taught Hugh so much about the Land and was connected to the Church and was one of the first to be moved into a home. Ruth’s Dad ensured that even though he was not living a customary Inuit life that the Teachings about survival were carried on through Hugh.

One of the themes that the Elders consistently shared in their Stories was the theme of memory. I know the Elders did not share all of their memories with me as it would not be appropriate to share sacred and private Stories, nor would there be enough time to gather all of their Stories. It is interesting to consider what is remembered and what is not and then what is filtered and shared with me for the purpose of this dissertation. Ruth shared that she does not remember living in an igloo and the earliest memory she does have is of being moved into Qamani’tuak in a house. She was moved into a house because of her Family’s (my Family) connection and role with the church. I wonder if memory is altered by the shift in how life was lived. It seems as though the Elders that spent more time living on the Land have more Stories, or at least willingness to share Stories of life on the Land. Or perhaps the memories that Ruth chose to share with me about living on the Land are altered by the role that the church had in attempting to erase what life was like for Inuit prior to being moved into the permanent Community. Not choosing to share with me memories from living on the Land could also be a defense mechanism to not discuss things that were difficult. I respect the Stories that Ruth chose to share with me and it would not be appropriate for me to question her on what it is that she did or did not share with me.

Ruth shares Stories that are connected to the Anishinabe Theory and Teaching of Zaagidwin (Love). Ruth shared that she experienced a lot of Love growing up. As previously noted, when one is adopted it is an ultimate act of Love. Ruth was adopted by her Aunt and experienced the Love of extended Family in place of that of her biological Mother. She spoke highly of her Parents in how they were good Parents because they taught her
everything that she needed to know. Ruth’s Parents provided her with everything that she needed so that she did not have to physically work hard for her survival. She also shared that because of her Parent’s ability to Teach her that she did not have to go to the Qallunaat school. Due to the fact that Ruth did not attend formal schooling she is unaware of how or what was taught there. She also shared that she does not know what is taught in the school today and admits that she would not know what to Teach Inuit Youth today if she were asked.

Ruth spoke with Love about my Grandfather who was an Older Cousin to her. She shared that she remembers when he would come into the Community when she was Young. Again, as in visits with several of the other Elders, when my blood relatives are spoken of I feel validated and have a right to participate in the re-search. I also realized that as the interviews progressed and as I learned more I felt more and more like I belonged and was able to reconcile my feelings around insider and outsider and the complicated relationship of being an Inuk and doing academic re-search in my own Community.

Again, I am drawing on the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle of Piliriqatigiingniq, which is collaborative relationships, or working together for a common purpose. I chose this principle because of the Stories that Ruth shared about her Parents not having to worry about her behaviour as she shared that she always did what her Parents told her to do; she knew that her Parents were busy and that they trusted her to do what she was told.

Another example of Piliriqatigiingniq from Ruth’s Stories is how she had a job as an interpreter at the Health Centre. Although she did not speak much English she was able to tell the Inuit that were just moved in to Qamani’tauq from the Land what life was like and what was expected of them now living in the permanent Community. Ruth worked for the common purpose of helping Inuit understand how life was changing from the Old ways of living on the Land. Much like her Husband, Hugh, she also was a connection from the past to the present in ensuring that the Inuit who practiced Old ways would be aware of what was expected in the new way of living life in the Community.
Returning from the Land…

Figure 54: Photograph of author: returning from the Land. This re-search journey has had a profound impact on me. Like returning from the Land, I only took what I needed and left the Land with no trace of me being there. Qamani’tuaq NU, Summer 2013.

This re-search project is not over; in fact this is only the beginning. Unlike some dissertations, this paper does not attempt to make any final conclusions. This re-search does not attempt to define Inuit methodology nor does it prescribe a method for how to collect re-search regarding Inuit and knowledge. Instead, this dissertation offers the Stories of ten Inuit Elders from one Community during a short gathering period. Lessons can be drawn from it and I will continue to reflect and learn from the experience of this re-search far into the future.
I have gathered a vast amount of Knowledge from these trips on the Land, but there is so much more to learn. I am thankful for the opportunities I was granted in this Knowledge seeking experience. I will hold dear the memories I have gathered and the Stories will stay close to my heart.

![Photograph of author's Uncle checking the nets.](image)

Figure 55: Photograph of author’s Uncle checking the nets. I think this is a great metaphor for my re-search. When you set nets you need to know where the Fish are going to travel. You have to be mindful to remember where you cast them by setting markers and paying attention to the Landmarks. Setting nets is diligent work, the nets cannot be ignored or the Fish caught will parish. When you haul in the nets you are never guaranteed anything and all of the hard work could have been without gain; or you may pull in many Fish. I am thankful for my knowledge about fishing and for all of the Teachings I have learned through fishing. Used with permission. Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2016.

After the dissertation was completed I presented these Stories back to Qamani’tuaq. If the Community desires for me to work with them further I will do so, but it must be at the direction of the Community to respect the Community’s right to control how the information is shared or worked with.
I recognize that I was only in the Community for two short visits to gather these Stories. I am thankful that I was able to bring one of my Children on each of the visits. They were able to witness and participate in the learning. They saw how the Community comes together in hard times and in celebration. When there was a suicide during our 2013 visit my Daughter and I cooked food and offered condolences to the Family. In 2016, my Son and I participated in the Festival by the Lake\textsuperscript{22} where we were able to take a hot air balloon ride, attend an Inuit fashion show and go to a square dance. But the most important learning experiences for the three of us came through participating in the day to day hard life of living in the North: checking nets, hauling nets, cleaning Fish, and cooking dinner. It was good and hard work that everyone helps out with. I love working with the fishnets. Cleaning nets teaches about responsibility, hard work and planning for the future. I think that the work is fun for us because we live in the South; we do not have to work for our food often, whereas in the North it is a daily task to work for survival. There are outside influences that have infiltrated the North: suicide, drugs, alcohol, mental health, trauma, PTSD, processed food, TV, and the Internet are only some examples. Yet, there is still a strong, vibrant cultural that has survived generations on the Tundra and recent attempts at cultural genocide with forced relocation into communities that do not reflect customary Inuit life. Inuit are resilient.

Much like how Athlueetuk was told by her Grandfather about Ugooyuktue and how she would help people, I have also been guided by the Spirit of Ugooyuktue in my re-search. There were times it felt like I was wandering off in a direction that was not towards the completion of the dissertation. As a single parent I worked full time during the entire Ph.D. journey. I have had amazing opportunities to work in places of great influence in Indigenous education. I have also been very fortunate to have been able to travel to great places for work and for recreation in the past couple of years. Challenging the institution and being stubborn about doing my work in a particular manner is also another example of wandering and potentially getting lost while on the journey towards completing the re-search. However, there was always something that brought me back to the Land and to the path of competing the work and bringing me home. Sometimes Ugooyuktue showed herself in a message from a dream, an email from one of my

\textsuperscript{22} Co-hosted by Angnico Eagle: the mine that has created a 200km wide gapping hole in the Earth and has changed Caribou migration…
supervisors, or coming across a picture from one of my trips home. Regardless of how Ugooyuktee showed herself, I always listened and now I am at a place of completing my dissertation.

**Significance of the Study / Gathering Stories**

There are three areas in which I see great significance in the gathering of these Stories for my dissertation: preservation of Culture; new theoretical approaches, and suggestions for curricular development.

**Preservation of Culture:**

When I set out on this Learning journey I stated that I wanted to participate in gathering stories from my Home Community of Qamani’ tuaq so that I could do my part in assisting to preserve the memories and stories of some of the Elders for future generations. I feel I was successful in doing that with some of the Stories from a small population of Elders from the Community. I recognize that the Stories that each of the Elders hold is vast and I am thankful that I was able to spend a little bit of time Learning from some of the Elders about some of their experiences. I do not feel there are enough words to be able to record ALL of the Stories from the ten Elders who kindly shared with me (not to mention all of the Elders that live in Qamani’ tuaq).

From my perspective, it is the responsibility of younger generations to pay attention to their Elders in order to remember the stories from previous generations. I feel as though I have only just begun to recognize this work and have begun to take up the task to preserve Stories from older generations for the future. I know that I have a lot of Learning to do. If the younger generations of Inuit do not learn the Stories of the Older generations that the Stories (and therefore the future of Inuit Culture) could be lost.

In this re-search Learning I also stated that I wanted to encourage Inuit Youth to Learn about their identity with the hopes to create cultural pride in their Learning. As mentioned, not only is it the responsibility of younger Inuit to learn the Stories of previous generations; but also I feel that through pride in cultural identity that Young people will have a greater desire to want to live and be successful in their lives. I believe there is a direct relation between the attempts at assimilation of Inuit and the alarming suicide rates in Nunavut. For
generations there have been attempts by institutions (government, church, education, health care, justice etc.) to remove the identity of Inuit. The way to combat the message that being Inuit is wrong is through authentically gathering, preserving and being involved in the culture of the people. One way in which Youth can preserve their culture is by listening to the Stories of the Elders. I have done a small part to assist with that by participating in this re-search journey.

For this re-search I undertook the responsibility to gather some of the stories from some of the Elders in Qamani’tuaq using what I felt were Inuit methodologies that were accepted and approved by the Elders that I spoke to in Qamani’tuaq. I would recommend using a similar methodological approach for other Inuit doing re-search in the North IF it was also agreeable by the Elders in the Community that they may be privileged to work with.

New Methodological Approaches

I began this re-search journey with the intent to conduct my re-search with the support of Elders in my Home Community of Qamani’tuaq. I thought that if I followed respectful Inuit protocols that other Inuit researchers could replicate the methods that I undertook. I believe that the methods that I selected were respectful and accepted by the Elders who I spoke with in Qamani’tuaq. I would recommend to other Inuit researchers who are considering to do their re-search in the North that they use similar methodological approaches that authentically involve Community member's participation at every stage of the re-search. The methodological approaches outlined here worked for my Community; and me but it is integral to ensure that each research project uses a methodological framework that is relevant to the research Community. There is not one Inuit methodology nor is there only one Inuit Community; therefore the guidelines for methodology MUST be reflective of the individual Community in which an individual has selected.

I focused on storywork as a methodology because of the importance of stories such as the Elders’ lived experiences and what life was like for them during the time of forced relocation. My earliest memories as a child come from listening to the stories of Elders. The Athlueetuk stories I shared at the beginning of the dissertation are of a young Inuk girl hearing Stories from her Grandparents. I then replace Athlueetuk’s Stories with my own
Stories as the introduction to each of the Elders’ Stories. I did this intentionally as an example of the importance of Stories at any age; but also to show the importance of intergenerational storywork. Young people have a responsibility of Learning the Stories of Older generations, but this is a reciprocal responsibility as the Elders have a responsibility also to share with Young people.

According to Archibald (2008) storywork is important as the memories from previous generations are told in the stories that are shared. Inuit have an oral based culture therefore oral Stories are a customary way of preserving culture. It was essential that the format of this dissertation follow the same Storytelling methodology. I have used the Stories as tools to convey the messages from the Elders in the way that they shared their lived experiences with me. Using the Storywork methodology to frame the dissertation enabled me to reenact the Stories as they were shared with me. I choose to use the first person narrative and share my Stories as an introduction to each of the Elders’ Stories to reiterate the usage of the Storywork narrative.

Storywork is an empowering methodology as it validates research as people’s life experiences. I believe it was empowering to the Elders to have a space for them to tell their Stories, for their experiences to be recorded and for them to acknowledge the experiences that may have caused them grief and to share how those difficult times lead to growth for them. Storywork is a healing practice, one of which I was humbled to be a part of.

**New Theoretical and Methodology Bridging**

In this dissertation I brought together a range of different Indigenous methodological and theoretical approaches for my re-search that align with one another such as Anishinabe, Decolonizing and Maligait (IQ) theories. As I mentioned, I drew on the theories and Teachings that had meaning for me as an Inuk adopted into an Anishinabe Family. I do not recommend that every Indigenous re-searcher use the same methodologies and theories as I did, unless they have meaning to them as well. Just as there are hundreds of different Indigenous nations across Turtle Island, there too are hundreds of Indigenous methodologies and theories that can be used. I recommend that each Indigenous re-searcher choose Indigenous methodologies and theories that are relevant to them and to the
people in which they are participating in the re-search with.

My work is unique as I am an Inuk who is adopted in an Anishinabe Family and who uses Anishinabe Teachings as a foundation for my life. Therefore my work has significance in showing how the blending of Indigenous Theories can be used IF it aligns with the researcher who is doing the work and it is accepted by the Community in which the researcher is doing his / her work. I was able to draw on Anishinabe and decolonizing theory to study Inuit pedagogy because I am an Inuk adopted into an Anishinabe Family. I recognize that there are others that are engaged in Indigenous re-search who draw upon theories that might not initially/explicitly have been established for use with different communities. Therefore my work provides a format for other re-searchers to use if it is also relevant to them and most importantly, the Indigenous people to which they are working with. Each Indigenous re-searcher must think deeply about the personal choices they make in terms of the methodological and theoretical choices they make and how they shape how the re-search is carried out. I have used the methodology to exemplify the pedagogy and have applied my understanding of Inuit pedagogy using Anishinabe theory because it is significant to me.

The Elders’ Stories answered the re-search questions I set out at the beginning of this re-search gathering journey. How each reader interprets this dissertation and the re-telling of the Elders’ Stories will vary based on how each individual reader approaches the Stories. The answers to the re-search questions will change over time and place; just like the interpretations of the Elders’ Stories.

I do not think it is possible to come to the final conclusions about anything while using Indigenous methodologies. Nor is this possible with the application of Storywork, and that is the beauty of Stories, that they are always changing.
I was very fortunate to have gathered Stories about child rearing and customary teaching of Inuit. The Elders’ Stories lent themselves to make suggestions for curriculum development, but more importantly, this re-search journey gave opportunity for me to Learn from each of the Elders. I was able to live the theory and methodology in the work I was humbled to be a part of.

This re-search has changed me.

Figure 56: Photograph of Margaret and Britania cutting a pattern for me to make my amauti. Used with permission. Jessie Oonark Centre, Qamani’tuaq, NU. Summer 2016.

Taima
Appendices

Appendix A: Western University NMREB Ethics Board Approval Notice

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board
NMREB Full Board Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Rebecca Coulter
Department & Institution: Education/Faculty of Education, Western University

NMREB File Number: 107027
Study Title: Inuk Ijuina Inukmarik (Thinking Like a Genuine Inuk)
Sponsor: Northern Scientific Training Program

NMREB Initial Approval Date: March 02, 2016
NMREB Expiry Date: March 02, 2017

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

<table>
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<th>Comments</th>
<th>Version Date</th>
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<td>2016/02/22</td>
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<td>Western University Protocol</td>
<td>Received February 22, 2016</td>
<td>2016/02/22</td>
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<td>Letter of Information &amp; Consent</td>
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The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Ethics Officer, on behalf of Riley Hinson, NMREB Chair

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information: Erika Bastie Nicole Kaniki Grace Kelly Katelyn Harris Vikki Tran

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.
Appendix B: Nunavut Research Institute Scientific Research License

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENSE
LICENSE # 00300716N-M

ISSUED TO: Jessica Ford

AFFILIATION: University of Western Ontario

TITLE: Inuk Ilumma Inukmarik (Thinking like a Genuine Inuk)

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

Inuit Elders living in Qammanituq, Nunavut who received a customary education will be asked to share their learning experiences and stories and reflect on the ways in which they acquired Inuit knowledge. The Elders also will be asked for their thoughts about how customary learning approaches might be used in formal school settings today to re-work curriculum in ways that would support the preservation of culture and encourage students to complete their educational journeys.

DATA COLLECTION IN NU:
DATES: July 01, 2016 to December 31, 2016
LOCATION: Baker Lake

Scientific Research License 00300716N-M expires on December 31, 2016
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on June 21, 2016

Mary Ellen Thomas
Science Advisor
Appendix C: Nunavut Research Institute Scientific Research License (extension)
Appendix D: Inuktitut versions of Letter of Information, Intent and Consent

Appendix D

Appendix D: Inuktitut versions of Letter of Information, Intent and Consent


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Appendix E: Letter of Information

Project Title: Ihunma Inukmarik (thinking like a genuine Inuk)
Principal Investigator: Dr. Rebecca Coulter, Ph.D., Education, University of Western Ontario

Letter of Information

Invitation to Participate

You are being invited to participate in this research study in which I intend to collect Stories of education, learning and customary Inuit knowledge from Inuit Elders living in Qammanituq, Nunavut and explore ways that current curriculum content might be re-worked in order to assist in the preservation of culture and encourage students to complete their educational journeys. You are being asked because you have self identified or have been recommended as someone who has knowledge to offer in regards to education in Qammanituq.

Purpose of the Letter

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required for you to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research.

Purpose of this Study

In addition to preserving Inuit customary knowledge, the purpose of my re-search is to provide suggestions to address the current shortcomings of education in Nunavut.

1. Inclusion Criteria

The Elders will be selected based on whoever is interested in participating. I will consult with the community via phone and email for suggestions as to who I should approach to work on this research project. I will request involvement by creating a flyer in both Inuktitut and English. I will also have information posted in the Northern Store, Seniors Complex and request radio announcements be made. All self-identified Elders in the
community will be eligible to share, and no willing participant will be turned away from participating in this project. I hope to gather Stories from up to ten Elders.

2. **Study Procedures**

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to share Stories in regards to educational experiences. It is anticipated that the entire task will take six hours, over three visits. The task(s) will be conducted in the desired location of the participant. There will be a total of ten local participants.

3. **Possible Risks and Harms**

The possible risks and harms to you include the potential of stirring memories of education that might cause pain. I will be aware that recalling these Stories may potentially cause distress. I will ensure to have resources available to support.

4. **Possible Benefits**

The possible benefits to participants may be the recalling of educational experiences and sharing Stories. The possible benefits to society may be the preservation of community Stories of educational experiences. Through the collection of both customary Stories and life Stories used for educational purpose, I will document Inuit ways of teaching and knowledge sharing and suggest how these ways could inform current pedagogical practices and support student learning today. In addition, my re-search project will make a contribution to the field of Inuit methodology.

5. **Compensation**

You will be compensated through hand made gifts for your participation in this study.

**Voluntary Participation**

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your future (care/academic status/employment etc).
6. **Confidentiality**

All Stories (data) collected will include the participant’s name. If you do not wish to have your name included, it will be removed at your request. All participants have the right to review and determine whether they wish to have their Stories shared within the research project. At anytime the participant may withdraw any or all of their shared Stories.

7. **Contacts for further Information**

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact [redacted].

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Research Ethics [redacted].

8. **Publication**

If the results of the study are published, your name will be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact [redacted].

*This letter is yours to keep for future reference.*

**Consent Form**

**Project Title:** Ihunma Inukmarik (thinking like a genuine Inuk)

**Study Investigator’s Name:** Jessica Ford

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
Child’s Name: (if applicable)

____________________________________________

Participant’s Name (please print): ______________________________

Participant’s Signature: _______________________________________

Date: _______________________________________________________

Parent / Legal Guardian / Legally Authorized Representative (if applicable) Print:

__________

Parent / Legal Guardian / Legally Authorized Representative (if applicable) Sign:

__________

Parent / Legal Guardian / Legally Authorized Representative (if applicable) Date:

__________

Person Obtaining Informed Consent (please print):

____________________________

Signature: ________________________

Date: ___________________________
Appendix F: Letter of Information and Consent

Letter of Information and Consent

Project Title
Inuk Ihunma Inukmarik (Thinking Like a Genuine Inuk)

Document Title
Letter of Information

Principal Investigator
Dr. Rebecca Coulter, Professor Emerita
Faculty of Education
University of Western Ontario
519 661-2111 x88603
coulter@uwo.ca

Additional Research Staff
Jessica Ford, Ph.D.
Candidate
Faculty of Education
University of Western Ontario
jsford@uwo.ca
(519) 282-2385
**Invitation to Participate**

You are being invited to participate in this research study which will gather Stories of customary education in Nunavut because you have identified yourself as an Elder from Qammanituaq who received a customary education and may have Stories to share concerning your educational experience.

**Why is this study being done?**

The purpose of my research is to collect and preserve Stories of education, learning and customary Inuit knowledge from Inuit Elders living in Qammanituaq, Nunavut. I will be collecting Stories of the Elders’ experiences of schooling and learning as well as customary teaching Stories. I also will ask you about how we could share Inuit experiences and customary knowledge through school curriculum and other formats today, so Inuit communities, and especially the youth, can learn more about their heritage, develop a sense of cultural pride and strengthen their identities, all of which are demonstrated elements for achieving learning success and good lives.

**How long will you be in this study?**

It is expected that you will be in the study for one year. There will be two study visits during your participation in this study. During the two visits, we will talk about your educational experiences and any teaching Stories you would like to share. A third optional visit will be offered as one way that I can share my research findings with you personally. Each visit will take approximately one hour.
**What are the study procedures?**

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to:

1. Share Stories of your educational experiences in conversation with me;
2. Allow me to audio-record our conversations. However, if you do not agree to be audio-recorded, you can still participate as I will take written notes. If you wish to share objects or pictures with me or show me how something was done, I would like to make a record of that by taking photographs or video-recording with your permission.
3. Select a place where you are comfortable sharing Stories. You may choose to do the interviews in English or Inuktitut. If you choose to do the interview in Inuktitut, an interpreter will be used.
4. With your permission, I would like to archive your Stories in a public place in the community to be determined in consultation with you.

**What are the risks and harms of participating in this study?**

Sharing memories of your education experiences may cause you some distress. If recalling these Stories causes distress, please let me know. Remember that the Health Centre can be contacted to provide support. The phone number for the Baker Lake Health Centre is: 867-793-2816.

**What are the benefits of participating in this study?**

The possible benefit to you may be the satisfaction gained in sharing Stories of learning experiences with the community to ensure they are remembered. You will also know that you may have helped preserve customary Stories and knowledge for future generations.

The possible benefits to the community and society may be that the Stories collected from you will serve an educational purpose. Your Stories may lead to ways that strengthen current teaching practices and support Inuit student learning today and in the future.

**Can participants choose to leave the study?**

You may leave the study at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the study, you have the right to request withdrawal of information collected from you. If you wish to have your information removed, please let me know.
How will participants’ information be kept confidential?

With your permission, your name will be used in publications and presentations about the study. If you do not wish to have your name used, you have the right to anonymity.

Representatives of The University of Western Ontario Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may require access to your study-related records to monitor the conduct of the research.

Are participants compensated to be in this study?

You will be compensated through customary Inuit gifts such as sweets, tea or crafting supplies.

What are the rights of participants?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide not to be in this study. Even if you consent to participate you have the right to refuse to answer individual questions or to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose not to participate or to leave the study at any time, it will have no effect on you.

We will give you any new information that is learned during the study that might affect your decision to stay in the study.

You do not waive any legal right by signing this consent form.

If you are a First Nations or an Indigenous person who has contact with spiritual 'Elders', you may want to talk to them before you make a decision about this research study.
Whom do participants contact for questions?

If you have questions about this research study please contact

Dr. Rebecca Coulter, Professor Emerita
Faculty of Education
University of Western Ontario
519 661-2111 x88603
coulter@uwo.ca

Jessica Ford, Ph.D.
Faculty of Education
University of Western Ontario
jsford@uwo.ca
(519) 282-2385

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Research Ethics
ethics@uwo.ca

This letter is yours to keep for future reference
Appendix G: Written Consent Form

Principal Investigator

Dr. Rebecca Coulter, Professor Emerita
Faculty of Education
University of Western Ontario
519 661-2111 x88603
coulter@uwo.ca

Co-investigator

Jessica Ford, Ph.D.
Candidate
Faculty of Education
University of Western Ontario
jsford@uwo.ca
(519) 282-2385

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions.

☐ YES ☐ NO
I agree to be audio recorded for this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to be video-recorded for this research if I show how something is done. This video may be used in the dissemination of the research.

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to be photographed for this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I consent to the use of personal, identifiable quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to have my name used in the dissemination of this research

☐ YES ☐ NO

I consent to having the researcher take photographs of artifacts I might share. These photographs may be used in the dissemination of the research.

☐ YES ☐ NO

Was the participant assisted during the consent process?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If YES, please check the relevant box and complete the signature space below:
☐ The person signing below acted as a translator for the participant during the consent process and attests that the study as set out in this form was accurately translated and the participant has had any questions answered.

Print Name of Translator

Signature

Date (DD-MMM-YYYY)

Language

Print Name of Participant

Signature

Date (DD-MMM-YYYY)

Print Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

Signature

Date (DD-MMM-YYYY)
References


Curriculum Vitae

Name: Athlueetuk [Jessica Ford]

Post-secondary Education and Degrees:

University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
1998-2001 B.A. (HONS)

Brock University
St. Cathertines, Ontario, Canada
2001-2003 BEd. (Native Teacher Program)

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2007 -2009 MEd.

The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2012 -2017 Ph.D.

Honours and Awards:

Province of Ontario Graduate Scholarship
2012-2016

Northern Sciences and Travel Program
Doctoral Grant
2016-2017
Related Work

Classroom Teacher
Wiiji Niimbawiyaang, Chippewas of the Thames FN, ON
2003-2010

Instructor
Anishinabek Educational Institute, Muncey FN, ON
2003-2013

Instructor / Program Coordinator
First Nations Studies Fanshawe College, London ON
2010-2016

Policy Advisor
Indigenous Justice Division
Toronto, ON
2016- present

Publications:

