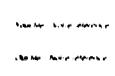


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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE COPPER INUIT

BY

NANCY A EDGECOMBE (C)



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial

fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Nursing

FACULTY OF NURSING

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1994



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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE COPPER INUIT submitted by NANCY A EDGECOMBE in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF NURSING.

Dr. Pamela Brink

Dr. Anne Neufeld

Dr. Clifford Hickey

Date: <u>April 81, 1</u>994

DEDICATION

In memory of my mother who inspired confidence and resilience.

To my father who fostered patience and perseverance.

To my family who were always there when I needed them.

To my friends who put up with me and helped me so very much.

ABSTRACT

Primary Health Services in the Canadian Arctic are predominantly provided by nurses whose cultural backgrounds differ from that of their clientele. As in other areas, this can diversity result in misunderstandings and conflict between the health care providers and their client. Greater understanding of the client culture is necessary in order to identify areas in which conflict exists and to plan culturally appropriate health programs and initiatives. This thesis documents an attempt to increase cultural understanding, by means of a Value Orientation Profile.

This study defines and describes the Value Orientation Profile of some Copper Inuit living in the Hamlet of Coppermine, NWT. The sample consisted of 36 randomly selected individuals, 19 females and 17 males. Each gender group was further stratified according to age and level of education.

Data was collected through interviews using the Kluckhohn Value Orientation Questionnaire with the addition of eight modified questions which were considered more culturally relevant than the corresponding original questions. Transcripts were made of the interviews and field notes were kept to record community events and activities. These field notes and the transcripts of the interviews were used to explore the meaning of the findings.

Data analysis consisted of: (a) the determination of the Kendall S statistic for individual questions, (b) a binomial analysis of the individual questions, and (c) a t-test analysis of the overall Value Orientations. Findings indicated a distinct Value Orientation Profile.

Value Orientation Profile of the Copper Inuit

Relational	Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic
Man-Nature	Subjugation ≥ Harmony ≥ Mastery
Activity	Doing > Being
Time	Present ≥ Past = Future

Key: = No preference, ≥ Non-significance Preference. > Significant Preference

The implications for nursing and other health professionals in both the hospital and community are discussed. The findings indicate that the Value Orientations of the Copper Inuit influence how health services may be utilized. The use of Value Orientation to identify areas of possible conflict is also illustrated.

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CHAPTER I

The provision of nursing care to the aboriginal people of Canada offers unique challenges, one of which is working with client groups who are culturally distinct. It involves not only the assessment of the individual client or client group, but also a study of the client's culture. Brink (1990) depicts nursing as being primarily concerned with human behaviour and points out that "what affects human behavior eventually affects nursing" (p. 2). Cultural variables shape human behaviour and are, therefore, legitimate parts of nursing knowledge. "Assessing and understanding cultural variables leads to a better understanding of patient behaviour and the way the patient perceives the illness or health situation." (Tripp-Reimer & Brink, 1984, p. 78) Behaviours reflect values and beliefs which are culturally grounded.

Although aboriginal people are accepted as being culturally distinct from non-aboriginal groups they are seldom identified as being culturally distinct from one another. Although similarities may exist between aboriginal groups, there are also differences, which should be identified to facilitate the delivery of nursing care. One area in which differences may exist is in the Value Orientations of the different aboriginal groups.

Native Values

An assumption has been made that what is known about the value systems of other North American groups can be generalized to all native groups, including the Inuit (Sealey & McDonald, 1979). However, native groups are not all the same, any more than all European groups are the same despite their similarities. Differences become apparent, when one examines native cultures. Their cultures and social organizations are varied. Even though similarities may exist, there may also be variability in their Value Orientations.

Native ethics place a high value on non-interference, non-competitiveness, and sharing (Brant, 1990, p. 535), which fosters respect for the individual while

emphasizing the group's good and goals. The native perspective of time is described as a mixture of the past and the future, with an emphasis being on doing activities "...'when the time is right'- that is, when the whole array of environmental factors converge to ensure success" (p. 536). The motivation for activities are described as intrinsic, with no expectation of extrinsic reward, which is consistent with a "being" orientation.

Sealey and McDonald (1979) classified values as either generalist or specialist in nature. They depicted Native American cultures as generalists, with the dominant characteristics of harmony with nature, present and past time orientation, sharing, and non-interference. This classification assumes uniformity within culture. Even if the assumption that native groups have similar dominant values or ethical themes is true, little is known of the rank ordering of Value Orientations within and between native groups. All societies have ascribed formal roles based on biological (age, sex) and institutional (e.g. education) factors (Spiegel, 1971, p. 98). Society has expectations associated with these roles (p. 101), and there may be variations in values based on these roles and their associated expectations.

The original work on Value Orientation by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) demonstrated that, while there were similarities with respect to how the Navaho and Zuni differed from the western American Value Orientation, differences also existed between the two groups. Comparable differences may exist among the various native groups. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) also identified variations in Value Orientations based on gender and the associated formal roles.

Implications for Health Services

Health practices and beliefs are associated with cultural values, as are the choices made about accessing health care. Conflicting Value Orientations within or between groups can result in discord between the groups (Egeland, 1978; Papajohn & Spiegel, 1971, 1975; Swanson & Hurley, 1983;). The Value Orientations of the health service providers are intrinsically reflected in the health programs provided.

Health care providers tend to possess the Value Orientation of a society's dominant culture (Swanson & Hurley, 1983), and these values may, therefore, conflict with those of alternative cultures. Such value conflicts result in barriers between the client and the health services (Egeland, 1978; Tripp-Reimer & Friedl, 1977), which can create misunderstandings, the misutilization of services, poor attendance, and non-compliance with regimes.

Inuit Health Care

Primary health care of the Inuit in the Northwest Territories is provided by nurses who are predominantly Non-Inuit. In addition, Inuit, who require hospitalization or specialized health care are transported south to urban centres. Health care and health promotion programs are based on the Value Orientation of those who plan them; these are often programs that were originally developed for urban centres in Southern Canada which have been carried over into the Northwest Territories. The communities assume little, if any, ownership of the programs, so program success is limited and attendance is poor. As nurses leave, the programs cease. Patients transported to southern centres are exposed to systems and personnel with little knowledge of their culture or values, which results in further conflict.

Information on the Value Orientation could be used by nurses in the north to plan health programs that are more appropriate to their client population. Nurses in the referral centres of southern Canada would also find it useful to plan care with an understanding of the cultural values that are meaningful to the patient. Knowledge of Value Orientations would also allow for the identification of potential areas of conflict between the values of individual nurses and their clients.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the Value Orientation Profile of a random sample of Copper Inuit in Coppermine, Northwest Territories.

Definition of Terms

Value Orientation: The rank-ordered value preferences which are the bases for problem-solving decisions in everyday life. Value Orientations will be measured by the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientation Questionnaire.

CHAPTER II

Values

Values "are the standards we live by, the goals we hope to achieve. They are basic to our preferences and our decisions and give meaning to all we do" (Werkmeister, 1967, p. 59). Values as described by Frondizi (1963) have both polarity and hierarchy. Polarity exists because things are considered to have negative or positive aspects, to have negative or positive value. The value of things also varies in importance, as illustrated by the preference of one value over another. Preferences can be rank ordered to form a hierarchy of values.

Values are one of the cultural determinants of a person's personality (Brink, 1982). All human beings exist within the physical environment in which they must live. All people share certain life experiences such as birth, aging, and death, and must learn how to survive within their environment as a member of their society. Humans are also social animals and exist in a state of interdependence with other individuals and groups within their own society and culture. Socialization serves to enculturate individual members to the knowledge and expectations of their culture. At the same time, individuals will have experiences which are unique to them or to their social group within society. Cultural determinants are common to all humans (universal), to all members of a group (communal), and to a specific social role (role), but are specific to the individual (idiosyncratic) (Brink, 1982; Kluckhohn & Mowrer, 1944; Murray & Kluckhohn, 1956).

To live harmoniously within society, an individual must share standards or values which are consistent with the standards or values of other individuals of the group with which the individual lives and works. These shared values are essential

Because social life would be impossible without them; the functioning of the social system could not continue to achieve group goals; individuals could not get what they want and need from other individuals in personal terms, nor could they feel within themselves a requisite measure of order and unified purpose (Kluckhohn, C., 1951, p. 400).

Personal values exist within the broader Value Orientation of society and variation within this orientation does exist.

Value Orientations

Value Orientation refers to the way in which complex principles related to values are rank ordered by individuals within cultural groups. This relates to a premise that societies have both dominant cultural orientations and alternative orientations, and that individuals or groups may vary in the degree to which they follow the values and norms of the dominant society. (Kluckhohn, F., 1951, 1953)

The theory of Value Orientation is based on three assumptions (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961, p. 10):

- That there is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find solutions.
- That while there is variability in solutions of all of the problems, they are neither limitless nor random, but are definitely variable within a range of possible solutions.
- 3. That all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred.

Problems crucial and common to all human groups can be classified into five orientation groups: Man-Nature Orientation, Relational Orientation, Time Orientation, Activity Orientation, and Human Nature Orientation (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961).

Man-Nature Orientation considers a person's as being either Subjugated-tonature, in Harmony-with-nature, or having Mastery-over-nature. Subjugation-tonature is the concept that humans are helpless to control or alter nature, that there are
powers over which they have no control. Harmony-with-nature is the concept that
humans are part of a larger whole which includes nature and supernature, that
anything which affects one will have an effect on the other two. Mastery-over-nature
is the concept that mankind is superior to nature and can control nature through its
own will and efforts. (Kluckhohn, 1951, 1953; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961)

Relational Orientation refers to a person's relationship with other people as either Lineal, Collateral or Individualistic. In the Lineal Orientation, the group's goals are of primary concern to the individual, and these goals have continuity over time. Relationships in a Lineal Orientation are based on status with respect to one's position within a social hierarchy. Decisions are made by those individuals who possess authority based on their social status. In the Collateral Orientation, the goals of a laterally extended group, such as the family or community, have primacy for individuals within the group, with no continuity over time. Decisions are made through group consensus. In the Individualistic Orientation, the goals of the individual take precedence over the goals of the group or society. Decisions are made by individuals, independent of the group.

Time Orientation relates to the temporal focus of human life which can be in the past, the present, or the future. Kummel (1966, p. 43) explains the relationship between past, present and future as being:

essentially one of succession: while a particular time exists as present, there is a time which "not yet" is but which will sometime come into being, as well as a time, already having been, "no longer" exists. Time is therefore never present as a whole but is divided into the elements of a succession: two periods, delimited by the present and continually passing into one another, so that what was previously a future is "now" a present and will soon be a past.

A Past Time Orientation places importance primarily on activities and beliefs which occurred at an earlier time. A Present Orientation places importance on the events and activities of the current moment. Finally, a Future Time Orientation places importance on activities and events which may happen at some later date. (Kluckhohn, 1951, 1953: Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961)

Activity Orientation relates to a people's method of self-expression through activity. Activities of this kind are classified as Doing, Being, or Being-in-becoming. "Doing" activities are those which are associated with accomplishing some specific function. "Being" activities are those associated with what the person is and personal development, and have no specific function associated with them. "Being-in-becoming" activities are associated with what the person is, but are not associated

with specific functions or personal development. (Kluckhohn, 1951, 1953; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961)

Human Nature Orientation considers the character of innate human nature. This refers to philosophical views about the natural moral status of human beings, which see people as either innately good, evil, or neutral (a mixture of good and evil). A belief that human nature is innately evil sees people as either naturally evil and unalterable, or evil and perfectible (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 378). A belief that human nature is innately good sees people as either naturally good and unalterable, or good and corruptible (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 378). A belief that human nature is neutral, or a mixture of good and evil, sees people as neither good nor evil, but either invariant or subject to influence (Kluckhohn, 1951, 1956; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961).

Kluckhohn (1951) suggested that how a society judges its members is based upon how congruent an individual member's Value Orientation is with the dominant Value Orientation of the society. A person's Value Orientation is likely to differ from that of the dominant society in the same way that, that person's culture may vary from that of the dominant culture of that society.

Value Orientation Research

Original Study

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) studied five communities in the American southwest: Mormon, Zuni, Navaho, Spanish American, and Texan. All five communities had been the focus of social research for several years, both independently and comparatively. A sample from each community was interviewed and asked 22 questions pertaining to Relational, Time, Activity, or Man-Nature Orientation. The Human Nature Orientation was not included because no items had been developed to sest it. Responses to each question were then statistically analyzed to determine within-culture regularity and between-culture differences. The

knowledge available from the social science research was used to validate the general results and to provide a more detailed analysis of intra-cultural variations.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) generated Value-Orientation Profiles for the five communities. On analysis, "significant within-culture regularities and significant between-culture differences" (p. 138) were identified. The overall Value Orientation Profiles appear in Table II-1.

Table II-1

Value Orientation Profiles of the American Southwest

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
Mormon	Ind > Col > Lin	Fut ≥ Pres > Past	Doing > Being	Mant≥Har>Sub
Texan	Ind > Col > Lin	Put ≥ Pres > Past	Doing > Being	Mant > Har ≥ Sub
Zuni	Col > Lin ≥ ind	Pres ≥ Past > Fut	Doing ≥ Being	Har≥Sub>Mast
Navaho	Col>Lin≥ ind	Pres > Past ≥ Put	Doing > Being	Har≥Mast≥Sub
Spanish American	Ind ≥ Lin ≥ Col	Pres > Put > Past	Being > Doing	Sub > Mant > Har

Abbreviations:

Put = Puture, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-withnature, Mast = Mastery-over-enture Sub = Subjugated-to-nature Key: = No preference, ≥ Non-significant preference, > Significant preference

Data on the Spanish-American community demonstrated strong intra-cultural variation with respect to Relational Orientation. Respondents were "only slightly more Individualistic than Lineally orientated in their dominant value orientation position" (p. 142). Generally, the first-order preference for men was the individualist alternative, whereas for women it was the Lineal alternative.

The overall Time Orientation proved to be Present over Past over Future.

However, there was a strong Present over Puture over Past Orientation in all but the question on ceremonial innovation, where a notable preference for the Past Orientation affected the overall results. Although the dominant Mas-Nature Orientation was one of Subjugation-to-nature, there was variation with respect to the

second-order choice, with Harmony-with-nature slightly favoured over Mastery-overnature.

The dominant Value Orientation for Activity was Being over Doing.

However, women generally selected the Being alternative more often then men, who favoured the Doing alternative. The only exception to this trend was with respect to the question on attitude towards men's work habits, where women also favoured the Doing alternative.

The degree of variation for the dominant Relational Orientation and the variation within the Time Orientation suggested a transitional process occurring within the culture. The gender difference in relation to Activity Orientation reflects the distinct gender roles within the culture.

Results of the data analysis for the Texan community revealed that Individualistic was the preferred choice in all but one of the Relational questions, where Collateral was chosen over Individualistic. For the Time Orientation questions, there was variation between a preference of Present over Future versus Future over Present. The final outcome was interpreted to be an orientation of Future over Present over Past. Although the dominant Man-Nature Orientation was clearly Mastery-over-nature, there was some variation between Subjugation-to-nature and Harmony-with-nature for the second-order alternative. Activity Orientation was clearly one of Doing over Being. No variation in orientation between men and women was identified.

Although the overall Mormon Relational Orientation was Individualistic over Collateral over Lineal there was a high degree of variation between Individualistic and Collateral Orientation in the individual questions. Results of the Time Orientation were similar to that for the Texan group, but with slightly more emphasis on the Past. Interestingly, however, approximately one half the women and a considerable number of the men choose the Future alternative for the question on ceremonial innovation. The Mormon group was consistent in a Mastery-over-nature over Harmony-withnature over Subjugation-to-nature for the Man-Nature Orientation. Doing was

favoured over Being for the Activity Orientation. Overall, there was no variation between men and women.

The Zuni showed marked variations within all orientation areas. The overall Relational Orientation was Collateral over Lineal over Individualistic. However, no consistent pattern emerged among the individual questions. A Present Time Orientation proved to be only slightly more preferred than the Past Orientation. The Man-Nature Orientation was Harmony-with-nature over Master-over-nature over Subjugated-to-nature. Men tended to chose Subjugation-to-nature more frequently than women. Although some variation within the Activity Orientation, appeared in two indecisive questions of the set, which were related to job choice, it did not affect the overall orientation of Doing over Being. No variation between men and women was identified.

The Navaho response indicated a dominant Collateral Orientation. However, there was some variation between Lineal and Individualistic for the second-order alternative, with Lineal preferred overall. Present Orientation was the first-order preference for the Time Orientation. However, there was some variation between Past and Future for the second-order alternative, with men predominantly choosing the Past and women choosing the Future. The overall Man-Nature Orientation was Harmony-with-nature over Mastery-over-nature over Subjugated-by-nature. Men consistently chose the Harmony-with-nature, while the women showed more variation and a tendency towards Mastery-over-nature. As a group, both men and women, the Navaho Activity Orientation was decisively Doing over Being.

Analysis of data from social science research was done in an attempt to understand the variations. The Spanish-American community had indeed been undergoing a transitional process from a strong Lineal social organization based on tradition, to a more Individualistic organization based on the modern accio-economic situation. Similarly, there was a decrease in the dominance of the Roman Catholic religion, which had tended to be restrictive in nature.

The overall Value Orientation Profiles of the Mormon and Texan groups varied only in the intensity of their preferences. Both were typical rural American

communities with links to the rest of rural American and access to the modern conveniences of the time. They did differ somewhat in their social organization, which may have accounted for the variations that were observed; the Mormon community is centred around a single focus, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, where as the Texan community has no comparable focal point.

Examination of the Zuni culture revealed several factors which may have accounted for the observed variations. The Zuni were culturally isolated from all the other groups, especially with respect to language and their social and religious organization. It is a complex, yet strongly integrated culture. In response to the harsh desert environment and cultural influences from the Apache, Navaho, Spanish, and Anglos over the years, the Zuni have responded by increasing their cultural isolation in some aspects of their culture while assimilating in other areas, which has resulted in a society in which the clan is the major societal grouping. The Zuni showed no distinctive preference in orientation except in the Relational Orientation, where a significant Collateral Orientation was preferred.

The variation found within the Navaho Value Orientation Profile was considered to be due to the effects of the influence of American culture: the Navaho were less isolated from the surrounding communities and had more contact with the outside world through education and employment. As a result, discord was evident between the traditional cultural and Anglo-American beliefs. Navaho Value Orientations may also have been influenced by the surrounding Puebloan tribes such as the Zuni, which may account for the congruence of the value Orientation Profile of the two groups.

Other Studies

Since the original study done by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), the Value Orientations of other cultures have been studied using Value Orientation Profiles.

Caudill and Scarr (1962) used an adapted version of the original Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientation schedule to ascertain Japanese Value Orientations in

Japan following World War II. Their study sought to identify the Value Orientation of senior school children and their parents, and to compare the changes in Value Orientation between generations, and between rural and urban settings. The sample consisted of senior school children and one of their parents: If the student was female her mother was tested; conversely, if the student was male, his father was tested. Students were selected from either rural or urban environments.

The scenarios were adapted to more relevant issues in order to reflect the socio-environment of Japan. For example, the community activity of well drilling in the original study was changed to the activity of building a bridge. The study was translated to Japanese and the translation was verified by having it retranslated to English.

The results of the study reported the Value Orientation of the sample in the areas of Activity, Relational, and Man-Nature orientation. The findings, reported in Table II-2, indicated that despite the post-World War II western influence, traditional values were being communicated to the younger generation.

Table II-2

Japanese Value Orientation Profile

Relational	Col > Lin > Ind
Time	Fut > Pres > Past
Man-Nature	Mast > Har > Sub

Abbreviations:

Put = Puture, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic,
Har = Harmony-with-nature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature, Sub = Subjugated-to-nature
Key: = No preference, > Preference

Lengermann (1971) modified the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientation Questionnaire in order to study "attitudinal modernity in various working class groups" (p. 151) in Trinidad and Tobago. This modified questionnaire consisted of 20 questions, 5 for each of the 4 Value Orientation items (Time, Activity, Man-Nature, and Relational). The two relational questions pertaining to inheritance and

the activity question pertaining to the care of fields were omitted for unspecified reasons.

In her analysis of the data, Lengermann identified both the rank ordering of preferences and the patterns of first and second preferences. The overall rank ordering is shown in Table II-3. The patterns of first and second preferences allowed the identification of the most frequently chosen orientation, the Dominant Value Orientation (DVO), and the next preferred orientation, the Major Variant (MV).

Table II-3
Trinidadian Value Orientation Profile

Relational	ind > Col ≥ Lin
Time	Pres ≥ Fut > Past
Activity	Doing > Being
Man-Nature	Har ≥ Sub ≥ Mast

Abbrevisting

Fut = Future, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic,
Har = Harmony-with-nature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-nature
Key: = No preference, ≥ Non significant preference, > Significant preference

Data analysis revealed that the sample had adopted modern attitudes "towards practical, everyday situations" (Lengermann, 1971, p. 159), but had retained their fundamental "traditional" orientations when confronted by uncommon problems. The sample demonstrated a modern, "core American" Value Orientation of individualism in dealing with solving of everyday problems. However, when faced with less commonplace problems, they were more likely to rely upon the group support of Collateral Orientation. Similarly, they tended to be Future Oriented when dealing with practical matters, yet Present Oriented regarding matters of a more abstract nature, such as philosophy and the socialization of children. There was no significant preference with respect to the Relational Orientation which would indicate a culture in transition.

Papajohn and Spiegel (1975) used the Value Orientation Questionnaire to identify the Value Orientation of three immigrant families (one Greek, one Italian, and one Puerto Rican) as illustrated in Table II-4. The Value Orientation Questionnaire was used as an assessment tool in evaluating the change of values as part of the process of acculturation in immigrant families. The three families studied were at different stages of acculturation. Individuals in each family group were also found to be at different stages of acculturation, which was reflected in the diversity of Value Orientation within each group, and also illustrated that conflict will result when there is no consensus of Value Orientation within a group. This study illustrates that acculturation does affect values and that the rate of change is an individual phenomenon.

Table II-4

Greek, Italian, and Puerto Rican Value Orientation Profiles

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
Greek	Lin > Ind > Col	Pres > Past > Fut	Bc > Do > BIB	Sub > Har > Mast
Italian	Col > Lin > Ind	Pres > Past > Fut	Be>BIB>Do	Sub > Har > Mast
Puerto Rican	Col > Lin > Ind	Pres > Fut > Past	Be > Do > BIB	Sub > Har > Mast

Abbreviations:

Fut = Future, Pres = Present, Be = Being, Do = Doing, BIB = Being-in-becoming, Lin - Lineal,

Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-with-nature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature

Sub = Subjugated-to-nature

Key: - no preference, > preference

Other American subcultures exist within the dominant middle-class culture. Such as the group that lives in the Appalachian Region of the eastern United States. Tripp-Reimer and Friedl (1977) identified the Dominant Value Orientations and compared them to the core American profile as identified by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). The findings, shown in Table II-5, identified the Dominant Value Orientations of the Appalachians. This profile reveals a value system that is different from the dominant American culture of the middle class. The Appalachian Dominant

Value Orientations were: (a) human nature as inherently evil, (b) man's relation with nature as one of Subjugation, (c) Being preferred over Doing, and (d) that they related to one another in a Lineal-Collateral style. By contrast the American-Yankee Dominant Value Orientations were identified as: (a) human nature being neither inherently good or evil, (b) man's relationship with nature being one of Mastery, (c) Doing preferred to Being and (d) people relating to one another in an Individualistic style.

Table II-5
Appalachian Dominant Value Orientation

Relational	Lineal
Time	Present
Activity	Being
Man-Nature	Subjugation

Bachtold and Eckvall (1978) also used the Value Orientation Questionnaire to identify the Value Orientation Profile of a group of Hupa Indians of northwestern California. The findings listed in Table II-6 identified the significant preferences of Individualistic > Collateral > Lineal (Relational), Present > Future (Time), Doing > Being (Activity), and Mastery > Harmony (Man-Nature). These findings were hypothesized to reflected the Hupa traditional culture.

Table II-6
Hupa Value Orientation Profile

Relational	Ind > Col > Lin
Time	Pres > Fut
Activity	Doing > Being
Man-Nature	Mast = Sub > Har

Abbreviations:

Fut = Future, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic,
Har = Harmony-with-nature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-nature
Key: = No preference, > Significant preference

As part of a health ecology project, Egeland (1978) identified the Value Orientation Profiles of five ethnic groups: Bahamian, Haitian, Southern Black, Cuban, and Puerto Rican, in Miami; see Table II-7. A modified version of the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientation questionnaire was developed to include items which were less rural in nature as well as questions on health beliefs. Two of the relational questions which dealt with livestock inheritance and water allocation were omitted. Four health scenarios were added: two relating to Relational Orientation (care for the invalid and crippled child stories), one relating to Time (aged parent) and one relating to Man-Nature (the relief of pain). The relational question on decisions about well arrangements was changed to decisions about day care centres. The question about the death of livestock was changed to a scenario about the death of plants. Many of the changes were substantial and may not have preserved the philosophical intent of the original questions.

Although there were similarities between cultures, the findings supported the theory that the Value Orientations of different cultural groups are unique. Health behaviour was found to be characterized by a greater value variation than non-health behaviours. Therefore, health behaviour cannot be predicted on the basis of values.

Table II-7

Value Orientation Profiles:
Southern Blacks, Bahamian, Cuban, Haitian, and Puerto Rican

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
Southern Blacks	Lin≥Col≥Ind	Pres ≥ Fut ≥ Past	Being ≥ Doing	Sub≥Mast>Har
Bahamian	Ind > Lin > Col	Pres ≥ Past ≥ Fut	Doing ≥ Being	Sub≥Mast≥Har
Cuban	Ind ≥Col ≥Lin	Pres ≥ Past ≥ Fut	Doing ≥ Being	Mest≥Sub≥Her
Haitian	Lin>Ind≥Col	Pres > Past ≥ Fut	Doing > Being	Sub>Mast>Har
Puerto Rican	Ind > Col ≥ Lin	Pres ≥ Fut ≥ Past	Doing ≥ Being	Har ≥ Sub ≥ Mast

Abbreviations:

Fut = Future, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-with-nature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-nature

Key: = No preference, ≥ Non significant preference, > Significant preference

DeMay (1982) utilized the Urban Value Orientation Schedule developed by Richard Kluckhohn in a study of the Value Orientations of health professionals. A modified version of the original rural schedule by Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck (1961), this urban schedule includes a third alternative to the Activity Orientation, Being-in-becoming.

DeMay's study compared the Value Orientations of United States Air Force (USAF) health care professionals and Pilipino civilian health care professions working at a Veteran's Administration Hospital in Manila; see Table II-8. The resulting Value Orientation Profiles were significant because neither group represented the Anglo-American values that had been identified by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). This was especially evident in the Time Orientation, where Present was the first-ranked alternative. Since this study was undertaken twenty years after the original study, this finding may either be the result of a change in Anglo-American values, or it may represent a different segment of American society or it may represent the values of a subculture (the health professional).

Table II-8
USAF and Pilipino Health Personnel Value Orientation Profiles

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
USAF Health Personnel	Ind > Col > Lin	Pres ≥ Fut > Past	BIB≥Do≥Be	Mast>Har≥Sub
Pilipino Health Personnel	Ind ≥ Col ≥ Lin	Pres = Fut > Pasi	Do≥BIB>Be	Mast≥Har≥Sub

Abbreviations:

Fut = Future, Pres = Present, Be = Being, BIB = Being-in-becoming, Do = Doing, Lin = Lineal,

Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-with-nature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature,

Sub = Subjugated-to-nature

Key: = No preference, ≥ Non significant preference, > Significant preference

The original Value Orientation Schedule (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961) was used by Brink (1984) to determine the Value Orientation Profile of a group of Annang-speaking people in Nigeria; see Table II-9. The Annang were undergoing a time of transition, as illustrated by the ranges of education and occupation within the sample. The overall Annang Value Orientation was consistent with traditional values. However, variation associated with the cultural transition became apparent when subgroups within the population were examined.

Table II-9
Annang Value Orientation Profiles

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
Annang	Col>Ind>Lin	Pres > Past > Past	Being > Doing	Sub > Mast > Har
Males & Females	Col>ind>Lat	Pres > Put > Past	Being > Doing	Har > Sub > Mast Mast > Sub > Har
Tradition Healers	Ind > Cot > Lin	Pres > Put > Past	Being > Doing	Har > Sub > Mast
Nerses	Lin>Col>ind	Put > Pres > Past	Doing > Being	Mast > Sub = Har
Educated Males	Lin=Col=Ind	Pres > Fut > Past	Being > Doing	Sub - Mast - Har
Educated Females	Lin=Col-ind	Pres - Pet - Past	Being - Doing	Mast > Har > Sub

Abbreviations:

Put = Putere, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-withnature, Mast = Massary-ever-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-nature

Key = No proference, ≥ Non significant preference, > Significant preference

Burke and Maloney (1986) included Value Orientation as one of their dependent variables in a study of child bearing and health care. A Women's Value Orientation Schedule was developed for this study; the Women's Value Orientation Questionnaire consisted of 19 questions "framed in terms of everyday situations ranging from child training to ways of working in the home or for pay" (p. 19). Five of the questions were from the original Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) schedule. Eight of the questions were edited in order to update the stories and change the sexist terminology. The scenarios of another six questions were changed to scenarios that reflected maternal and child situations. However, these new scenarios were never proven to be conceptually consistent with the original questions. The findings identified differences between maternal and child health nurses and women of three cultural groups (Euro-Canadian, Urban Cree and Rural Cree); see Table II-10 (Burke, Maloney, Pothaar & Baumgart, 1988). This study provided the first Canadian data on Value Orientation.

Table II-10

Value Orientation Profiles of Canadian Women

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
'urses	Ind>Col>Lin	Pres>Fut>Past	Doing>Being	Sub>Har>Hast
Euro Canadian	Ind>Col>Lin	Pres>Fut>Past	Doing>Being	Har>Sub>Mast
Rural Cree	Col>Ind>Lin	Pres>Past>Fut	Doing>Being	Far>Sub>Mast
Urban Cree	Col>Lin>Ind	Pres>Past>Fut	Doing>Being	Har>Sub>Mast

Abbreviations:

Put = Penure, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Her = Harmony-withnature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-suture Key: = No preference, > Preference

Gushuliak (1990) examined the relationship between Leut membership, age of Hutterian women, and Value Orientation in three Hutterian colonies in western Canada. The original rural Value Orientation Schedule was used with minor

modifications. The questionnaire was revised to become more gender neutral by the replacement of gender-specific terms with more neutral ones. An additional Relational question was added to reflected the inheritance practices of the Hutterite. This additional question was based on the original questions about inheritance.

The findings identified a distinct Value orientation for Hutterian women; see Table II-11. The Relational Orientations for all three Leuts was Collateral over Lineal over Individualistic, but not at a significant level. A Present orientation for Time was consistent among the groups. However, there was some variation in the second order preference between Past and Future. The significance of the rank ordering of the Time Orientation also varied between Leuts. The Activity orientation of Doing over Being was uniform among the Leuts, but at different levels of significance. The Man-Nature Orientation was Subjugated-to-nature over Harmony-with-nature over Mastery-over-nature, but with no level of significance. Similarities in the Value orientations among the colonies was prominent, while the differences were minor in nature.

Table II-11
Hutterian Women Value Orientation Profiles

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
Durinaleut Colony	Col≥Lin≥ ind	Pres = Past ≥ Fut	Doing ≥ Being	Sub ≥ Har ≥ Mast
Lehreleut Colony	Col≥Lin≥ Ind	Pres ≥ Put > Past	Doing > Being	Sub ≥ Har ≥ Mast
Schmiedeleut Colony	Col≥ Lin≥ Ind	Pres > Past = Fet	Doing ≥ Being	Sub ≥ Har ≥ Mast

Abbreviations:

Put = Puture, Pres = Present, Lin = Lincal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-withnature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-nature

Key: - No preference, ≥ Non significant preference, > Significant preference

Norris (1992) identified the Value Orientation Profiles of a group of parents of pre-school children and the relationship of these orientations with respect to attitudes towards participation in their child's care while in hospital. Table II-12 summarizes

the Value orientation of this group by age and sex. Interestingly, there is some within-group variation based on age and sex. The overall Relational Orientation was Collateral over Individualistic over Lineal, which was also the ranking preference of the males and those under 35 years of age. By comparison, the rankings of the females and those over 35 years of age were Individualistic over Collateral over Lineal. Although the overall Time Orientation was Present over Future over Past, males preferred a Future over Present over Past Orientation. The Activity Orientation for the group was Doing over Being, except for the males, who favoured Being over Doing. The Man-Nature orientation was consistently Mastery-over-nature over Subjugated-to-nature over Harmony-with-nature.

Table II-12

Value Orientation Profile of Parents of Preschool Children

	Relational	Time	Activity	Man-Nature
Overall	Col≥Ind>Lin	Pres > Fut > Past	Doing ≥ Being	Mast > Sub > Har
Females	ind ≥Col > Lin	Pres > Fut > Past	Doing > Being	Mast > Sub ≥ Har
Males	Col ≥ Ind ≥ Lin	Fut ≥ Pres > past	Being ≥ Doing	Mast > Sub ≥ Har
umder 35	Col > Ind > Lin	Pres > Put > Past	Doing > Being	Mast > Sub > Har
over 35	Ind ≥Col > Lin	Pres > Fut > Past	Doing ≥ Being	Mast ≥ Sub ≥ Har

Abbreviations:

Put = Puture, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-withnature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-nature

Key: - No preference, ≥ Non significant preference, > Significant preference

The findings of the Norris study (1992) suggest that in three of the Orientation subsets (Relational, Time, and Activity), males and females may have different Value Orientations. The results also suggest that Relational Orientations may differ between age groups. The study found two significant relationships between Value Orientations and attitudes toward parental participation. Parents with an Individualistic Relational Orientation had a positive attitude toward parent participation. Parents with a Past

Time Orientation had a negative attitude towards parent participation. However, the study's sample size was not large enough to be conclusive.

Applications of Value Orientation

A variety of disciplines have applied Value Orientation theory in a number of clinical, educational, and community settings. These applications demonstrate the diversity and utility of the theory in identifying cultural Value Orientations, and illustrate the usefulness of the tool in cross-cultural assessment and problem solving.

Spiegel (1972) used the Value Orientation theory in his evaluation of the student protest movement of the late 1960s. By determining the Value Orientation of student protestors and the University, he was able to identify areas of value conflict. These areas of conflict were considered to be part of the reason for the student unrest. He suggested that if change were to occur to make the university's Value Orientation more congruent with the student population's Value Orientation, the student would be less likely to protest.

Chapman (1981) advocated the use of Value Orientation theory to determine the Value Orientation patterns of theoretical positions, institutions, and individuals. Value Orientation of theoretical positions was to be determined by content analysis of the underlying theoretical writings and training manuals. Institutions were to be evaluated by an analysis of their goals, purpose, advertisements, reports, and manuals. Chapman used this type of analysis to study counselling theories (1981), political campaigns (1993), and education reform programs (1993). Her evaluation of the education reform program identified areas of conflict which caused frustration within the school system. Chapman (1993) also used the Value orientation theory in the classroom setting where it has proved a useful tool to the increase cultural sensitivity of graduate students, and to resolve conflicts arising from cultural differences.

Remer and Remer (1982) used the Value Orientation theory to evaluate twelve counselling theories (Radical Behaviorism, Social Behaviorism, Eclectic, Existential,

Gestalt, Humanistic, Person-Centered, Reality, Rational Emotive Therapy (RET), Transactional Analysis (TA), and Transpersonal), by means of a content analysis of the primary work(s) of each theory. The alternatives for each value sphere were used as categories. The works were examined line by line, and judgements were made on the placement of statements of the material within the orientations. The results of this analysis may make it "possible to demonstrate that specific types of counsellors -- depending on their theoretical orientation, personal values, and values as evidenced in their counselling style -- are appropriate for certain clients and particular value structures" (p 14). Such information, in combination with individual Value Orientation Profiles, may assist students in selecting a counselling style.

Ponce (1984) utilized the Value Orientation theory as part of the treatment plan at a residential treatment centre for children and youth in Hawaii. Both the staff and the client population of this centre were from diverse cultural backgrounds. Failure of treatment was often due to cultural insensitivity and misunderstanding. The Value Orientation theory was used to identify the Value Orientation of the staff and clients. Areas of conflict between the client, the treatment plan; and the client and the staff could be identified for the profiles, and was used to individualize treatment plans and resolve conflict.

Carter and Helms (1987) employed the Value Orientation theory in their research on racial identity attitudes. An Intercultural Values Inventory was developed from the theory and used in combination with the Racial Identity Attitude Scale. The Intercultural Values Inventory is based on Value Orientation theory, and consists of 150 value statements to which the respondent indicates agreement or disagreement. The statements relate to the five value categories as identified by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961): Relational, Man-Nature, Activity, Time, and Human Nature. The findings revealed a correlation between Value Orientations and racial attitudes. A traditional African cultural perspective of Being (Activity), Good (Human Nature), Future (Time), Collateral (Relational), and Harmony with Nature (Man-Nature) was identified from this study. Carter (1990) used the Intercultural Values Inventory to compare the Value Orientations of African-American and white-American college

students. This study found that the African-American and white-American students shared a Value Orientation of Evil over Good over Mixed (Human Nature), Subjugation over Mastery over Harmony (Man-Nature), Past over Present over Future (Time), Being-in-Becoming over Being over Doing (Activity), and Lineal over Collateral over Individualistic (Relational). These findings suggest that social environment and identity development may influence Value Orientations.

Ortuño (1991) used the Value Orientation theory in her elementary language course. Students compared their own Value Orientations with the Value Orientations reflected in their readings. In this way, students not only improved their language skills but gained an understanding of the cultural values as reflected in the writings.

The Florence Kluckhohn Center (Russo and Zubalik, 1989, 1993; Russo, 1993) is involved in a number of projects which utilize the Value Orientation theory in conflict resolution. The center has worked with the Lummi Indians to improve communication and understanding between the Lummi tribe and outside organizations such as the Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The centre developed Value Orientation Profiles of the Lummi Indians (see Table II-13) and individuals at the DNR that were directly involved with the tribe. Then, the center conducted a series of workshops aimed at increasing each group's understanding of the other. The result has been an improved working relationship between the Lummi tribe and the participating organizations.

Table II-13

Value Orientation Profile of the Lummi Tribe

Relational	Col ≥ Ind ≥ Lin
Time	Pres = Past > Fut
Activity	Doing > Being
Man-Nature	Mast ≥ Sub ≥ Har

Abbreviations

Put = Putere, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Her = Harmony-with-nature, Most = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated to-nature Key: = No preference, > Significant preference

Summary

As the literature shows Value Orientation Profiles are useful tools for cultural assessment. Value Orientation Profiles allow us to compare basic values among cultures, individuals, and groups. Individual profiles can be compared to the overall profile of the individual's social group. These comparisons can identify areas where Value Orientations are dissimilar and, thereby, identify areas of potential conflict. The application of the theory in various settings has demonstrated its usefulness in improving cultural understanding and sensitivity, and as a tool for conflict resolution.

CHAPTER III

The Copper Inuit

The Copper Inuit are a culturally distinct subgroup within the Inuit peoples. Like other Inuit, they exist in a dichotomous relationship with the land and the sea, the summer and the winter. However, as both the available resources and their social environment are unique, so too, are they unique.

Geography

The traditional territory of the Copper Eskimo as outlined by Damas (1984, p. 397) was as follows:

The normal western boundary of the Copper Eskimo country on the mainland of Canada seems to have been Wise Point (Stefansson 1913:167). In the northwest the south coast of Banks Island was visited in the region from DeSalis Bay to Nelson Head. In the south the Copper Eskimo knew of Great Bear Lake (Stefansson 1919:260) and also visited Beechey Lake on the Back River (Rasmussen 1932:119) and Contwoyto Lake (Damas 1962-1963). In the east, Perry River is regarded as having been the boundary between Copper Eskimo and Netsilik countries (Damas 1968). Much of Victoria Island was hunted over but usually the area south of a line drawn from Walker Bay to Denmark Bay is considered to be their region of travel and occupation (see Map, Appendix A)

The mainland coast is described as follows:

low, sloping back in undulated ridges to an interior plateau. The ridges run usually east west at no great distance from each other, and are connected by numerous short transverse ridges that enclose a network of lakes and ponds of every size and shape. The coast becomes more rocky east of the Coppermine river, and granite makes its first appearance." (Jenness, 1922, p. 14)

The numerous islands of Coronation Gulf are described as having high cliffs along their east and south shores. The south coast of Victoria Island has been described as having high cliffs of dosomite ranging from forty to eighty feet in height.

The area of the Copper Inuit is above the Arctic Circle. Winters are long,

extending well into spring and starting in the early fall. Summer is limited to July and August, yet snow may occur even then. During the winter months, the sun appears only low on the horizon for only short periods and fails to rise at all for several weeks. In contrast, during the summer months there is daylight for 24 hours per day and the sun never sets for several weeks. The result is a distinct winter-summer dichotomy which affects not only the Inuit, but also the resources available to them.

Snow remains on the ground well into the summer, and permafrost never leaves the land. These conditions limit the variety and quantity of vegetation that can survive in this environment. The southern regions of the Copper Inuit lands traditional extended to the tree line and here "in the valleys of the Tree and Coppermine rivers ... occasional beds of willow ... grow to a height of five or six feet" (Jenness, 1922, p. 14). For the most part, however, vegetation is limited to heather, moss, grass, and tiny flowering plants (Jenness, 1922). Several edible varieties of plant life exist in limited amounts such as crowberries, cloudberries, bearberries, and sorrel. The Copper Inuit had not incorporated them into their diet as had some other Eskimo groups (Jenness, 1922, p. 97).

The restrictions on plant life influence the disposition of wildlife in the area. During the summer, when there are plants for grazing, caribou migrate north into the area and remained until fall when they migrate south. The caribou remain constantly on the move as they deplete local growth. Smaller grazing animals such as lemmings and arctic hare thrive. This small game allow small carnivores such as fox and wolf to survive. Polar bear and musk-ox can be found in only certain areas of the Copper Inuit region: the later in the area of Bathurst Inlet, and the former in the area beyond Kent Peninsula and near Cape Baring in the summer. The area is the summer nesting ground for a variety of birds, such as falcons, snow buntings, hawks, snowy owls, sandpipers, plovers, gulls, terns, ducks, and loons (Udvardy, 1977). A few birds, such as the ptarmigan, stay in the area all year.

"The straits and gulfs of the Copper Inuit regions are covered by a continuous sheet of ice from October or November until sometime in July" (Damas, 1984,

p. 398), preventing free access to marine life. Seals remain throughout the winter by maintaining holes for breathing. In the spring, they converge at the floe edge where they lay basking in the sun.

The Ethnographic Present

Culture Contact

Samuel Hearne made the first documented European contact with the Copper Inuit in 1771 when he encountered two camps of Inuit near the mouth of the Coppermine River, while travelling overland with a party of Chipewyan Indians. Captain Franklin also found evidence of Eskimos when he visited the area in 1821. There were other brief encounters: Richardson, 1848; McClure, 1851; Collinson, 1850-51; Hanbury, 1902; Klengenburg, 1905-06; and Mogg, 1907. However, Stefansson made the first significant contact with the Inuit of this region in 1910. He was followed by Jenness in 1914, and by Rasmussen in 1923. By 1920, both the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) were present in the area. From this time onward European involvement continued to increase. (Buliard, 1953; Damas, 1984; Jenness, 1922)

Cultural History

The language of the Copper Inuit was Innuniagiun, a regional dialect. Jenness (1922) described it as substantially different from other Joint languages, but varying only in intonation between the people within the Copper Tuit region. Like other Inuit languages, Innuniagium had no written form until church groups developed one. The written form of Innuniagium is in Roman orthography, which is a phonetic representation of the language.

The Copper Inuit trace their ancestry bilaterally through both maternal and paternal lines. The basic social unit was the nuclear family which consisted of a man and woman and their unmarried children. Four or five children were born to the average family, of which three would probably survive. When a family could not support a child, it would be either adopted by another family or alternatively killed by suffocation or abandonment. Children adopted into the family held full membership, but the previous relationships were also recognized (The individual was considered a member of both his/her biological and adopted family). When a twin birth occurred, one infant was usually killed, as it was not possible to provide for both infants. In kinship terms, no distinction was made between parallel or cross cousins. Kinship terms for siblings were determined by the age and sex of the individual in relation to oneself. A man would address his older brother as angayua and his older sister as alekka; similarly, a woman would call her older sister angayua and her older brother alekka. Kinship terms related to sibling's offspring were based on relationship rather then sex, kangiganga for a brother's child and oyorua for a sister's child. Similarly, maternal and paternal aunts and uncle have different kinship terms. (Jenness, 1922)

After marriage children formed a new and distinct family of their own, living separately from other family members. Although there did not seem to be any formal arrangement of marriages, a small payment was made to the girl's parents if the bridegroom was going to move away with his new bride. If the couple remained in the area, they simply moved to their own home. Marriage by capture was common, but usually involved women who had already been married. It was common for the marriage to be dissolved by either party during the initial period of the marriage. However, marriages were relatively stable once children were born. Although polygamy occurred on occasion, it was not the norm. Wife sharing or exchanging did occur under special circumstances. Such exchanges served to create a lasting hond between a visitor and the group he was visiting. Similar bonds were also formed by becoming a "dancing associates" or "seal flipper-associates" with someone in a group. In the case of divorce a woman would return to her kinsfolk (Jenness, 1922). Both men and women had complementary roles that were necessary for survival. Men did

most of the hunting, built the of shelters (igloos in winter and tents in summer), and made tools and weapons. During migrations, men prepared and managed the dogs and sled. Women were responsible for all cooking and sewing, the dressing of skins, and the maintenance of the shelter once it was built, which included gathering fuel and maintaining seal oil lamps. Everyone participated in fishing by jigging although it was usually only the men who used spears for fishing at the weirs; however, there were no formal rules governing such activities.

Property was distinguished as being either personal, family, or communal. Personal property consisted of anything used by the individual in his/her daily life, such as tools (weapons for a man, or lamps and a sewing kit for a woman). Such personal property belonged to the individual and would go with them if they left the family as in divorce or marriage. However, it was not unusual for friends and relative to borrow from each other. When an individual died a portion of that person's personal property was laid on his/her grave. The remaining articles were distributed among the kinsfolk with no priority given to any individual.

All food and skins acquired by family members were considered to be family property, although a certain amount was shared with neighbours, depending on the abundance of such goods in the community at that time. Land was considered to belong to the community, who used it for hunting and fishing grounds. Visitors were restricted from using local natural resources unless they established a bond with the community.

Leadership was flexible, based on the characteristics of individuals who earned the respect of other community members. "A man acquires influence by his force of character, his energy and success in hunting, or his skill in magic. As long as these last him, age but increases his influence, but when they fail his prestige and authority vanish." (Jenness, 1922, p. 93) There was no organized council to oversee the conduct of community members. Minor disputes such as theft or abduction were settled between individuals through compensation or vengeance. As a result, murder in response to a dispute was common.

The spiritual system of the Copper Inuit was animistic. Birds, animals, and even land forms were considered to have supernatural powers. Spirits of the dead were considered to potentially affect the living. Water or oil was poured into the mouth of killed animals to quench their thirst. Oil was rubbed into the skins of killed birds. Offerings were also left beside larger animals, such as polar bears. The Copper Inuit made clear distinctions between animals of the land and animals of the sea, and the products of the two were kept and used separately. Caribou, a land food, could not be cooked, nor could new clothes from their skins be sewn while living on sea ice. At no time were caribou meat and seal meat to be cooked in the same pot. Similarly, seal skin was not to be tanned or sewn while fishing was taking place at a freshwater site. Failure to follow the rules of this land sea-dichotomy would cause storms, famine, or other misfortune.

Shamans were Inuit who acted as "mediators and intercessors between living Eskimos and the supernatural world of shades and spirits" (Jenness, 1922, p. 191). The shaman was a person who was able to control certain spirits of animals or shades of the deceased. A person became a shaman in one of two ways; a spirit would make itself available to the person, or the person could purchase knowledge about how to approach a spirit from an existing shaman. Once contact was made, the spirit would ask the person to perform a deed, such as killing a specific animal and eating a certain part of that animal. If the person did as asked, the spirit would promise to serve that person and to bestow magical powers upon them.

Shamans had the power to change forms and to take on the form of an animal. The shaman's chief function was to hold seances to learn about some future event, such as success in the hunt or to determine the cause of illness or misfortune in order to take corrective action. Illness was attributed to bewitchment by spirits with whom the shaman could intercede. However, some shamans used their power for their own gain, and were often feared because their connection to the spirit world allowed them to influence spirits to do harm as well as good.

Geographic distance and natural barriers resulted in minimal contact between the Copper Inuit and other native groups. However, they did trade extensively among

themselves. Access to many resources, such as copper, polar bear, wood, and muskox was localized, which resulted in a trade economy primarily among the large camps found awaiting the formation of the sea ice along the coast.

Although the Copper Inuit had no direct contact with the white man until the 1900s, their economy was indirectly affected by polar exploration. The Investigator, a ship sent out in search of the lost Franklin expedition of 1845, was abandoned by its crew in the region after being ice locked for two years (Hickey, 1984, p. 17). A large cache of supplies remained behind. The Copper Inuit from northwestern Victoria Island found the ship and valuable depot, and over the next 30 years salvaged the site (Hickey 1984, pp. 18-19, 24). Hickey (1984) showed that this influx of a large quantity of valuable and exotic goods may have affected the economic balance of the Copper Inuit culture, resulting in a de-emphasis on the extended family and an emphasis on the individual.

As the western goods were only accessible to the Inuit who frequented Banks Island, and the environment there could not support a large number of people, the only way that most Copper Inuit could obtain these western goods was to trade for them. The value of these items was far greater than that of most local goods. Inuit without direct access responded in one of two ways to obtain these valued goods: A family would have to trade proactively for future goods (go into debt), or enter into some kind of partnership with the other party. Either response would likely lead to a shift to a more individualistic existence.

Hickey (1984) contends, that to maintain the egalitarian nature of their society, the Copper Inuit responded in two ways;

First, by entering into either closer kin relationships (real or fictive) or into formal exchange partnerships which allowed 'debts' to be deferred, second, the 'debtor' could extend similar relationships out to others in order to obtain such materials as native copper, soapstone, driftwood and wood from the tree-line at the southern margins of their territories (both of which, it appears, were preferred to the Investigator's hardwood), and - for the caribou-poor Bankslanders - an annual supply of vitally important caribou skins for clothing and other uses." (p. 25)

A sort of land-based specialization occurred, based on geographic location, to restrict access to the valuable land-based resources that were used in trade (Hickey, 1984, pp. 26-27). As sea resources were not regional but accessible to all, there was little change in the winter social groupings. However, the land/sea dichotomy did change, with groups leaving the sea ice earlier in the spring in order to work the land for trade resources (Hickey, 1984, p. 27). The result was the decline of both basking seal hunting (Hickey, 1984, p. 27) and spring caribou hunting (Jenness, 1922, p. 123 cited in Damas, 1984, p. 398.).

Modern Copper Inuit

The Copper Inuit territory falls within the Kitikmeot Region of the Northwest Territories and will be included, for the most part, within the future Nunavut Territory. Like other areas of the Canadian Arctic the Copper Inuit have been greatly influenced by the development which has taken place as a result of the defence installations which were established following World War II. During the 1950s, the Federal government constructed schools and nursing stations at some locations, which was followed by a gradual movement into permanent settlements. Today, the Copper Inuit reside primarily in the communities of Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, Holman, Sachs Harbour, Bay Chimo, and Bathurst Inlet.

Although the elderly may be unilingual in Innuniagum most adults are at least verbally fluent in English and have some knowledge of Innuniagum. School is conducted in English, and Innuniagum is offered as a second language at the high school level. The Anglican Prayer Book and certain government publications are available in both languages, and translation services exist to translate materials such as government documents into Innuniagum. CBC Radio broadcasts to all communities for several hours each day in one of the native languages of the western Arctic. Until 1992, several hours of television programming in Inuit languages produced by the Inuit Broadcast Corporation (IBC) were available each day through Canadian Broadcast Corporation North (CBC North). Television Northern Canada

(TVNC) began broadcasting in January of 1992. This network produces 11 hours a day of native broadcasting. Most programs focus on regions in the Northwest Territories, and many are in one of the seven native languages of the Northwest Territories, including Innuniagum.

The economy of the Copper Inuit has undergone major changes. Although hunting and fishing remain the population's main supply of protein. Hunting has not been a significant source of income since the decline of the fur trade in the 1970s. The main employers in the area include service industries and various agencies of the territorial government. There is a high level of unemployment, and even those with education have limited potential in the area.

Like other Inuit groups, the Copper Inuit have quickly adjusted to modern technology while retaining their own culture. Igloos and skin tents have been replaced by two and three bedroom homes, dog teams have been replaced by skidoos, citizen band (CB) radios provide communication for hunters and families while out on the land, and children are familiar with computers. At the same time, however, caribou clothing is still preferred and igloos are used on winter hunting trips. The Inuit Traditional Games encourage the preservation of traditional skills, such as seal skinning, duck plucking as well as traditional athletic endeavour such as the high kick, the bench reach, and the walrus pull. Such events exemplify the skills that are necessary for the traditional lifestyle. During the summer months, many families leave the communities to live in camps along the arctic coast and on islands of Coronation Gulf. Inuit traditional entertainment, such as drum dancing and singing is a part of many community social occasions.

The Copper Inuit have adopted the Christian religions that were introduced by missionaries in the early 1900s. Today, all communities have at least one church and several denominations may be represented in the larger communities. With the adoption of Christianity, shamanism has become less visible.

A more structured political system evolved in conjunction with the establishment of permanent communities. Each settlement has its own elected local government consisting of a mayor and council. Ridings within the region elect

members to the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories (NWT), and the area is within one of the two federal ridings of the NWT. The Kitikmeot Region Inuit Association is an affiliate of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, a national organization which represents the interests of the Inuit on various issues concerning the development of the north and the preservation of the Inuit Culture. (Devine, 1982) With the formation of the Nunavut Territory scheduled to occur in 1999, many changes are anticipated in terms of the structure and delivery of government services.

Coppermine

Coppermine is a community of approximately 1100 people according to the October 1992 hamlet list. Of these, between 50 and 60% are over 18 years of age(Bureau of Statistics, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1983).

Coppermine is situated on Coronation Gulf, immediately west of the mouth of the Coppermine River on the mainland Arctic Coast (latitude 67 degrees 50 minutes N; longitude 115 degrees 06 minutes W), and is 563 air kilometres north of Yellowknife and 1,603 air kilometres north of Edmonton, Alberta (Devine, 1982, p. 108).

The main sources of income in Coppermine are local government services, local merchants, mines within the area, and activities such as hunting, fishing, and carving. The community has two stores, the Coppermine Eskimo Co-operative Ltd. and the Northern Store (formerly the Hudson Bay Company). Consumer prices are approximately 50 to 59% higher than those in Edmonton, Alberta. Water is available from the Coppermine River and is delivered by water trucks to holding tanks in homes. Sewage is collected in sewage pumpout tanks and then deposited in a disposal area 2.2 kilometres from the community. The community receives scheduled air service on a regular basis, and in the fall non-perishable materials are transported to the community by barge from the rail head at Hay River, NWT. The community has a four-nurse Health Centre, a three-man Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment, and a school for grades Kindergarten through 11. Coppermine also houses the administration offices for the Kitikmeot Regional Board of Education and

Kitikmeot Regional Social Services. For recreation, there is a community hall, a playground, a curling rink, a skating arena, a baseball diamond and, during the summer months, a supervised beach. (Devine, 1982)

CHAPTER IV

Research Design

A descriptive field study was used to determine the Value Orientation of a group of Copper Inuit in order to gain knowledge that would: (a) assist in the planning of health programs in the north, (b) assist in the planning of nursing care, and (c) identify areas of potential value conflicts. Data was collected in the Hamlet of Coppermine in the Kitikmeot Region of the Northwest Territories between April and October of 1993. The six-month period of data collection was based on the availability of accommodation in the community and funding constraints. The Kitikmeot Health Board allowed me to use one of their apartments, which was available at the time. In addition, the money available to do the study was sufficient to cover a only six-month period in the field.

The Target Population

The target population was adults over the age of 20, who resided in Coppermine, NWT. Criteria for inclusion in the study was as follows:

- a. both parents were Inuit and at least one was from the Coppermine area,
- b. resided in Coppermine at the time of the study.
 Subjects could elect not to participate.

Sample Selection Procedure

Members of the population were identified by the use of a settlement list which was obtained from the Hamlet office. Names on the list were sorted by gender. These two lists were further divided into those between 20 and 44 years of age, and those 45 years of age or older. The names on each of the four lists were then numbered and subjects were chosen by use of a random number table. The

numbers from a hat, one of which indicated a horizontal point, the other a vertical point on the table. Although a sample of 60 individuals, 30 males and 30 females, was planned, the actual sample consisted of 36 individuals (19 women and 17 men). The researcher endeavoured to maintain a balance of subjects in each of the six sub groups, to facilitate comparison between the demographic sub groups

As with all studies attrition was expected. In this study, attrition occurred in two ways: (a) Subjects dropped out prior to the completion of the questionnaire, and (b) subjects asked to be withdrawn from the study once the questionnaire was completed. Whatever the reason for withdrawal, another subject was chosen in the same manner as before. Of a total of 67 individuals were approached to participate in the study, 48 individuals agreed to be interviewed, 10 of whom changed their minds prior to the actual interview. Two other individuals were not interviewed because of missed appointments which could not be re-scheduled.

Tool

The tool used in this study was the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) Value Orientation Questionnaire. This tool consists of twenty-two items with four subscales: the Man-Nature, Time, Activity, and Relational Orientation. Relational Orientation contains seven items, the time Orientation contains six items, and Man-Nature, and Activity Orientation contain five items each. Items within the Relational, Time, and Man-Nature Orientations each have three alternative choices, and there are two alternative choices for the items in the Activity Orientation. Because construct validity could not be established, no questions for the Human Nature Orientation were developed in the initial study. This orientation was not included in this study and will not be discussed further.

The Value Orientation Questionnaire was modified in two ways for the purpose of this study. Because the language was sexist by modern standards, gender terms were changed to make the questionnaire gender neutral. Secondly, the

questionnaire was designed for rural agricultural populations and contained a number of agricultural scenarios. These scenarios were changed to more culturally appropriate references that were consistent with the Copper Inuit hunting tradition. Terms of reference relating to agricultural activities were modified to be relevant to the Copper Inuit fishing traditions, as follows:

Ouestion	Original Form	Modified Form
4	Livestock dying	Sled dogs dying
7	Crop failure	Bad luck fishing
10	Use of fields	Use of fish nets
16	Livestock inheritance	Sled dog inheritance
17	Farm land inheritance	Summer cabin
		inheritance

In addition, questions relating to water supply were modified to reflect northern water supplies:

Question	Original Form	Modified Form
2	Water well	Water lake
20	Water well	Water trucks

It was decided to ask the questions in both the original and modified forms in order to assess the validity of the modified questions. Hence the questionnaire consisted of a total of 30 items, 22 original questions and 8 alternatives (see Appendix B).

Data Collection Procedures

The interview method was used for data collection. Questions were asked by the researcher or an interpreter. The interpreter received instructions regarding the purpose of the questionsaire and the necessity of asking the questions exactly as written without further explanation. When permission could be obtained all interviews were tape recorded. Transcripts were made of the interviews that the researcher conducted in English. Recordings from the eight interviews conducted in Innuniagtun were reviewed with the interpreter for relevant information, and transcripts were made by the interpreter.

A field journal was kept to record the researchers observations of community activities, including interactions, behaviours, and activities of people at community events and official functions such as: hamlet meetings, church services, dances, and funerals. The researcher also frequented public areas in the community such as local stores, hamlet offices, and the school and health centre to observe behaviour. These field notes were updated as soon as possible after each event.

The transcripts and the field journal were both used in an attempt to understand the meaning of the findings of this study, and to place the findings in context. On a regular basis the researcher sent progress reports to members of her thesis committee to inform them of her observations and the progress of the data collection. Concerns and questions arising from the data collection were included in these reports. These summary reports also helped to put the findings in context.

Prior to the data collection, the researcher completed a Value Orientation questionnaire to predict how she believed the contemporary Copper Inuit would respond. Similarly, a committee member familiar with the Copper Inuit completed a questionnaire to predict how a traditional Copper Inuit would respond. These Value Orientation Profiles were used to provide predictive validity of the schedule. Any inconsistencies between Inuit self-reported values and the predicted values of the anglo researchers would need to be explored further and explained.

Validity and Reliability

Validity of the Original Tool

The Value Orientation Profile has been shown to have construct validity through previous usage in a variety of cultures (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). The content validity of the tool has also been established from the initial work done by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), when the tool was reviewed with experts in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and statistics. Concurrent validity was also established from the initial work done by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), by comparing their findings with the anthropological research being done with the same populations at the same time (R. Kluckhohn, C. Kluckhohn, J. Roberts, F. Kluckhohn, F. Strodtbeck, and A.K. Romney cited in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). The ethnographic data illustrated that the behaviour of community members reflects the Value Orientations of the culture, and provided possible explanations for variations within cultures.

Validity of Alternative Ouestions

Modifications made to the tool for this study were evaluated through several judge panels (experts) to assess content validity. First, the revised questionnaire was circulated to individuals familiar with the Value Orientations who had used the Value Orientation Questionnaire. They were asked to judge whether the changes were appropriate and consistent with the intent of the question. Prior to translation, the revised questionnaire was shared with a group of Inuit to determine if the changes were appropriate for the culture. During analysis, the overall Copper Inuit data was analyzed twice in order to evaluate the validity of the alternative questions. An attempt was made to avoid the problems with validity and reliability that had been seen in other revisions (Egeland, 1978; Demay, 1982). First, the data for the original questions was analyzed. Then, responses to the eight agriculturally-based questions

were replaced with the corresponding modified culturally-appropriate questions and the data was again analyzed. The Total Item patterning, Intra-Item Patterning, and Total Orientation Patterning for each analysis were compared.

Table IV-1

Kendall S Comparison of Original and Alternative Questions

Question	Kendall S Original	Kendall S Alternative
A4	162	288*
MN1	465**	798**
MN3	424**	434**
R1	114	98
R2	486**	434**
R6	553**	314*
R7	386**	556**
T5	62	278*

Key: 'p = .05, "p = .01 or better

Total Item Patterning, as illustrated in Table IV-1, shows the Kendall S score of each of the questions in both the original and alternative forms. Changes were seen in all of the eight questions which had alternative forms. Five of the questions (A4, MN1, MN3, R7, and T5) had higher Sum of Squares in their alternative forms. Of these two (A4 and T5) went from non-significant levels to a significance at the p = .05 level in the alternative form, and the other three were significant at the p = .01 level or better in both forms of the question. The other three questions (R1, R2, R6) had lower Sums of Square in the alternative forms. One (R6) dropped from a significance of p = .01 or better to a level of p = .05. There was no change in significance level for the other two. The findings for the alternatives are consistent with the findings for the original questions. Although patterned choices were

identified in both forms, the strength of the patterned choices varied between the original and the alternative forms, with the alternative generally being stronger.

Next, Intra-Item Patterning was compared, using the results from the binomial analysis. This allowed each individual question to be compared in regard to the ranking ordering of preferences. In seven of the eight questions the rank ordering remained the same; in six of the seven the ranking strength was changed.

A4

The fourth Activity question (A4) dealt with the care of fields in the original form and with the care of fish nets in the alternative form. All respondents answered the question in both forms. In both the original and alternative form, the ordering was:

Doing > Being.

In the original form this preference was significant at the p = .05 Level while in the alternative form the significance was at the p = .01 level.

MNI

The first Man-Nature question (MN1) dealt with livestock dying in the original form and with sled dogs dying in the alternative form. Three individuals did not answer the question in the original form because they did not know about livestock. All respondents answered the question in the alternative form. The rank orderings for the two forms of the question were as follows:

Original Subjugation > Mastery ≥ Harmony Alternative Subjugation ≥ Mastery > Harmony

In the original form, Subjugation was preferred at the p=.05 level over Mastery, and at the p=.01 level over Harmony, and Mastery was preferred (but not significantly) over Harmony. In the alternative form, Subjugation was preferred over Mastery and significantly preferred at the p=.01 level over Harmony. Mastery was significantly preferred at the p=.01 level to Harmony.

MN3

The third Man-Nature question (MN3) dealt with the use of fields in the original form and with the use of fish nets in the alternative form. Four individuals were not able to answer the question in the original form because they did not know about fields. All respondents answered, the question in the alternative form. The rank orderings for the two forms of the question were:

Original Harmony ≥ Mastery > Subjugation
Alternative Harmony > Mastery > Subjugation

In the original form, Harmony was preferred to Mastery but significantly preferred over Subjugation at the p=.01 level. Mastery was significantly preferred to Subjugation at the p=.01 level. In the alternative form ,Harmony was significantly preferred to Mastery (p=.05) as well as to Subjugation (p=.01); Mastery was preferred to Subjugation.

R1

The first Relational question (R1) dealt with arrangements for a new well in the original form, and with arrangements for building a road to a water lake in the alternative form. All respondents were able to answer the question in both the original and alternative forms. The rank orderings for the two forms of the question were:

Original Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal Alternative Collateral = Individualistic ≥ Lineal

In the original form, there was a slight preference of Collateral over Individualistic, Collateral over Lineal, and for Individualistic over Lineal. In the alternative form, Collateral and Individualistic were chosen equally, but were both preferred over Lineal.

R2

The second Relational question (R2) dealt with how one would get help in case of misfortune, a crop failure in the original form and as the result of poor hunting in the alternative form. All respondents responded to the question on both the original and alternative forms. The rank orderings for the two forms of the question were:

Original Collateral = Lineal > Individualistic
Alternative Collateral ≥ Lineal > Individualistic

In the original form, Collateral and Lineal were chosen equally, but both were significantly preferred over Individualistic (p = .01). In the alternative form, Collateral was preferred to Lineal, while both were significantly preferred to Individualistic (p = .05).

R6

The sixth Relational question (R6) dealt with animal inheritance and related to livestock in the original form and to sled dogs in the alternative form. Two individuals were not able to answer the question in its original form because they did not know about livestock. One individual was also unable to answer the question in

its alternative form because he/she was unfamiliar with inheritance. The rank orderings for both forms of the question were:

Original Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic Alternative Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal

In the original form, Collateral was significantly preferred over Lineal (p = .05) and Individualistic (p = .01), while Lineal was preferred to Individualistic. In the alternative form, Collateral was preferred to Individualistic but significantly preferred over Lineal (p = .01), with Individualistic being preferred to Lineal.

R7

The seventh Relational question (R7) dealt with land inheritance, farm land in the original form and a summer camp or cabin in the alternative form. Two individuals were unable to answer the question in its original form because they had no understanding about farm land. The rank ordering for both forms of the question was:

Collateral > Individualistic ≥ Lineal.

In the original form, Collateral was significantly preferred over Individualistic (p = .05) and Lineal (p = .01), while Individualistic was preferred to Lineal. In the alternative form, Collateral was significantly preferred at the p = .01 level over both Individualistic and Lineal, while Individualistic was preferred to Lineal.

T5

The fifth Time question (T5) dealt with water allocation. Although both forms related to the community getting more water, this water would result from the

redrilling and cleaning of a well in the original form, and from the acquisition and use of additional water trucks in the alternative form. All respondents were able to answer both the original and alternative form of the question. The rank orderings for both forms of the question were:

Original Past ≥ Future ≥ Present
Alternative Future ≥ Past ≥ Present*

In the original form, Past was preferred to Future and Present, while Future was preferred to Present. In the alternative form, Future was preferred to Past and significantly preferred over Present (p = .05), while Past was preferred to Present.

The rank orderings of the alternate questions were found to be consistent with the rank orderings of the original questions in all but the Time category. For all questions, the strength of the rank ordering was as strong or stronger among the alternative questions compared to the original questions.

The third component of the evaluation used t-tests to examine the Total Orientation Patterning. Results using the original and alternative questions were compared (see Table V - 2). The rank ordering of three of the four categories was the same for both forms of the questions, with a variation observed in the ranking strength for the Relational Orientation category. The rank ordering of Activity Orientation was:

Doing > Being

at the p = .001 or better significance level for both analysis. The rank ordering of the Man-Nature Orientation was:

Subjugation ≥ Master ≥ Harmony

for both analyses indicating no significant preferences. The rank orderings for Relational Orientation were as follows:

Original Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic*
Alternative Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic

In the original form, the only significant preference was Collateral over Individualistic (p = .01). In the alternative form, there was a significant preference of Collateral over Lineal and Individualistic (p = .001) or better. The rank orderings for the Time Orientation were as follows:

Original Present ≥ Past ≥ Future
Alternative Present ≥ Past = Future

None of the preferences were at a significant level.

Table V - 2

Value Orientations Based Upon the Comparisons Between Original and Alternative Questions

Question	Original Questions	Alternative Questions Doing > Being	
Activity	Doing > Being		
Man-Nature	Subj ≥ Mast ≥ Harm	Subj ≥ Mast ≥ Harm	
Relational	Coll ≥ Lin ≥ Ind*	Coll > Lin ≥ Ind	
Time	Pres ≥ Past ≥ Fut	Pres ≥ Past = Fut	

Abbreviations

Fut = Peters, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Coll = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic,
Harm = Harmony-with-nature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Subj = Subjugation-to-nature
Key: = No preference, ≥ Non-significant preference, > Significant preference, * First choice was significantly preference over third choice at .06 or better

Although there were some differences between the results of the questions in the alternative and original forms the overall profiles were congruent in three of the four categories. In the Time Orientation, there was a minor difference in the preference shown between Past and Future, which may reflect the dependency on modern technology for the delivery of water as indicated by question T5.

The results of the analysis of the alternative questions are consistent with the analysis of the original questions, and show stronger tendencies in several cases. As the validity of the original questions has previously established the validity of the alternative questions can be considered to be at least as valid as the originals.

Validity of Translation

Translation validity was evaluated in several ways. Following the translation, several bilingual Copper Inuit were asked to review the translation for content and consistency with the original document. The original translation was found to be a verbatim translation which did not convey the conceptual meanings of the questions. Another translation was undertaken at this point. The second translation (Appendix C) was evaluated as being easier to understand and as conveying the meaning of the English questions. A final check of the translation was completed by having three randomly selected questions back translated (see Appendix D). Despite these efforts, there were some words with which some of the respondents had difficulty. The back translation illustrates the problem of achieving validity when using a translated tool. The back translation indicates a reintroduction of gender terms, either during the translation into Innuniagtun or during the back translation. Some degree of ambiguity was also introduced into some statements, either in the original translation or during the back translation. It is, therefore, impossible to be certain of the validity of the translated tool. The Innuniagium version of the tool was used to interview 8 of the 10 respondents in the older aged group. The question of the validity of the translated version must be considered when evaluating the findings of this subset.

Reliability

The reliability of the tool was more difficult to establish. To date, no test/retest of the tool has been successfully accomplished. One problem may be that the values themselves may change over time. DeMay (1982, p. 76) discussed this possibility from the findings of a Pilipino sample who had adopted "American" values. Gushuliak's (1990) attempt to do a test/retest was unsuccessful due to a small sample size and attrition.

The equivalence reliability of the Value Orientation Profile has been demonstrated in previous studies, and is based on the alternative forms of questions offered for each orientation group.

The analysis of the data looks at the consistency of the preference of the individual within each Value Orientation subset. The consistency of the original tool was demonstrated in the original study (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). Responses to the modified questions showed consistency with the original questions and were considered to be reliable.

Validity of Predictions

Predictions of the Value Orientation Profile of the Copper Inuit were made by both the researcher and a committee member. Each independently completed a Value Orientation Schedule as they expected the Copper Inuit to respond. Both based their predictions on information from the ethnographic literature and on their observations of the contemporary Inuit. The researcher is a northern nurse who has worked with Inuit in the central and eastern Arctic, including the Copper Inuit, for a period of 10 years. She responded to the questions in the Value Orientation Schedule as she believed a Copper Inuit with a contemporary lifestyle would answer. The committee member is an anthropologist who has worked with Inuit groups from Alaska to Greenland, as well as with Northern Indian groups in Alberta and the Northwest Territories. Prom 1977 to 1984, he worked with the Copper Inuit to conduct research

in the areas of ethnohistory, ethnography, and archaeology. He stated that his responses to the Value Orientation Schedule reflected his belief of how a Copper Inuit with a traditional lifestyle would answer.

When compared to the overall Copper Inuit Value Orientation Profile (Table V-3) the predictions of the researcher and the committee member demonstrated that those based on the contemporary lifestyle were fairly consistent with the self-reported Dominant Orientation in all but the Activity Orientation. The predictions based on traditional lifestyle suggest there has been a change in Dominant Orientation in the Relational Orientation. Interestingly both researchers predictions for the Activity Orientation were the opposite of the findings of the Copper Inuit. This would suggest that either the behaviour of the Copper Inuit did not reflect their values or that the conceptualization of behaviour is different between the two cultures.

Table IV-3

Comparison of Predicted and Actual Value Orientation Profile

of the Copper Inuit

	Relational	Man-Nature	Activity	Time
Researcher	Col ≥ ind ≥ Lin	Sub ≥ Harm ≥ Mast	Being ≥ Doing	Pres = Past ≥ Put
Committee Member	Ind ≥ Col ≥ Lin	Sub ≥ Mast ≥ Harm	Being ≥ Doing	Pres ≥ Past ≥ Pat
lauit	Col > Lin ≥ Ind	Sub ≥ Harm ≥ Mast	Doing > Boing	Pres ≥ Past = Put

Abbreviations

Put = Puture, Pres = Present, Lin = Lineal, Col = Collateral, Ind = Individualistic, Har = Harmony-withnature, Mast = Mastery-over-nature Sub = Subjugated-to-nature Key = No preference, > Significant preference

Data Analysis

Data analysis of the questionnaire was undertaken as outlined by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) in the original study. This method of analysis was used by Egeland (1978), DeMay (1982), Brink (1984), Gushuliak (1990), and Norris (1992). The analysis involved three stages: (a) Total Item Patterning, (b) Intra-Item

Patterning, and (c) Total Orientation Patterning. A Value Orientation computer program (Kruckeberg, 1982) which was designed to do the three types of analysis, was used with minor modifications. Information gathered from participant observation and comments made by respondents during the interview process were used to explore the statistical findings. In addition the predictions of both the researcher and the committee member familiar with the Inuit were compared to the Total Orientation Patterning.

Total Item Patterning looks at each Value Orientation subset (e.g. Time) and compares the expected frequency to the observed frequency of the alternatives. It is expected that each alternative (Past, Present, and Future) will occur with equal frequency. The Kendall S statistic was used to compare the expected with the observed. As the computer program did not recognize missing data, calculations for questions with no responses were performed independently by the researcher. The computer program only recognized six relational questions, so computations for the seventh question and for the Relational T-tests were also done independently by the researcher. The methods used for these analysis were as outlined by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1962, pp. 124-134).

Intra-Item Patterning examines the consistency of the rank ordering of responses for each question in the subsets. The expected preferences of the rank ordering were compared with the observed rank ordering for each question. A consistent preference for one value over another within the subset was expected, and was to be tested through binomial analysis. The number of persons necessary to indicate a preference to a significant level was determined by the following equation:

$$z = \frac{fA > B - E(fA > B) - .50}{\sqrt{m (pA > B) (qA > B)}}$$

where:

```
z = 1.96 (.at a 05 level of significance)

fA>B = observed frequency A > B

E(fA>B) = expected frequency A > B

m = number of persons in sample

p(A>B) = expected proportion of A > B

q(A>B) = expected proportion of B > A
```

fA>B indicated the number of people needed for a significant preference to have occurred. In this study, the number of people necessary for a significant fA>B was also determined for each subset, as follows:

Group	n	<u>f∧>B</u>
Copper Inuit	36	24
Male	17	13
Female	19	14
Young	26	18
Old	10	9
Up to Grade 8	14	11
Over Grade 8	12	10

Symbols were used to indicate preferences as follows:

- > indicates a significant preference at the p = .05 level or better.
- ≥ indicates a preference falling below the .05 level of significance.
- means that one alternative is not preferred over another.

Total Orientation Patterning looks at the consistency of the rank-ordered responses of each Value Orientation subset (e.g. time). It compares the expected rank ordering with the observed rank ordering of the subset. A t-test was used to compare the expected and observed mean frequencies using the following formula:

$$t = \frac{\overline{X} - u}{\frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}}$$

where:

 \overline{X} = the mean of the sample

 μ = the hypothesized population mean

n = the sample size

s = the standard deviation

The significance of patterns can be determined in this manner.

Ethical Considerations

The human rights of the research subjects were protected in several ways. In accordance with the policy of the University of Alberta Faculty of Graduate Studies, this proposal was submitted to and received approval from the Joint Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Nursing. The proposal was also submitted to the Institute for Northern Research, which granted a research licence. Permission to conduct the research was obtained from the Coppermine Hamlet Council, who received a written summary of the proposal, a copy of the questionnaire, and information about consent. Written permission was granted to attend community meetings and to work in the community. Individual committees and agencies were also approached for permission to attend meetings and to make observations. The purpose of the study was explained to them. In addition, the Kitikmeot Regional Health Board was given a written summary of the proposal, and they provided a written statement of support for the study.

Subject participation was voluntary, and the subjects were free to withdraw at any time. Informed consent in either English or Innuniagtun was obtained from each

subject (see Appendix E). This consent form contained a brief description of the study and outlined what would be expected of each subject. The researcher also provided a verbal explanation of the study and an opportunity to ask questions prior to obtaining the subject's consent.

CHAPTER V

Findings

Findings are based on the responses given for the Value Orientation

Questionnaire using the alternative questions developed for the Copper Inuit
hunting/fishing traditional lifestyle. The overall Value Orientation of the Copper Inuit
and the six identified demographic subsets (male, female, young, old, "over grade 8",
"up to grade 8") were examined and compared.

The Copper Inuit sample consisted of 36 respondents, 17 males and 19 females. Their ages ranged from 20 to 82 years, with a median of 34 years and a mean of 38.2 years. Their education level ranged from no formal education to approximately two years at a community college level. Because many people were unsure of the actual highest grade they had attained median and mean values could not be determined.

The male sample consisted of 17 respondents, who ranged from 20 to 82 years of age, with a median of 38 years and a mean of 40.7 years. Their education level ranged from no formal education to grade 11.

The female sample consisted of 19 respondents who ranged from 20 to 73 years of age, with a median of 34 years and a mean of 36.1 years. Their education level ranged from no formal education to approximately two years at a community college level.

The "old" sample consisted of 10 respondents, 5 males and five females. They ranged from 45 to 82 years of age, with a median of 58 years and a mean of 60.2 years. Their education ranged from no formal education to grade 7.

The "young" sample consisted of 14 respondents, 6 males and 8 females. Those who had gone beyond grade 8 education were excluded, since no one in the "old" subset had gone beyond the eighth grade. They ranged from 21 to 41 years of age, with a median of 28.5 years and a mean of 26.4 years. Their education ranged from grades 2 to 8, with a median of grade 7 and a mean of grade 7.2.

The "up to grade 8" education sample consisted of 14 respondents, 6 males and 8 females. Those over 45 years of age were excluded, since no one over 45 had gone beyond the eighth grade. They ranged from 21 to 41 years of age, with a median of 28.5 years and a mean of 26.4 years. Their education ranged from grades 2 to 8, with a median of grade 7 and a mean of grade 7.2.

The "over grade 8" education sample consisted of 12 respondents, 6 men and 6 women. They ranged from 20 to 41 years of age, with a median of 30 years and a mean of 31.4 years. Their education ranged from grade 9 to two years at the community college level, with a median of grade 10, and a mean of grade 10.3.

Information derived from the field journal and from transcripts of the interviews were used to explain the findings. The rank orderings of the individual questions and orientation subsets were identified. Then, the journal and transcripts were used in an attempt to understand the findings in relation to the observed behaviour. Similarly, variations in orientation between subsets were examined.

Predictions of the Value Orientation, based on both a contemporary and a traditional perspective, were compared to the overall Value Orientations of the Copper Inuit. Similarities and discrepancies between the predicted and Copper Inuit Value Orientations are reviewed. In the discussion chapter, the implications of the comparison of the predictions and Copper Inuit Value Orientation are examined.

Relational Orientation

Total Item Patterning: Kendall's S Statistic

Examination of the Kendall's S statistic (Table V-1) for the overall Copper Inuit Relational Orientation determined whether there was a random or patterned choice for each question. All seven of the questions were indicative of a patterned choice. Five of the seven questions (R2, R3, R4, R6, R7) demonstrated a patterned choice at the p = .05 level or better.

RESPONSES OF THE COPPER INUIT FOR RELATIONAL VALUE ORIENTATION Occurs 6 27 Lin Col Ind A B C Ourston # 12 Line Col lind A B C R4 Question #9 Lin Col Ind A B C R3 Question / 4 Lun Col hd A B C PER COLOR 3. i · Program / 23 Lin Collection 21:4 51:4 Table V - 1 į

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Intra-Item Patterning: Binomial Analysis

Examination of Intra-Item Patterning, using a binomial analysis of the response to each individual question of the Relational Orientation, demonstrated a consistency of responses for the overall population and the population subsets.

R1 Water arrangements

This question explored a respondent's beliefs about how the community should make a decision regarding how to choose a water lake and build a road to it. The Lineal alternative represents the decision being made by the elders or recognized leaders of the community. The Collateral alternative represents the decision being made through a consensus of the community members, after everyone has had an opportunity to participate. The Individualistic alternative represents a democratic situation in which the decision is decided by vote. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit	Collateral = Individualistic ≥ Lineal
Old	Collateral = Individualistic ≥ Lineal
	(Collateral = Lineal)
Female	Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal
Over Grade 8	Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic
	(Collateral ≥ Individualistic)
Up to Grade 8, Young	Individualistic ≥ Collateral = Lineal
Male	Individualistic ≥ Collateral ≥ Lineal

Traditionally, decisions pertaining to group issues were made through a consensus of those individuals who were directly involved. Issues which did not involve the group were left to the individual. Today community-related decisions are usually decided by an elected mayor and council, or by an employed professional.

The Collateral preference reflects traditional group decision-making in which expertise, which usually came with experience, was the basis for choosing a leader

who would make decisions. Leadership was informal, and shifted depending upon the skill or expertise required. The Individualistic preference of the "Male", "Younger" and "Up to Grade 8" groups reflects the more traditional dominant Orientation for day-to-day decision making, as the individual makes decisions independently about non-group related issues.

R2 Help in misfortune

This question deals with a family that needs help in order to survive the winter, and how they will solicit that assistance. The Lineal alternative is for the family to approach an authority figure (a boss or an older/important relative) who is experienced in managing things in the group. The Collateral alternative is for the family to rely on brothers and sisters to help them out. The Individualistic alternative is for the family to raise money on their own outside the community. The preferred rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Up to Grade 8, Young

Male, Female, Over

Grade 8

Old

Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral = Lineal ≥ Individualistic

This Collateral preference is consistent with the Inuit tradition of sharing resources among group members, who travelled and hunted together, and with the current practice of family members helping each other out as they are able. Today, many Copper Inuit have few resources other than their friends and family. There is a high unemployment rate and the only credit available is a limited amount through the local retailers. As a result, the practice of sharing resources remains an important aspect of the Copper Inuit culture.

R3 Family work relations

This question deals with family work relationships and the leadership that is preferred within the extended family. The Lineal alternative recommends that the oldest able person within the extended family take on the responsibility of being the family manager. The Collateral alternative indicates that members of extended families work together and appoint a leader when needed. The Individualistic alternative proposes that each nuclear family function independently of each other. The preferred rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Male, Female, Old, Over

Grade 8

Up to Grade 8, Young

Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic

The preference of Collateral in the rank ordering is consistent with the Copper Inuit's current extended family relationship in which families loosely work together. Leadership is based on the activity involved, and upon the individual's knowledge and skill. People related that the best hunter would lead the hunt and the best fisherman would direct the building of weirs. Traditionally, the nuclear family was the primary decision-making unit. Although leadership was focused within that unit, individuals were autonomous, and therefore relate in a more individualistic manner.

R4 Choice of delegate

This question examines the community's method of choosing a delegate. The Lincal alternative is that delegates be chosen by elders or established leaders. The Collateral alternative is that delegates be chosen by group consensus. The Individual alternative is that delegates be chosen by vote. The rank orderings of the various groups were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Over Grade 8

Up to Grade 8, Young,
Female

Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic

OldCollateral ≥ Lineal = IndividualisticMaleCollateral > Individualistic ≥ Lineal

The Collateral preference in the rank ordering reflects the preferred contemporary method of decision making, and is considered to be the most desirable method of choosing delegates. In actual practice, delegates are often selected by picking whoever volunteers (Individualistic) or by asking someone who has participated on another occasion to do so again. Some effort is made to solicit input from the elders in matters related to them or tradition.

R5 Wage work

This question explores how an individual would prefer to work. The Lineal alternative depicts a employer/employee relationship. The Collateral alternative describes a cooperative or communal work place. The Individual alternative portrays a self-employment situation.

Overall Copper Inuit

Male, Female, Old, Young,

Up to grade 8.

Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal

Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal

Collateral = Lineal = Individualistic

The preference for the Collateral choice is consistent with the traditional hunting lifestyle of the Copper Inuit in which hunters either worked collaboratively or on their own. The rank ordering of the "Over Grade 8" subset may represent the dilemma they face. Although they have, by Copper Inuit standards, gained advanced education to improve their situation their level of education is insufficient for positions of responsibility, and the north offers only limited opportunities for self-

employment. This group is on the forefront of a transition whereby jobs that were commonly held by non-Inuit are opening up to qualified Inuit.

R6 Inheritance of sled dogs

This question examines how property (sled dogs, in this case) is inherited within a group. The Lineal alternative is one in which the dogs are not distributed among individuals but are, instead managed by the oldest able person. The Collateral alternative is one in which the dogs are maintained collectively, with the most capable person in charge. The Individualistic alternative sees the dogs distributed among the heirs, with each person responsible for his/her own share. The identified rank orderings were:

Overall Copper Inuit	Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal*
Female	Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal*
Male, Old	Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal
Over Grade 8	Collateral = Individualistic ≥ Lineal*
Up to Grade 8, Young	Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic

The Copper Inuit interviewed often prefaced their answer with a statement that they have no tradition of inheritance as described in this question. The traditional practice was for family and friends to take what they wanted from the deceased's personal possessions. No preference was given to any one person or to family members, although an informal group consensus was implied.

R7 Land inheritance

Like R6, this question deals with the inheritance of property (a summer camp or cabin, in this case). The Lineal alternative is for the property to be maintained intact and managed by the oldest able person. The Collateral alternative is for the property to be maintained intact and managed cooperatively. The Individualistic

alternative is one in which the property is divided among the heirs, who each manages her/his own portion. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Up to Grade 8, Female,

Male, Young

Over Grade 8

Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral > Lineal = Individualistic

Collateral > Individualistic > Lineal

The Copper Inuit traditionally owned no land and lived a nomadic existence. A few individuals have recently purchased their own homes, but the land is leased from the Hamlet. During the interview, some individuals expressed concern and a felling of uncertainty about what they would do about such an inheritance. Despite having no tradition of land inheritance, the preference for Collateral is consistent with the other Relational items.

Total Orientation Patterning: t-test

Examination of the Total Orientation Patterning, as determined by t-tests, indicated consistency in the Relational Orientation. In the Total Item Patterning of the population subsets the allowed identification of variation within the Copper Inuit population. The findings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Male, Female, Old, Over

Grade 8

Young, Up to Grade 8

Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic

Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individualistic*

Only the ranking strengths varied between the subsets and the overall Copper Imuit Relational Orientation. This Collateral preference with Lineal as the second choice is consistent with modern Copper imuit life. Today, they are live in hamlets in much larger concentrations then in the past. The importance of the extended family

has increased and decisions are made through consensus among the nuclear families making up a larger extended family. The consensus type decision making is not always possible and a more democratic system has been adopted, as a result. It remains important to give everyone who wishes to speak the opportunity to do so, yet decisions are largely left to elected officials. Although children may live independently of their parents and other family members, the extended family has become the core social unit. In contrast, traditionally the nuclear family was the core social unit, and decisions were a matter of individual choose.

Predictions

The predictions of the researcher and committee member for the Relational Orientation were:

Researcher
Committee Member

Collateral ≥ Individualistic ≥ Lineal Individualistic ≥ Collateral ≥ Lineal

The researcher's predictions which reflects a more contemporary lifestyle was the closest to the actual overall Relational Orientation, and suggests a shift away from the traditional values as reflected in the predictions of the committee member. The Copper Inuit may also been influenced by the Lineal Orientation reflected in many of the service and government organizations which have been introduced since World-War II.

Man-Nature Orientation

Total Item Patterning: Kendall's S Statistic

An examination of the Kendall's S statistic (Table V-2) for the overall Copper limit Man-Nature Orientation determined whether there was a random or a patterned

NNS Oversion # 19 Sub Mass Harm RESPONSES OF THE COPPER INUIT FOR MAN-NATURE VALUE ORIENTATION MIN Common 13 So Mare Harm A B C MRG Operior 1.76 Se Mar Hern Table V - 2 į

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choice for each question. All five of the questions were indicative of a patterned choice, and three of the five questions (MN1, MN3, MN4)) revealed a patterned choice at the p = .05 level or better.

Intra-Item Patterning: Binomial Analysis

Examination of the Intra-Item Patterning, using a binomial analysis of the response to each individual question of the Man-Nature Orientation, demonstrated a consistency of responses for the overall population and the population subsets.

MN1 Sled dogs dving

This question explored people's ideas about another person whose sled dogs have died. The Subjugation alternative is that because such occurrences are beyond a persons control, the person should not be blamed. The Mastery alternative is that such occurrences are likely the person's own fault, since there are ways to prevent these losses. The Harmony alternative is that the loss likely occurred because the person had not lived in a manner to maintain his/her harmony with nature. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Up to Grade 8, Female,
Young

Over Grade 8

Subjugation ≥ Mastery > Harmony
Subjugation ≥ Mastery > Harmony

Male, Old

Subjugation ≥ Mastery ≥ Harmony

Subjugation ≥ Mastery ≥ Harmony

Only a variation in the ranking strength is evident between the overall Copper Inuit Orientation and the orientations of the subsets. The Subjugation preference suggests an acceptance of conditions as they exist. The appearance of Mastery as the alternative choice suggests a willingness to use technology as much as possible to improve one's circumstances, as exemplified by the Copper Inuit's incorporation of

modern methods into traditional activities such as hunting and fishing. Although a hunter maybe at the mercy of the elements, he now carries a CB radio which he can use to contact others if he requires assistance.

MN2 Facing conditions

This question examines people's relationship with God and to natural conditions. The Subjugation alternative maintains that God is directly involved in an individual's life, and that a person can do little to change things. The Mastery alternative advocates that God does not directly affect conditions, and that each person has opportunity to change her/his circumstances. The Harmony alternative maintains that people work with God, and that an individual's circumstances depend on whether that person lives in harmony with the forces of nature. Two individuals in the "Over Grade 8" subset declined to answer this question because of its religious nature. The rank orderings were identified as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit	Harmony ≥ Subjugation ≥ Mastery
Old	Harmony ≥ Subjugation ≥ Mastery*
Female	Harmony ≥ Subjugation ≥ Mastery
Over Grade 8	Harmony = Subjugation ≥ Mastery
Up to Grade 8, Young	Harmony = Subjugation = Mastery
	(Mastery ≥ Harmony)
Male	Subjugation ≥ Harmony ≥ Mastery

The Harmony preference reflects the traditional beliefs of the Irwit. Because spirits could wield influence in the material world, they must be treated with respect; indeed, an individual's behaviour would influence the behaviour of the spirits. Today, most people are considered to be Christians. Traditional activities, sauch as the drum dance, once used to commune with spirits and the supernatural, are preformed as entertainment. The priest seems to have replaced the shaman. Although the researcher heard accounts of people knowing of a shaman in the past no one could identify a current shaman. The rank ordering of the "Male" group was

unusual in that it reflected a Subjugation preference, which may be the reason that men tend to be less involved with the church and attend services less regularly as women.

MN3 Use of Nets

This question deals with the different ways of working fish nets. The Subjugation alternative maintains that the performance of fish nets depends on external things, such as the weather, over which a person has no control. The Mastery alternative maintains that one can improve how fish nets perform by working hard and using scientific methods. The Harmony alternative suggests that living in harmony with nature will enhance the performance of the fish nets. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

 Overall Copper Inuit
 Harmony > Mastery ≥ Subjugation

 Over Grade 8
 Harmony ≥ Mastery ≥ Subjugation*

 Up to Grade 8, Young, Male
 Harmony ≥ Mastery ≥ Subjugation

 Female
 Harmony ≥ Subjugation ≥ Mastery*

 Old
 Harmony = Subjugation ≥ Mastery

Both traditional and modern fishing are closely linked to the seasons and the environment. Fish migrate to the sea in the spring and return up river in the fall. To be successful as a fisherman one must be in tune with the changing of weather, and with seasonal events such as the ice break-up in the spring. This knowledge is linked to an intimacy with and respect for the environment. Although the "Female" and . "Older" aged groups chose Subjugation as a second choice, the other groups chose Mastery which may be due to the fact that fishing with nets is predominantly an activity of young men.

MN4 Belief in control

This question examines beliefs about control of natural occurrences such as weather. The Subjugation alternative maintains that such conditions cannot be controlled, so it is best to accept things as they come. The Mastery alternative supports the belief that there are ways to control these conditions and that people should work to discovery them. The Harmony alternative contends that a person can influence these conditions if he/she works and lives in harmony with nature. The rank orderings were identified as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit	Subjugation ≥ Harmony > Mastery
Female	Subjugation ≥ Harmony > Mastery
Over Grade 8	Subjugation ≥ Harmony ≥ Mastery*
Up to Grade 8, Young	Subjugation = Harmony \geq Mastery
Male	Harmony ≥ Subjugation ≥ Mastery
Old	Harmony ≥ Subjugation = Mastery

The Subjugation preference illustrates the role of the environment in the Arctic where people remain at its mercy, despite modern technology, which has made life more comfortable. An Arctic storm remains awesome and all-powerful: There is nothing that anyone can do; just stay put and wait it out. The "Male" and "Older" aged groups were distinct with a preference for Harmony. The "Male" group in general spends more time out on the land, involved in traditional activities such as hunting, and may feel a closer relationship with the forces of nature. Similarly the "Older" group has spent a greater portion of their lives living on the land, in a traditional manner, and likely sense a closer relationship with the forces of nature.

MN5 Length of life

This question examines whether people can influence the length of their lives.

The Subjugation alternative maintains that each person has a certain time to live and

that nothing can be done to alter their longevity. The Mastery alternative advocates that there are ways to lengthen life if people choose to do them. The Harmony alternative contends that there is a plan to life and that people will increase their longevity if they learn to live in accordance with this plan. The identified rank orderings were:

Overall Copper Inuit	Mastery ≥ Subjugation ≥ Harmony
Over Grade 8, Female	Mastery ≥ Subjugation ≥ Harmony
Male, Old	Mastery ≥ Harmony ≥ Subjugation
Up to Grade 8, Young	Subjugation ≥ Mastery ≥ Harmony

Over a short period of time, the Copper Inuit have seen their longevity increase because of medical advances, better living conditions and a less harsh existence. Yet at the same time there is an acceptance of times when nothing not even technology, can cure an illness. The preference of Subjugation by the "Younger" and "Up to Grade 8" groups suggests that these groups believe that they have less control over their lives than the other groups, an attitude that may be related to their level of education since no one in the younger age group had gone further than the eighth grade.

Total Orientation Patterning: t-test

An examination of the t-tests provides a Total Orientation Patterning which indicates a consistency in the Man-Nature Orientation. Variations within the Copper Inuit population were identified by an examination of the Total Item Patterning of the population subsets. The identified rank orderings were:

Overall Copper Inuit	Subjugation ≥ Harmony ≥ Mastery
Over Grade 8, Female	Subjugation ≥ Harmony ≥ Mastery
Up to Grade 8, Young	Subjugation ≥ Mastery ≥ Harmony
Male, Old	Harmony ≥ Subjugation ≥ Mastery

The preference of Subjugation in all but the "Male" and "Older" aged groups suggest a view that one has little or no control over the forces of nature, which may be due to the fact that women fell more confined and limited in their activities by environmental factors such as weather. The preference for the Harmony choice by the "Male" and "Older" aged groups may be a reflection of their association with more traditional activities, such as hunting. Hunting continues to be a important source of meat for most families, and men are the primary hunters. Even today, the men spend a fair amount of time out on the land hunting and fishing, and in doing so, have kept in closer contact with nature. They are concerned about the ecological impact of technology and change on the environment on which they depend. The older people have clear and vivid memories of when they lived on the land, and remember some of the old stories about the Inuit's relationship with nature and the supernatural.

Predictions

The predicted rank orderings for the Man-Nature Orientation were:

Researcher Subjugation ≥ Harmony ≥ Mastery
Committee Member Subjugation ≥ Mastery ≥ Harmony

The researcher's prediction is consistent with the overall Copper Inuit Man-Nature Orientation, and with four of the five subsets (Over Grade 8, Up to Grade 8, Young, and Female). This orientation would indicate that these groups hold contemporary rather than traditional values. The tradition-based predictions of the committee member suggests that the overall Dominant Orientation has remained consistent with traditional values, but there has been some shift in the secondary values.

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Activity Orientation

Total Item Patterning: Kendall's S Statistic

Examination of the Kendall's S statistic (Table V-3) for the overall Copper Inuit Activity Orientation revealed a patterned choice for each of the six questions, although none reached a significant level.

Intra-Item Patterning: Binomial Analysis

Examination of the Intra-Item Patterning, using a binomial analysis of the response to each question of the Activity Orientation, demonstrated a consistency of responses for the overall population and the population subsets.

A1 Job choice A

This question asks the respondent about the type of boss for whom it would be best to work. The Doing alternative suggests a boss who is fair and pays a good wage, but who would refuse to keep a worker who sometimes knocks off or does not report to work for a day or two. The Being alternative suggests a boss who does not pay as well, but is not as firm, and who would keep a worker who might not always come in. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit
Up to Grade 8, Male,
Female, Old, Young

Being ≥ Doing Being ≥ Doing

Over Grade 8

Doing ≥ Being

In response to this question, people indicated that it was important that an employee \vdash able to take time off to go hunting, and that an employer should understand that need. It is important to note that hunting is a Doing activity in the

Copper Inuit culture. The preference of Doing ≥ Being for those with more than an eighth grade education may be related to the higher rate of employment in this group (92% employment compared to 44% for the Up to Grade 8 group).

A2 Job choice B

This question asked respondents which kind of boss they thought it would be best to be. The Doing alternative suggests a boss who is fair and pays a good wage, but would refuse to keep a worker who sometimes knocks off or does not report to work for a day. The Being alternative suggests a boss who does not pay as well but is not as firm, and who would keep a worker who might not always come in. The preferred rank orderings were:

Overall Copper Inuit
Up to Grade 8, Male,
Young, Old
Being ≥ Doing

Over Grade 8, Female Doing ≥ Being

The preference of Being as first choice did not reflect comments that people made to the researcher. The importance of having time to hunt and fish to provide for one's family was again an important factor. Taking time off to go hunting was considered to be a legitimate reason for not going to work, however, a number of people indicated that a worker should ask for the time of,f and not just take it. The preference of Doing ≥ Being in the "Over grade 8" subset is consistent with their response to question A1. However, the female subset's preference for Doing ≥ Being is paradoxical to that subset's preferences in A1, which may be related to their circumstances as mothers who must periodically rely on others to babysit their children.

A3 Ways of living

This question explored how people like to live. The Doing alternative postulated that an individual likes to accomplish things and perform tasks at least as well or better than others. The Being alternative proposed that an individual prefers to spend time thinking and does not mind if little gets accomplished. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit
Over Grade 8, Up to Grade
8, Female, Male,
Young, Old

Doing > Being Doing ≥ Being

The Doing preference was exhibited throughout the population, with only a variation in the ranking strength. Observations indicated that spare time seemed to be spent predominantly in social activities such as visiting, and playing cards, which would normally be considered as "Being" activities. They may, however, be considered as "Doing" activities to the Copper Inuit. In an environment of long winters and little sunlight social activities are important to maintaining one's spirits and sense of well-being.

A4 Care of nets

This question examined the two ways in which a person who fishes with nets can live. The Doing alternative suggests that a person could work hard and long on the nets and therefore, have little time for other things. The Being alternative suggests that a person could work on the nets only as much as necessary, so as to have time to do other things. The preferred rank orderings identified were as follows:

Over Grade 8, Male, Doing > Being Female
Up to Grade 8, Young, Old Doing ≥ Being

The preference of Doing is consistent with the fishing practices of the Copper Inuit. The maintenance of fishing nets is important for a productive yield. Not only must nets be maintained in good repair, but they must also be checked and cleaned of debris on a regular basis. Fish in the nets must be harvested before they die or are spoiled. The migratory habits of the fish suggests that the location of the nets must be changed periodically. The care of the nets will directly affect the quality and quantity of the yield.

A5 Housework

This question explored how people like to work around the house. The Doing alternative suggests that a person finds extra things to do to keep busy and that she/he gets much accomplished. The Being alternative suggests that a person would work around the house only as much as necessary, so as to have time to do other things. The identified rank orderings were:

Overall Copper Inuit Doing > Being Up to Grade 8, Female, Doing > Being

Young

Over Grade 8, Male, Old Doing ≥ Being

The preference of Doing as first choice was not reflected in the community. Many homes are surrounded by discarded furniture and machinery. More attention seems to have been spent on the interior of homes. If used to do things around the house spare time seems to be concentrated on the maintenance or repair hunting equipment, such as skidoos or komatiks (a traditional sled).

A6 Non-work Time

This question explores the use of non-work time. The Doing alternative is to spent this time learning or trying things which will help at work. The Being alternative is to spend this time engaged in social activities. The identified rank orderings were:

Overall Copper Inuit

Up to Grade 8, Over Grade
8, Young, Female

Doing > Being
Doing > Being

Male, Old Doing ≥ Being

The preference of Doing as first choice is difficult to substantiate from the activities that were observed. Despite their low level of education, only a few take advantage of adult learning programs provided in the community by Arctic College. Overall attendance and drop-out rates remain high at the school. Books were apparent in only a few homes, and the local library has a small client base. As previously mentioned, spare time seems to be spent primarily engaged in social activities.

Total Orientation Patterning: t-test

Examination of the Total Orientation Patterning, using t-tests, indicated consistency in the Activity Orientation. Subset variations were identified in the Total Item Patterning of the population. The rank orderings identified were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit
Over Grade 8, Up to Grade

8, Young, Female

Doing > Being
Doing > Being

Male, Old Doing ≥ Being

80

A preference of Doing as first choice was predominant throughout the population, with the of ranking strength for the "Male" and "Older" aged groups the only variation. Evidence of "doing" was not always manifested in the behaviours that were observed. However, certain activities that may be perceived as "being" by others may be considered as "doing" by the Copper Inuit.

Predictions

The predicted rank ordering for the Activity Value Profile were as follows:

Researcher Being ≥ Doing Committee Member Being ≥ Doing

The predictions for the Activity Orientation are inconsistent with the actual self-reported Activity Value Profile which would suggest that either the behaviour of the Copper Inuit does not reflect their values, or that what constitutes an achievement for the Copper Inuit is different from that of the researcher and committee member. The possible explanations for the inconsistencies between the predicted and Copper Inuit Activity Orientation will be explored in the discussion chapter.

Time Orientation

Total Item Patterning: Kendall's S Statistic

Examination of the Kendall's S statistic (Table V-4) for the overall Copper Inuit Time Orientation revealed a patterned choice for each of the five questions. Three of the seven questions (T1, T4, T5) demonstrated a patterned choice at the p = 0.05 level of significance or better.

Table V - 4 RESPONSES OF THE COPPER INUIT FOR TIME VALUE ORIENTATION 74 Opening / 14 Par 74: 74: A B C Ĭ

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Intra-Item Patterning: Binomial Analysis

Examination of the Intra-Item Patterning, using a binomial analysis of the response to each individual question of the Time Orientation, demonstrated a consistency of responses for the overall population and the population subsets.

T1 Child Training

This question explores views on how children should be raised. The Past alternative maintains that children should be raised with an emphasis on traditions, and on the traditional ways of doing things. The Present alternative contends that children should be raised with some knowledge of the traditional ways of doing things, as well as with a knowledge of the other ways, and that they be encouraged to use whatever knowledge that may help them as adults. The Future alternative suggests that children should not be taught about tradition, but instead encouraged to discover for themselves how things should be done. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

 Overall Copper Inuit
 Present ≥ Past > Future

 Up to Grade 8, Young, Female
 Present ≥ Past ≥ Future

 Over grade 8, Old
 Present ≥ Past ≥ Future

 Male
 Present ≥ Puture

The preference of Present as first choice for this question reflects the position that there is merit to both the traditional and modern ways of doing things. The decision about whether to emphasis the traditional or more contemporary ways of doing something is dependent on the situation and individual. The fact that is important to people that the education system incorporate traditional knowledge into the curriculum where appropriate, reflects this orientation. The "Male" group's

preference for the Past may relate to their desire to pass traditional skills such as hunting and other related skills on to their sons.

T2 Expectations about change

This question considers the respondents' views about how their children will live. The question appears in two forms, one for those under 45 years of age whose children are young, and one for older individuals whose children are grown and may have families of their own. The Past alternative suggests that their children would live much as they have, and may possibly rejuvenate traditional ways. The Present alternative suggests that there is no way of knowing if things will be better or worse for their children. The Future alternative suggests that the respondent expects things to improve for their children if they work hard and plan well. The rank orderings identified were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Over Grade 8

Up to Grade 8, Young

Male

Future ≥ Present ≥ Past

Future = Present ≥ Past

Future ≥ Past ≥ Present

Future ≥ Past ≥ Present

Female

Old

Past = Future ≥ Present

(Past = Present)

The preference of Future as first choice reflects the changes occurring in the north. Communities are getting high school level grades, and as a result young people are staying in school longer and are returning to finish their education. It is expected that there will be better opportunities for Inuit employment following the formation of the Nunavut Territory in 1999. The preference of Present for the Female group may be related to their roles as mothers. Mothers being the primary caretakers of children may tend to concentrate more on the present needs concerns of their children and not on the future. The "Older" aged group is unusual in that it prefers the Past equally to the Future, the Future over the Present, and the Past

equally to the Present. This group has undergone the greatest change in lifestyle, having lived both as traditional nomads and in the contemporary style of a modern settlement. They can from their own experience appreciate the advantages and disadvantages of both ways of living.

T3 Philosophy of life

This question explores beliefs about the expectations of life. The Past alternative advocates that the traditional ways of life were the best, and that people should work towards maintaining them and bringing them back when they are lost. The Present alternative contends that one should concentrate on the Present, and that an individual should maintain some of the traditional ways yet be ready to take on new approaches which may make life easier. The Future alternative looks to plan ahead and work hard, because the future will bring improvements which will improve life. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit	Present ≥ Future ≥ Past
Over Grade 8	Present ≥ Future ≥ Past*
Male, Female	Present ≥ Future ≥ Past
Up to Grade 8, Young	Present ≥ Past ≥ Future
Old	Present = Past = Future
	(Present ≥ Future)

The preference of Present as first choice may be the effect of The Copper Inuit's rapid adaptation to technology. In a matter of approximately 70 years, they have progressed from a nomadic existence to the computer age. Indeed things have changed so quickly that there has been little time to reflect or contemplate the future. The "Older" aged group is unusual as it prefers all alternatives equally while at the same time preferring the Present over the Future. This group expressed a concern that much that was good about the traditional ways has been lost. They believe that many social problems, such as alcohol abuse, are a result of people failing to raise

their children with traditional values. At the same time, the older group recognizes that there is a need for formal education and modern technology in the contemporary Arctic, and that the Inuit must be familiar with new ways if they are to take control of their own resources. The "Young" and "Up to Grade 8" groups preferred the Past over Future as a second choice. This group was concerned about the social problems that they believe are related to the decrease in traditional practices within the family.

T4 Ceremonial innovation

Male

This question explores people's attitudes toward change in religious ceremonies. The Past alternative suggests that these ceremonies should remain unchanged in all ways. The Present alternative suggests that, although the traditional ways are best, one must accept change when it occurs. The Future alternative suggests that people are pleased about changes to the ceremonies, as new ways are usually better than the old ones. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit

Female, Young, Up to

Grade 8, Over Grade 8

Old

Present ≥ Past ≥ Future

Present ≥ Past ≥ Future

Present ≥ Past ≥ Future

Present = Past ≥ Future

The preference of Present as first choice may be a reflection of what has occurred within the Anglican church since its establishment in the 1920s. The Anglican church is the dominant religion in Coppermine. Although, the Anglican prayer book is available in Innuniagtun, it has undergone a number of revisions during the past 40 years, the last of which occurred in 1992. These changes have been accepted, but people are not as comfortable with the church service. The choice of past as the second preference indicates their desire to retain as much of the traditional ceremony as possible. That they prefer the old way of doing things was demonstrated with the singing of hymns. If the melody was unfamiliar they would

Present ≥ Future ≥ Past

either not sing, or they would sing the hymn to the melody with which they were familiar.

T5 Water allocation

This question explores the planning of an event; in this case an increase in the number of water trucks which leads to an increase in the water supply. The Past alternative suggests that the additional trucks should be allocated in the same manner as they had been in the past. The Present alternative proposes that the decision about the use of the additional trucks be made when they actually arrive in the settlement. The Future alternative proposes that plans be made ahead of time for the allocation of the additional trucks. The identified rank orderings were as follows:

Overall Copper Inuit
Up to Grade 8, Young,
Male

Female
Over Grade 8

Old

Future ≥ Past ≥ Present
Future ≥ Present ≥ Past
Future ≥ Present ≥ Past
Future ≥ Present = Past
Future = Past ≥ Present
(Future = Present)

The Future preference of first choice indicates an acknowledgement that planning is necessary in order to optimize the use of resources. This is the only question were Future is the dominant first choice and interestingly the only question dealing with a piece of modern technology. The preference of Past as second choice may be related to the satisfaction with the current system of water allocation. The older aged group is unusual in that it prefers the Future equally to the Past and Present yet also prefers the Past over the Present. This may be a result of the problem with the translated tool or may it be a phenomenon of the aging process.

Total Orientation Patterning: t-test

Examination of the Total Orientation Patterning, using t-tests, indicated consistency in the Time Orientation. The Total Item Patterning of the population subsets allowed an identification of variations within the Copper Inuit population. The findings were as follows:

 Overall Copper Inuit
 Present ≥ Past = Future

 Up to Grade 8, Young
 Present ≥ Past ≥ Future

 Male
 Present ≥ Past ≥ Future

 (Future ≥ Present)
 Present = Future ≥ Past

 Female
 Present > Future ≥ Past

 Old
 Past ≥ Present ≥ Future

The first choice of the Present reflects a focus on the here and now, which was demonstrated during the data collection. Appointments would be made but not kept because something else was happening. The "Over Grade 8" subset preferred the Present and Past equally. Whether this is a result of the education process, or a characteristic of those who seek more education, could not be determined. The "Male" subset was unusual in that, while they preferred the Present ≥ Past ≥ Future, it also preferred the Future over Present. The preference of the Past in the "Older" age group suggests a focus on the traditional ways. This group expressed the opinion that many of the social problems facing the community arise because children are not raised traditionally, so they get into trouble. There is also a sense that too many traditional practices are being lost, and that in perhaps another generation the young people may not be proficient in traditional activities such as hunting.

Predictions

The rank orderings predicted by the researcher and committee member were as follows:

Researcher Present = Past ≥ Future

Committee Member Present ≥ Past ≥ Future*

The predictions were consistent with the overall Copper Inuit Time Orientation Profile. However, because of the wide variation within the population, the predictions were not consistent with any of the population subsets. This does suggest, however, that behaviours generally reflect the overall Time Orientation of the Copper Inuit.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion

This study was undertaken to identify and describe the Value Orientation Profile of the Copper Inuit. Little information was available about the values upon which the behaviour of the Copper Inuit is based. This study to established that the Copper Inuit have a distinct Value Orientation Profile. Variations within the population based on age, gender, and education level were also identified. By understanding the Value Orientations of the Copper Inuit, we gain an understanding of why the Copper Inuit do things the way they do.

This project was not intended to be an instrumentation study. The use and analysis of alternative questions, however, illustrates the need for further testing of alternative forms of the questionnaire and the questionnaire terminology. A comparison of the original and alternative forms in six of the eight alternative questions indicated no change in the rank-ordering patterns, although the strength of the rank orderings did vary. In the two of the eight questions, there was some degree of variation of rank ordering between the two forms of the question. It is an assumption of this study that variations in both the rank ordering and in the strength of rank ordering were observed because the alternative questions, which were adapted from the original questions, proved to be more culturally appropriate for the Copper Inuit. However, it is possible that the alteration of the questions may have introduced a systematic measurement error. Further testing of the alternative questions would be necessary, to determine if there is an error in measurement.

Relevance of the Copper Inuit Value Orientation to Health Care

The Copper Inuit Value Orientations have an impact on the decisions they make with respect to their access to and use of the health care system. The four Orientations are interactive in nature. Decisions are based not on a single Orientation

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Physical Copper Inuit Relational Value Orientation was Collateral ≥ Lineal ≥ Individual. with a significant preference of Collateral over Individual. This Orientation indicates that the Copper Inuit generally regard themselves primarily as members of a group, then as a members of a family within that group, and finally as an individuals. This appears to be a change from traditional values which were seen to be Individualistic in published ethnographies. The Copper Inuit traditionally travelled in small groups that usually consisted of several nuclear families. The composition of these groups changed as individual families joined and withdrew from the group. The role of the extended family was minimal. Within the nuclear family groupings, the individual had the freedom to make decisions independently of the group, and to place a higher priority on individual goals than on the goals of the group.

The emphasis on the collateral choice in the Relational Value Orientation provides information about to whom clients will go for help, and may identify useful channels of communication within the Copper Inuit community. Clients are likely to consult with peers or an older relative before approaching a health professional, and they may consult these individuals again before implementing any treatment. Compliance with treatment may depend upon approval of the treatment by the other group members within and outside the family. Health promotion initiatives must meet the approval of the group as well as the senior members of the community.

Man-Nature Orientation

The overall Copper Inuit Man-Nature Orientation Profile was Subjugation ≥ Harmony ≥ Mastery, which indicates that the Copper Inuit may be somewhat accepting about illness. This suggests a belief that one has little power to alter things. There were, however, variations in the rank ordering between the individual questions of this orientation, which suggests transition. The choice of Mastery as the Dominant Orientation in the question on the length of life may be the result of the impact of medical technology (antibiotics, improved living conditions) in improving health and curing illness. As a result, although the Copper Inuit are likely to seek help from the health care system because it has proven so beneficial in the past, they are accepting when treatment fails to help.

The emphasis on Harmony by the male and older age group is distinct, and may represent a more traditional pattern. Traditional Inuit stories emphasis the Inuit's relationship to nature and the spirit world. The spirit world was considered to be rather malevolent, and shamans were apt to do either good or evil. There were, however, actions an individual or group could do to appease the spirits and maintain harmony with them. The emphasis of Subjugation in the predictions by the researchers may have over-emphasized the harshness of the environment and traditional spiritual beliefs.

The degree of variation between the individual questions of this orientation suggests a culture undergoing a period of transition. That the overall Man-Nature Orientation is inconsistent with the Orientations shown for individual questions is demonstrated. As Anglo technological knowledge has been introduced, it has challenged traditional practices and beliefs about the relationship between mankind and nature. It is in the area of Man-Nature that one would expect the introduction of modern technology to have the biggest impact on Value Orientations, and where the greatest significant change would first occur.

Time Orientation

The Copper Inuit Time Value Orientation was Present ≥ Past = Future, which is compatible with the predictions based on both the traditional and contemporary lifestyles, and indicates that little change has occurred within this Orientation. It is expected that the health concerns for which clients seek assistance will have some immediacy associated with them. The Copper Inuit are more likely to approach a health professional only at a time of illness and to not be involved in health promotion activities that are most often future-oriented. Little variation is seen in this orientation. The better-educated place a higher emphasis on the Future, although it remains somewhat secondary to the Present. This may be a result of the education process.

The Older age group had a Time Orientation of Past \geq Present \geq Future. Since this group was the smallest (n = 10) the and validity of the translated questions could not be established, the findings may not accurately represent this age group. The preference of Past as first choice may reflect a belief that the traditional ways are best, or it may be characteristic of changes in Value Orientations as part of aging.

Activity Orientation

The Copper Inuit Activity Value Orientation was Doing > Being. This was the opposite of the predictions made by both the researcher and the committee member, which were based on both their own observations as well as those reported in the ethnography. These observed behaviours do not support a Doing Orientation. There are two possible explanations for this disparity: (a) Although the Copper Inuit report a value on "doing", this value is not translated into behaviour; (b) There may be a difference between the ways in which the Copper Inuit and North American Anglo cultures conceptualize activities.

If the Copper Inuit actually possess a Doing Orientation, as they have indicated, it is unlikely that it would not be demonstrated in their activities. If the

predictions of the researcher and committee member, which are based in part on observation, are valid, this would suggest that the Doing Orientation as reported is not accurate. The equivalence reliability of the tool should have offset any attempt to falsify the response. Moreover, there is no reason for the respondents to have indicated anything other than their preferred choices. Given the premise that values are the standards upon which behaviours are based (Werkmeister, 1967), it seems unlikely that the behaviours of the Copper Inuit would be contrary to their Value Orientation. The Activity Orientation is based on the philosophical characteristics ascribed to by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961, p. 17). Doing is viewed as the kind of activity which results in an accomplishment that is measurable by standards external to the acting individual. To the outside observer, the activities of the Copper Inuit would appear to be more "Being" in nature. The nature of "Being" activities is defined as those in which there is a spontaneity and expression of impulses and desires. The self-reporting of a Doing Value Orientation, while exhibiting a "Being" behaviour, may be an inconsistency between the philosophical conceptualizations of "Being" and "Doing" between the cultures of the Copper Inuit and the researcher.

In the Copper Inuit culture the relationship between time and activity may be similar to those described by Brant (1990). This implies a set of native ethic which links activities to a philosophical time element. Things are done when the time is right, the "right" time being linked to events that occur in the present time. As a result, the accomplishments for the Copper Inuit may be very different from those of the researcher. For this reason, observations may have been wrongly categorized by non-Inuit as "Being" while they were considered "Doing" by the Copper Inuit.

The Doing > Being orientation indicates that clients may be willing to participate in activities which would improve their health. The activities which are held to be most worthwhile are still those that are associated with the traditional lifestyle of hunting and living on the land.

A Present Time Value Orientation indicated that any activities should be focused on their current health status. Clients and other community members are

more likely to become involved in activities which have currency and for which relatively immediate results can be demonstrated.

In planning health promotion and illness prevention, activities must be focused on current health concerns and emphasize short-term benefits over-long term gains. Desirable health-related lifestyle changes must be promoted in terms of current benefits rather than long-term preventative outcomes. Health initiatives which are Present oriented are likely to be more effective. The alternative preference of Past would indicate a strong sense of tradition. Attempts to influence health behaviours should, therefore, attempt to reaffirm traditional health practices.

Implications for Health Care

The nursing of the Copper Inuit can be divided into two categories, hospital and community nursing, which should be considered separately. Hospital nursing is usually undertaken outside the client's community in a more urban setting. Community nursing takes place within the client's community and consists of the provision of routine medical diagnosis, treatment, and emergency services, and the delivery of community health services, including health promotion.

Hospital nurses in the south need to recognize that the Copper Inuit client is often in a very foreign environment, not just in terms of the hospital, but also with respect to the external urban environment. They are also most often isolated from their family and support group. Decisions regarding treatment will often be influenced by a desire to return to the community as quickly as possible, and by the need to consult with others about the proposed treatment. The Copper Inuit are willing to utilize the advanced medical treatment that is available. They are also willing to accept that the treatment may not be successful, and are not always willing to continue a plan of treatment if it will mean being away from their community for a prolonged period of time.

The Value Orientations of the Copper Inuit are in conflict with the health care delivery system. This system does not always allow for patients to consult with

others outside their nuclear family. The emphasis on technology fails to consider that a person may elect not to "take advantage" of treatments with minimal demonstrable benefit, but which require prolonged absences from home or hospitalization. As patient advocates with a knowledge of the Copper Inuit Value Orientation, nurses can work toward resolving such conflicts.

As a result of the Copper Inuit Present Orientation, clients and/or their families may often fail to make plans until the time of discharge. Nurses who understand this may make an extra effort to anticipate what needs to be done in preparation for discharge to assist the client in making the necessary arrangements.

Community nurses should be aware that, when a client seeks assistance, it may or may not be on his/her own initiative. Other group or family members are often in fact more responsible for the consultation. Similarly, the decision to follow treatment often rests not solely with the individual, but also with other group and family members. Therefore, treatment plans should be discussed not only with the client, but also with significant others when that treatment is essential. When conventional treatments which have worked in the past are replaced by newer treatments, there may also be some resistance.

The overall preference of Subjugation may result in people being more accepting of negative outcomes to illness. The preference for Mastery in the question on the length of life suggests an acceptance, to a degree, of the benefits of medical intervention and treatment. Individuals may, however, be less willing to undergo prolonged and rigid treatment plans, or to comply with treatment plans which take them away from the community and away from their families for prolonged periods of time. Although they are willing to try treatment, they do not always expect it to help them to any great extent.

This is one area of potential conflict between health care providers and the Copper Inuit client. The health professional's own Man-Nature Value Orientation may stress the use of advanced treatment and intervention whenever possible in order to ensure the medically-desired outcome. As a result, the health professional may assume that the decision of a Copper Inuit client to not take advantage of all that is

available is somehow flawed. This is most evident in the desire of Copper Inuit women to deliver their children in their communities, where advanced care is not available, rather than in hospitals. The women are willing to accept a negative outcome, including the death of mother or child, while the nurses often do not understand them taking what they consider to be an unnecessary risk by not being where advanced care is possible.

The preference of the Present in the Time Orientation may result in a reactive rather than a proactive response to illness. It also places an emphasis on a desire for an immediate action and treatment response. Moreover, once symptoms are relieved, treatment will be discontinued. Possible conflict may occur when the client seeks immediate attention for illness or injury, after hours, for which the nurse sees no urgency. Conflict may also occur when patients fail to comply with or complete the prescribed treatment. Nurses need to be aware of the client's perspective and work on a community level to resolve these issues.

Relevance to Value Orientation Research

This study provides additional information on the Value Orientation of a culturally distinct group to be added to the literature on Value Orientations. It supports the principle that, although there are similarities of Value Orientations between cultures, there are also differences. As a result, the Value Orientations of cultural groups are uniquely their own.

Copper Inuit Findings Compared to Other Value Orientation Literature

When compared to the findings of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), the Value Orientations of the Copper Inuit were consistent with the Value Orientations of the Navaho and Zuni populations. The Copper Inuit, Navaho, and Zuni had the identical rank ordering of Collateral > Lineal ≥ Individualistic for the Relational Orientation. The three aboriginal groups shared a preference for Doing over Being,

although there were variations in ranking strengths of the preferences among the groups. Similarly, the three groups shared a preference for Present over Past over Future, with a variation of ranking strengths of the preferences among groups. Interestingly, the Relational Orientations of the Navaho, Zuni, and Copper Inuit were distinctly different. The distinct similarities and differences among these three aboriginal groups suggest that the Value Orientation for Activity, Time, and Relational may be similar for many native American populations, although this is not supported by the Value Orientation of the Lummi.

When the Value Orientation Profile of the Copper Inuit was compared with the Value Orientation Profiles of other groups that were studied using the original tool, some similarities were found. The Copper Inuit rank ordering for Relational Orientation was also exhibited in the Japanese (Caudill and Scarr, 1962), Italian and Puerto Rican (Papajohn and Spiegel, 1975) populations, although the rank strengths differed between groups. The Copper Inuit rank ordering for the Man-Nature Orientation was also evident in the Annang study (Brink, 1984), with some variation in ranking strength between the two groups. None of the groups tested with the original Kluckhohn Orientation Schedule had the same Time rank ordering as the Copper Inuit. The Doing dominant rank ordering exhibited by the Copper Inuit was evident in the Morman and Texan populations (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), in Hutterian women (Gushuliak, 1990), and in preschool parents (Norris, 1992).

Usefulness of the Value Orientation Tool

The Value Orientation tool has demonstrated its usefulness in identifying the Value Orientation Profile of cultural groups, including the Copper Inuit. These Value Orientation Profiles are based on preferred choices, not actual behaviours. Although behaviour is inclined to be based on Value Orientation, there are other factors which may influence behaviour, such as emotional state, opportunity, and economics. The use of the Value Orientation Profile as a predictor must take into consideration various external factors which may also influence behaviour. This tool has been

applied by other disciplines to increase knowledge in cultural diversity and to resolve conflict resulting from opposing Value Orientations.

The Value Orientation Theory has been successfully used in a number of disciplines as a evaluative and teaching tool. The use of the theory in determining the Value Orientation of theoretical positions and institutions (Chapman, 1981, 1993; Remer & Remer, 1982) illustrates its usefulness in identifying compatibility and conflict within organizations, and between therapies and counsellors. Ponce (1984) has successfully used the theory to assess the Value Orientation of staff and clients in order to individualize treatment plans and to resolve conflict. The Florence Kluckhohn Center has successfully used the Value Orientation Theory to determine the Value Orientation Profiles of groups and, through workshops, uses the profiles in conflict resolution.

The theory has been used in education to increase student sensitivity to cultural differences (Chapman, 1993; Ortuno, 1991) and as an illustration of a device for resolution of conflict resulting from cultural differences.

Limitations

The sample size of thirty-six respondents exceeded the sample sizes of the original study which ranged from 20 to 23 per cultural group. The small sample size, however, limited the ability to discern significant findings within the demographic subsets. In the smaller subsets, it was necessary for all respondents to have the same response for a significant preference to occur. With a larger sample a more defined patterning might be apparent in the subsets. As the Copper Inuit have been identified as culturally unique from other Inuit, it is not possible to generalize to other Inuit groups. As Coppermine is itself unique, being much larger than some other settlements, the finding may not reflect the Value Orientations of other Copper Inuit.

The problems encountered in translating the questions, and the lack of testing for validity for the Innuniagtun version of the Value Orientation questionnaire calls

the findings of the Older age group into question, as eight of the ten were interviewed using this tool. Therefore, the findings for Older age group may not actually represent the Value Orientation of this group.

The researcher's predictions were based on the ethnographic literature and her observations. The researcher's time in the field was limited and not all aspects of Copper Inuit life were observed. Therefore, the predictions may not accurately depict the behaviours upon which the predictions were based. Similarly, in predicting the traditional Value Orientation Profile the committee member may have been influenced by observations of the contemporary lifestyle of the Copper Inuit.

There is a possibility that the conceptualization of Activity in the Copper Inuit culture may differ from the conceptualization inherent in the Value Orientation theory. The implications of the discrepancy between the Activity Orientation and observed behaviour cannot be understood until this conceptual issue is investigated further. If it is determined that the conceptualizations are compatible, the inconsistency between the Activity Value Orientation and observed behaviours would suggest that behaviours are not necessarily based on value orientations and the usefulness of the theory as a cultural assessment tool would have to be re-evaluated.

Conclusions

Value Orientation Profiles provide nurses with a cultural assessment that can be used in the clinical setting. The Value Orientation Profile can provide insight into the cultural bases of client behaviour, thus allowing the nurse to intervene in a more culturally appropriate way. Such interventions will likely have a greater impact on the choices and decisions that are made by the client. In addition, by recognizing those areas in which there is a potential for conflict between the nurse's own Value Orientation Profile and the Value Orientation of clients, it is possible to identify potential areas of conflict with respect to health care issues. Such knowledge could be used to prevent and diffuse conflict situations.

As demonstrated by Norris (1992), the Value Orientation Profile may also prove to be useful in predicting health-related behaviour. More research into the relationship between specific Value Orientations and health behaviour is necessary, and the implications with respect to the planning and implementation of health promotion activities should be further investigated. The use of Value Orientations to create more culturally relevant health promotion resources also needs to be explored further.

Application of the theory by other disciplines has illustrated the diversity of this tool for cultural assessment, teaching, and conflict resolution.

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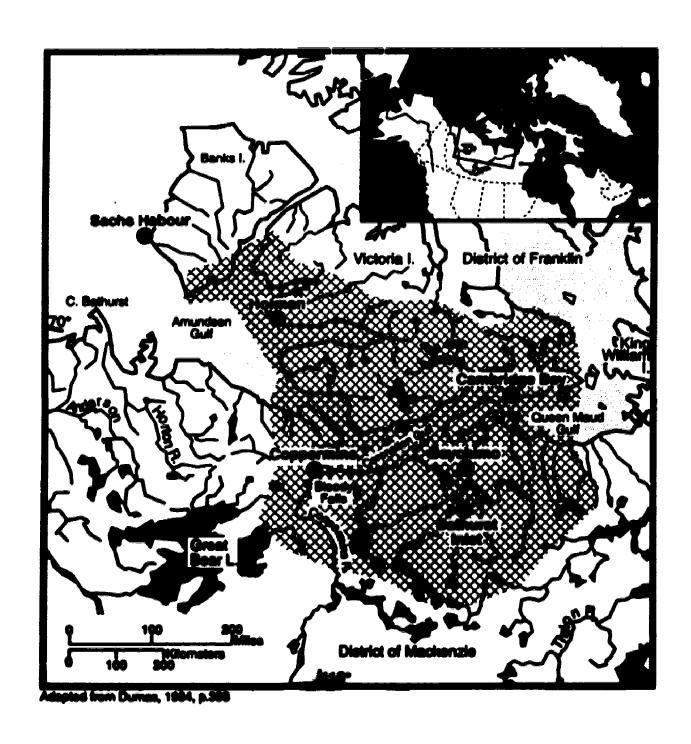
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Appendix A

Copper Inuit Region



Appendix B

Value Orientation Questionnaire

1. JOB CHOICE (Activity: item A1 & A2)

A person needed a job and had a chance to work for two people. The two bosses were different. Listen to what they were like and say which you think would be the best one to work for.

A (Doing)

One boss was a fair enough person, who gave somewhat higher pay than most people, but was the kind of boss who insisted that people work hard, stick on the job. This boss did not like it at all when a worker sometimes just knocked off work for a while to go on a trip or to have a day or so of fun, and thought it was right not to take such a worker back on the job.

B (Being)

The other boss paid just average wages but was not so firm. This boss understood that a worker would sometimes just not turn up - would be off on a trip or having a little fun for a day or two. When employees did this boss would take them back without saying too much

(PART 1)

Which of these bosses do you believe that it would be better to work for in most cases

Which of these bosses would most other Inuit think it better to work for?

(Part 2)

Which kind of boss do you believe that it is better to be in most cases?

Which kind of boss would most other Inuit believe that it is better to be in most cases?

2. WELL ARRANGEMENTS (Relational: Item R1)

When a community has to make arrangements for water, such as drill a well, there are three different ways they can decide to arrange things like location, and who is going to do the work.

A (Lin)

There are some communities where it is mainly the older or recognized leaders of the important families who decide the plans. Everyone usually accepts what they say without much discussion since they are the ones who are used to deciding such things and are the ones who have had the most experience.

B (Coll)

There are some communities where most people in the group have a part in making the plans. Lots of different people talk, but nothing is done until almost everyone comes to agree as to what is best to be done.

C (Ind)

There are some communities where all the people hold to their own opinion, and they decide the matter by vote. They do what the largest number want even though there are still a very great many people who disagree and object to the action.

Which way do you think is usually best in such cases?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which way of all three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would usually think is best?

3. CHILD TRAINING (Time:item T1)

Some people were talking about the way children should be brought up. Here are some different ideas.

A (Past)

Some people say that children should always be taught well the traditions of the past (the ways of the old people). They believe the old ways are best, and that it is when children do not follow them too much that things go wrong.

B (Pres)

Some people say that children should be taught some of the old traditions (ways of the old people), but it is wrong to insist that they stick to these ways. These people believe that it is necessary for children always to learn about and take on whatever of the new ways will best help them get along in the world of today.

C (Fut)

Some people do not believe children should be taught much about past traditions (the ways of the old people) at all except as an interesting story of what has gone before. These people believe that the world goes along best when children are taught the things that will make them want to find out for themselves new ways of doing things to replace the old.

Which of these people had the best idea about how children should be taught?

Which of the other two people had the better idea?

Considering again all three ideas, which would most other persons in Coppermine say had the better idea?

4. LIVESTOCK DYING (Man-Nature; ITEM MN1)

One time a person had a lot of livestock. Most of them died off in different ways. People talked about this and said different things.

A (Subj)

Some people said you just can't blame a person when things like this happen. There are so many things that can and do happen, and a person can do almost nothing to prevent such loses when they come. We all have to learn to take the bad with the good.

B (Over)

Some people said that it was probably the person's own fault that they lost so many. That the person probably didn't use their head to prevent the loses. They said that, it is usually the case that people who keep up on new ways of doing things, and really set themselves to it, almost always find a way to keep out of such trouble.

C (With)

Some people said that it was probably because this person had not lived their life right - had not done things in the right way to keep harmony between themselves and the forces of nature (i.e., the ways of nature like rain, wind, snow etc.).

Which way of getting the help do you think would usually be best?

Which way of getting the help do you think is next best?

Which way do you think you yourself would really follow?

Which way do you think most other people in Coppermine would think best?

5.EXPECTATIONS ABOUT CHANGE (Time:item T2)

(a. 20-40 Age group)

Three young people were talking about what they though their families would have one day compared with their fathers and mothers. They each said different things.

C (Fut)

The first said: I expect my family to be better off in the future than the family of my father and mother or relatives if we work hard and plan right. Things in this country usually get better for people who really try.

B (Pres)

The second one said: I don't know whether my family will be better off, the same, or worse off than the family of my father and mother or

relatives. Things always go up and down even if people do work hard. So one can never really tell how things will be.

A (Past)

The third one said: I expect my family to be about the same as the family of my father and mother or relatives. The best way is to work hard and plan ways to keep things as they have been in the past.

Which of these people do you thing had the best idea?

Which of the other two persons had the better idea?

Which of these three people would most other Inuit your age think had the best idea?

5. EXPECTATIONS ABOUT CHANGE (Time:item T2)

(b. 40 plus Age Group)

Three older people were talking about what they thought their children would have when they were grown. Here is what each one said.

A (Fut)

One said: I really expect my children to have more than I have had if they work hard and plan right. There are always good chances for people who try.

B (Pres)

The second one said: I don't know whether my children will be better off, worse off, or just the same. Things always go up and down even if one works hard, so we can't really tell.

A (Past)

The third one said: I expect my children to have just about the same as I have had or bring things back as they once were. It is their job to work hard and find ways to keep things going as they have been in the past.

Which of these people do you think had the best idea?

Which of the other two persons had the better idea?

Which of these three people would most other Inuit your age think had the best idea?

6. FACING CONDITIONS (Man-Nature:item MN2)

There are different ways of thinking about how God (the gods) is (are) related to people and to other natural conditions which make the animals live or die. Here are three possible ways.

C (With)

God (the gods) and people all work together all the time; whether the conditions which make the crops and animals grow are good or bad depends upon whether people themselves do all the proper things to keep themselves in harmony with their God (gods) and with the forces of nature.

B (Over)

God (the gods) does (do) not directly use power to control all the conditions which affect growth of crops or animals. It is up to the people themselves to figure out the ways conditions change and to try hard to find the ways of controlling them.

A (Subj)

Just how God (the gods) will use power over all the conditions which affect the growth of crops and animals cannot be known by people. But it is useless for people to think they can change conditions very much for very long. The best way is to take conditions as they come and do as well as one can.

Which of these ways of looking at things do you think is best?

Which of the other two do you think is better?

Which of the three ways of looking at things would most other people in Coppermine think is best?

7. HELP IN MISFORTUNE (Relational: item R2)

A person had a crop failure, or, let us say, had lost most of their sheep or cattle. The family had to have help from someone if they were going to get through the winter. There are different ways of getting help. Which of these ways would be best?

B (Coll)

Would it be best if people depended mostly on their brothers and sisters or other relatives all to help them out as much as they could?

C (Ind)

Would it be best for people to try to raise the money on their own outside the community (own people) from people who are neither relatives nor employers?

A (Lin)

Would it be best for people to go to a boss or to an older important relative who is used to managing things in the group, and ask them to help out until things get better?

Which way of getting the help do you think would actually be the best?

Which way of getting the help do you think is next best?

Which way do you think you yourself would really follow?

Which way do you think most other people in Coppermine would think best?

8. FAMILY WORK RELATIONS (Relational: item R3)

I'm going to tell you about three different ways families can arrange work. These families are related and they live together.

Č (Ind)

In some groups (or communities) it is usually expected that each of the separate families (by which we mean just husband, wife, and children) will look after its own business separate from all others and not be responsible for others.

B (Coll)

In some groups (or communities) it is usually expected that the close relatives in the families will work together and talk over among themselves the way to take care of whatever problems come up. When a boss is needed they usually choose (get) one person, not necessarily the oldest able person, to manage things.

A (Lin)

In some groups (or communities) it is usually expected that the families which are closely related to each other will work together and have the oldest able person be responsible for and take charge of most important things.

Which of these ways do you think is usually best in most cases?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of all the ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think is usually best?

9. CHOICE OF DELEGATE (Relational:item R4)

A group like yours (community like yours) is to send a delegate - a representative- to a meeting away from here (this can be any sort of meeting). How will the delegate be chosen.

B (Coll)

It is best that a meeting be called and everyone discuss things until almost everyone agrees so that when a vote is taken almost all people would be agreed on the same person?

A (Lin)

It is best that the older, important, leaders take the main responsibility for deciding who should represent the people since they are the ones who have had the long experience in such matters?

C (Ind)

Is it best that a meeting be called, names be put up, a vote be taken, then send the person who gets the majority of votes even if there are many people who still against this person?

Which of these ways of choosing is usually best in cases like this?

Which of the other two ways is usually better?

Which would most other persons in Coppermine say is usually best?

10. USE OF FIELDS (Man-Nature: item MN3)

There were three people who had fields with crops (were farmers). The three people had quite different ways of setting and taking care of crops.

C (With)

One person put in the crops, worked hard, and also set out to living right and proper ways. This person felt that it is the way a person works and tries to keep oneself in harmony with the forces of nature that has the most effect on conditions and the way crops turn out.

A (Subj)

One person put in the crops. Afterwards this person worked on them sufficiently but did not do more than was necessary to keep them going along. This person felt that it mainly depended on weather conditions how they would turn out, and that nothing extra that people do could change things much.

B (Over)

One person put in the crops and then worked on them a lot of time and made use of all the new ideas they could find out about. This person felt that by doing this it would in most years prevent many of the effects of the effects of bad conditions.

Which of these ways do you believe is usually best?

Which of the other two ways do you believe is better?

Which of the three ways would most other persons in Coppermine think is best?

11. PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE (Time:item T3)

People often have very different ideas about what has gone before and what we can expect in life. Here are three ways of thinking about these things.

B (Pres)

Some people believe it best to give most attention to what is happening now in the present. They say that the past has gone and the future is much too uncertain to count on. Things do change, but it is sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse, so in the long run it is about the same. These people believe the best way to live is to keep those of the old ways that one can - or that one likes - but to be ready to accept the new ways which will help to make life easier and better as we live from year to year.

A (Past)

Some people think that the ways of the past (ways of the old people or traditional ways) were the most right and the best, and as changes come things get worse. These people think the best way to live is to work hard to keep up the old ways and try to bring them back when they are lost.

C (Fut)

Some people believe that it is almost always the ways of the future the ways which are still to come - which will be the best, and they say
that even though there are sometimes small setbacks, change brings
improvements in the long run. These people think the best way to live
is to look a long time ahead, work hard, and give up many things now
so that the future will be better.

Which of these ways of looking at life do you think is best?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of the three ways of looking at life do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think is best?

12. WAGE WORK (Relational: item R5)

There are three ways in which people who do not themselves hire others may work.

C (Ind)

One way is working on one's own as an individual. In this case a person is pretty much ones own boss. These people decide most things themselves, and how they gets along is their own business. These people only has to take care of themselves and doesn't expect others to look out for them.

B (Coll)

One way is working in a group of people where all the people work together without there being one main boss. Every person has something to say in the decisions that are made, and all the people can count on each other.

A (Lin)

One way is working for an owner, a big boss, or a person who has been running things for a long time (a patron). In this case, the people do not take part in deciding how the business will be run, but they know they can depend on the boss to help them out in many ways.

Which of these ways is usually best for a person who does not hire others?

Which of the other two ways is better for a person who does not hire others?

Which of the three ways do you think most other people in Coppermine would think is best?

13. BELIEF IN CONTROL (Man-Nature: item MN4)

Three people from different areas were talking about the things that control the weather and other conditions. Here is what they each said.

A (Subi)

One person said: My people have never controlled the rain, wind, and other natural conditions and probably never will. There have always

been good years and bad years. That is the way it is, and if you are wise you will take it as it comes and do the best you can.

B (Over)

The second person said: My people believe that it is person's job to find ways to overcome weather and other conditions just as they have overcome so many other things. They believe they will one day succeed in doing this and may even overcome drought and floods.

C (With)

The third person said: My people help conditions and keep things going by working to keep in close touch with all the forces which make the rain, the snow, and other conditions. It is when we do the right things - live in the proper way - and keep all that we have - the land, the animals, and the water - in good condition, that all goes along well.

Which of these people do you think had the best idea?

Which of the other two people do you think had the better idea?

Which of the three people do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think had the best idea?

14. CEREMONIAL INNOVATION (Time:item T4)

Some people in a community like your own saw that the religious ceremonies (the church services) were changing from what they use to be.

C (Fut)

Some people were really pleased because of the changes in religious ceremonies. They felt that new ways are usually better than old ones, and they like to keep everything - even ceremonies - moving ahead.

A (Past)

Some people were unhappy because of the change. They felt that religious ceremonies should be kept exactly - in every way - as they had been in the past.

B (Pres)

Some people felt that the old ways for religious ceremonies were best but you just can't hang on to them. It makes life easier just to accept some changes as they come along.

Which of these three said most nearly what you would believe is right?

Which of the other two do you think is more right?

Which of the three would most other Inuit say was most right?

15. WAYS OF LIVING (Activity: item A1)

There were two people talking about how they liked to live. They had different ideas.

A (Doing)

One said: What I care about most is accomplishing things - getting things done just as well or better than other people do them. I like to see results and think they are worth working for.

B (Being)

The other said: What I care about is to be left alone to think and act in the ways that best suit the way I really am. If I don't always get much done, but can enjoy life as I go along, that is the best way.

Which of these two persons do you think has the better way of thinking?

Which of the two do you think you are more like?

Which of you think most other Inuit would say had the better way of living?

16 LIVESTOCK INHERITANCE (Relational: item R6)

Some sons and daughters have been left some livestock (sheep or cattle) by a father or mother who had died. All these sons and daughters are grown up, and live near each other. There are three different ways they can run the livestock.

A (Lin)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that the oldest able person will take charge of, or manage, all the livestock held by themselves and the other sons and daughters.

C (Ind)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that each of the sons and daughters will prefer to take his or her own share of the stock and run his or her own share of the stock and run his or her own business completely separate from all the others.

D (Coll)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that all the sons and daughters will keep all their cattle and sheep together and work together and decide among themselves who is best able to take charge of things, not necessarily the oldest, when a boss is needed.

Which way do you think is usually best in most cases?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of all three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think is usually best?

17. LAND INHERITANCE (Relational: item R7)

Now I want to ask a similar question concerning farm and grazing land instead of livestock. Some sons and daughters have been left some farm and grazing land by a father or mother who has died. All these sons and daughters are grown and live near each other. There are three ways they can handle the property.

A (Lin)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that the oldest able person will take charge of or manage the land for themselves all the other sons and daughters, even if they all share it.

C (Ind)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that each son and daughter will take his or her own share of the land and do with it what he or she wants - separate from all the others.

B (Coll)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that all the sons and daughters will make use of the land together. When a boss is needed, they all get together and agree to choose someone of the group, not necessarily the oldest, to take charge of things.

Which of these ways do you think is usually best in most cases?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of all three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think is usually best?

18. CARE OF FIELDS (Activity: item A4)

There were two people, both of them farmers. They lived differently.

B (Being)

One person kept the fields all right but didn't work on them more than they had to. This person wanted to have extra time to visit with friends, go on trips, and enjoy life. This was the way they liked best.

A (Doing)

One person liked to work with their fields and was always putting in extra time keeping them of weeds and in fine condition. Because this person did this extra work, they did not have much time left to be with friends, to go on trips, or to enjoy themselves in other ways. But this was the way this person really liked best.

Which kind of person do you believe it is better to be?

Which kind of person are you really like?

Which kind of person would most other Inuit think it better to be?

19. LENGTH OF LIFE (Man-Nature: item MN5)

Three people were talking about whether people themselves can do anything to make the lives of men and women longer. Here is what each said.

B (Over)

One said: It is already true that people like doctors and others are finding the way to add many years to the lives of most people by discovering (finding) new medicines by studying foods, and doing other such things such as vaccinations. If people will pay attention to all these new things they will almost always live longer.

A (Subj)

The second one said: I really do not believe that there is much human beings themselves can do to make the lives of men and women longer. It is my belief that every person has a set time to live, and when that time comes it just comes.

C (With)

The third one said: I believe that there is a plan to life which works to keep all living things moving together, and if a person will learn to live their whole life in accord with that plan, This person will live longer than other people.

Which of these said most nearly what you would think is right?

Which of the other two ways is most right

Which of the three would most other persons in Coppermine say was most right?

20. WATER ALLOCATION (Time:item T5)

The government is going to help a community like your to get more water by redrilling and cleaning out a community. The government officials suggest that the community should have a plan for dividing the extra water, but don't say what kind of plan. Since the amount of extra water that may come in is not known, people feel differently about planning.

A (Past)

Some say that whatever water comes in should be divided just about like water in the past was always divided.

C (Fut)

Others want to work out a really good plan ahead of time for dividing whatever water comes in.

B (Pres)

Still others want to just wait until the water comes in before deciding on how it will be divided.

Which of these ways do you think is usually best in cases like this?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of the three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think best?

21. WORK(HOME) (Activity:item A5)

There were two people talking about the way they liked to live.

B (Being)

One said that they were willing to work as hard as the average, but that they didn't like to spend a lot of time doing the kind of extra things outside like cleaning up around the yard. Instead they liked to have time free to enjoy visiting with people - to go on trips - or to just talk with whoever was around.

A (Doing)

The other person said they liked best of all to find extra things to work on around the house which would interest her or him. They said they were happiest when kept busy and was getting lots done.

Which of these ways do you think it is usually better for people to live?

Which person are you really more like?

Which way of life would most other Inuit think is best?

22. NONWORKING TIME (Activity A6)

Two people spend their time in different ways when they have no work to do. (This means when they are actually on the job.)

A (Doing)

One person spends most of this time learning or trying out things which will help them in their work.

B (Being)

One person spends most of their talking, telling stories, singing, and so on with friends.

Which of these people has the better way of living?

Which of these people do you think you are more like?

Which of these people would most other Inuit think had the better way of living?

Alternative Questions

23. WATER ARRANGEMENTS (Relational: Item R1)

When a community has to make arrangements for water, such as picking a water lake and building a road to it, there are three different ways they can decide to arrange things like location, and who is going to do the work.

A (Lin)

There are some communities where it is mainly the older or recognized leaders of the important families who decide the plans. Everyone usually accepts what they say without much discussion since they are the ones who are used to deciding such things and are the ones who have had the most experience.

B (Coll)

There are some communities where most people in the group have a part in making the plans. Lots of different people talk, but nothing is done until almost everyone comes to agree as to what is best to be done.

C (Ind)

There are some communities where everyone holds to his own opinion, and they decide the matter by vote. They do what the largest number want even though there are still a very great many people who disagree and object. to the action.

Which way do you think is usually best in such cases?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which way of all three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would usually think is best?

24. DOGS DYING (Man-Nature: ITEM MN1)

One time a person had a lot of dogs. Most of them died off in different ways. People talked about this and said different things.

A (Subj)

Some people said you just can't blame a person when things like this happen. There are so many things that can and do happen, and a person can do almost nothing to prevent such loses when they come. We all have to learn to take the bad with the good.

B (Over)

Some people said that it was probably the person's own fault that they lost so many. That the person probably didn't use their head to prevent the loses. They said that, it is usually the case that people who keep up on new ways of doing things, and really set themselves to it, almost always find a way to keep out of such trouble.

C (With)

Some people said that it was probably because the person had not lived his life right - had not done things in the right way to keep harmony between themselves and the forces of nature (i.e., the ways of nature like rain, wind, snow etc.).

25. HELP IN MISFORTUNE (Relational: item R2)

A person had bad luck fishing. The family had to have help from someone if they were going to get through the winter. There are different ways of getting help. Which of these ways would be best?

B (Coll)

Would it be best if person depended mostly on their brothers and sisters or other relatives all to help out as much as each one could?

C (Ind)

Would it be best for person to try to raise the money on their own outside the community (own people) from people who are neither relatives nor employers?

A (Lin)

Would it be best for the person to go to a boss or to an older important relative who is used to managing things in the group, and ask them to help out until things get better?

Which way of getting the help do you think would actually be the best?

Which way of getting the help do you think is next best?

Which way do you think you yourself would really follow?

Which way do you think most other people in Coppermine would think best?

26. USE OF FISH NETS (Man-Nature: item MN3)

There were three people who had fishing nets. The three people had quite different ways of setting and taking care of nets.

C (With)

One person put in the nets, worked hard, and also set out to living right and proper ways. This person felt that it is the way a person works and tries to keep himself in harmony with the forces of nature that has the most effect on conditions and the way nets work.

A (Subj)

One person put in the nets. Afterwards this person worked on them sufficiently but did not do more than was necessary to keep them going along. This person felt that it mainly depended on weather conditions how they would turn out, and that nothing extra that people do could change things much.

B (Over)

One person put in the nets and then worked on them a lot of time and made use of all the new scientific ideas they could find out about. This person felt that by doing this it would in most years prevent many of the effects of the effects of bad conditions.

Which of these ways do you believe is usually best?

Which of the other two ways do you believe is better?

Which of the three ways would most other persons in Coppermine think is hest?

27. ANIMAL INHERITANCE (Relational: item R6)

Some sons and daughters have been left some dogs by a father or mother who had died. All these sons and daughters are grown up, and live near each other. There are three different ways they can use the dogs.

A (Lin)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that the oldest able person will take charge of, or manage, all the dogs for all the others.

C (Ind)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that each of the sons and daughters will prefer to take his or her own share of the dogs and run his or her own share of the dogs completely separate from all the others.

D (Coll)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that all the sons and daughters will keep all their dogs together and work together and decide among themselves who is best able to take charge of things, not necessarily the oldest, when a boss is needed.

Which way do you think is usually best in most cases?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of all three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think is usually best?

28. PROPERTY INHERITANCE (Relational: item R7)

Now I want to ask a similar question concerning property instead of animals. Some sons and daughters have been left some property (summer camp and cabin) by a father or mother who has died. All these sons and daughters are grown and live near each other. There are three ways they can handle the property.

A (Lin)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that the oldest able person will take charge of or manage the camp for himself or herself and all the other sons and daughters, even if they all share it.

C (Ind)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that each son and daughter will take his or her own share of the camp and do with it what he or she wants - separate from all the others.

B (Coll)

In some groups of people it is usually expected that all the sons and daughters will make use of the camp together. When a boss is needed, they all get together and agree to choose someone of the group, not necessarily the oldest, to take charge of things.

Which of these ways do you think is usually best in most cases?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of all three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think is usually best?

29. CARE OF NETS (Activity: item A4)

There were two people, both of whom fished (had nets). They lived differently.

B (Being)

One person kept the nets working all right but didn't work on them more than they had to. This person wanted to have extra time to visit with friends, go on trips, and enjoy life. This was the way they liked best.

A (Doing)

One person liked to work with their nets and was always putting in extra time keeping the clean of debris and in fine condition. Because this person did this extra work, they did not have much time left to be with friends, to go on trips, or to enjoy oneself in other ways. But this was the way this person really liked best.

Which kind of person do you believe it is better to be?

Which kind of person are you really like?

Which kind of person would most other Inuit think it better to be?

30. WATER ALLOCATION (Time:item T5)

The government is going to help a community like yours to get more water by providing more water and sewage trucks. The government officials suggest that the community should have a plan for dividing the extra water, but don't say what kind of plan. Since the amount of extra water that may come in is not known, people feel differently about planning.

A (Past)

Some say that whatever water comes in should be divided just about like water in the past was always divided.

C (Fut)

Others want to work out a really good plan ahead of time for dividing whatever water comes in.

B (Pres)

Still others want to just wait until the water comes in before deciding on how it will be divided.

Which of these ways do you think is usually best in cases like this?

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

Which of the three ways do you think most other persons in Coppermine would think best?

Appendix C

Innuniagiun Questionnaire

Pilagiunahugiyauyunnik Apekkuttaun

1. Havaakkun Pilagiunahugiyautjun

Inuk havaaghaghiukpaktuk, havagumakpangok malguungnik havagvighakakpaktuk, atauheenangmik havagvighaminik ihuagiyaminik ihuaghaiyagialigok, kitulluamik havagvigkangniagiaghaminik. Malguugok tapkuak havagvighaiek atanguyallak aalatkeengguyungnik. Nallalagin kanuk inmanggaannik tapkuak atanguuyak, aaheen ihuatkiyaunahugiyangnik havagvighaannik ilvin ihuagilluangnahugiyangnik naunaighityavutin.

A

Atanguyak ataohik namainagaluaghuni, akiliuhiaktitiluakpakhuni aalanin havagvingnin, kihianik havakuivalaakpakhuni, havagiaktukuiengginaghunilu. Havaguighimalaligaanggatalugok havaktini ihuieguhilekpaktuk aolaagumayunun, ublumilu ataohingmi, malgungniluuneen kuviahugiamingni, immaalu tamna atanguyak ihumaoluni havaktinik taimaittunik havaktikagumanggittunilugok.

B

Aipanggatta atanguyaan akiliuhiaktitailuayuietkaluaghuni, atannektuivalaayuittugok kihimi. Atanguyaglugok una ilihimayuttun ittuk illaani huuk havaktin havagiaktukatayuittaaghainnik, aolaagumagumikiaggok, kuviahuglutikluuneengok ublumi ataohingmilu, malgungniluuneengok. Havaktinigok taimailiuggaanggatta taffumma atanguyam havaktiffaangginakpagain kanugilivallaaghimaittumigok.

(Nakataa 1)

Kitulluamiggok atanguyallingmik ihuatkianggunahuginnikpin	
havagviuvighaluammik?	
Kitultusmiesok Inuinosit	ihumagiyakangnahugivigingok atanguyalingmik
havaovikaoumanianonehu	

(Nakataa 2)

	itulluamigok atanguyallingmik ilvin ihuaguhukpin akuutkiyaonahugiviuklu havagviluaghak?
	itulluamigok kanugittumiklugok atanguyalingmik aalan Inuinnait uaguhungnahuginningniakpangok?
2. Algag	himayumik Immektaviliungningmun
pi	unalaat ihuaghailigaanggatta immektagvighannik, algaghimayunnik, inggahuuvun aalatkeen ihumaliuguhighanggingok, naneetjuhiannik umeettaaghanggannik), kialuggok havaluangniagiaghangganniklugok.
A	Nunakakpugok nunalaakakpugok illageektukaktunigok katanggutigeektulingnik tahapkuangginangningok ihuaghailuakpaktunik ihumaliulluakpaktunik kanuk itjuhighaliukpaktunigok, atangguyaolluagumavaktuningok ihuaghailluakpaktunigok. Inukataitagok manimiyutun itpagain ukauheen atannektuiyumalluaktun illageen, ukagitiaghimaittumik, attaniktuiyumavaktuien attannektuivangmatta hivuagungok, tahapkuanlugok ayunggitiangnahugiyaovangmattalugok.
В	
	Nunakakpakpuggok, nuatkatigeengok tamatkivyaghutik illaupkaktauvangmiungok ihumaliuligaanggattalugok. Amihungok Inuit ukaktitauvaktun, kanugiliuyuitungok kihiani tamavyangmik Inuit ihuaguhukpallialikkaangnagingok, kanuk illiuguhighamitigun.
C	
	Nunakakpakpuglugok, Inuingok inmiguinnak piumayamingnik ihuangnahugiyamingnik ukpiguhuktukakpaktunik, aaheen ihumaliukpaghutik votiktitaiplutigok. Ihuaghaivaktungok amigainighauyuugaanggatta ihuaguhuktun votiknikkun, ihuiguhuktukagaluaktillugugok kanugiliugutighamun.
Ka	mullwagok ihuatkiyaonahugiviuk ihuaghainik, ihumaliungnahuangnik?
	tulluaggok malguuk aipanggitta ihuaghainneek kuutkiyaonahugiviging?

Kanugok pingahuuyuni ihuaghainningni tahapkunani ukautigiyaptingni Inuit Kugluktumi ihuaguhungnahugivigin ihuaghainingmik, ihumaliugunmik?

3. Nutakkikinik

Inuingok ukautikakpangmiun nutakkan pamiguheetigungok. Hammagok aalatkeen ihumagityutauvaktun.

A

Inuingok ukakpakpun nutakkangok illiniattiaktitauvaktughaugaluin hivulipta pitkuheennik (Inningnighan pitkuheennik). Tahapkuan ukpiguhuktuttun ittungok pitkuhivinivungok nakuutkiangok, nutakkavullugok malitiagungnaigaanggamik pitkuhiptingnik, ihuinaalakivakpungok.

B

Inuingok ukalikpakpun nutakkavungok illainnainnik pitkuhiptingnigok illiniaktitauvaktughaugaluangok, immaalugok ihuittutungok itpuk pitkuhivun pihimahimaagaghagiakanggitpavungok. Tahapkuangok Inuit taimaatun ukpiguhuktun nutakkavungok illinniaghimaaktughaugaluiengok aalat pitkuheenik nutaanik, ikayuutighagiyutighattun ittunnik ublumi innuunahuaguhighakagianggittagok nutaan illitpagatik pitkuhin.

C

Illanggingok Iruit ukpiguhukpaktun nutakkangok illihautiyaoyagiakanggittungok pithuhigivaktaptingnik, taiguakaffugiyaovaglutigok kihimi pitkuhivinivun taimanigok. Tahapkuangok Iruit ukpiguhuutikagamik pivalianigok namatkiyaoniakpugok hunna nutakkavun illihaktitaovakkumik hunavalungnik inmingnik ihumaghaghiukpaligianggitta nutaannik kanugilliuguhighamingnik himighitjuhiktuijuhighaiyaanggittagok pitkuhivikuniptingniggok.

Kitulluangok Inuit ihuatkiamik ihumakakpakpan kanulluak nuttakkan illinniaktitauluakpagutishainnik?

Kitulluagok tugliunahugivigin ihumakattiangnahugiyangnin ihuagilluaktangnin?

Tamaitta ihumagiplugin ukautigiyaptingni ihumakaktunik nutakkan pamighiniatigun, kitulluamik ukpiguhungnahugivin Kugluktungmiun ihuaguhulluangnahugivigin?

4. Pamighian Huiengningganun

Taimanigok Inuk ataohik amigaitpiaktunik pamighiakakpaktuk, tuktuglungnik. Tamavyangmigok huiekpaktun pamighian tahapkuan huieguheen aalatkeenguplutik. Inuingok tahamna ukaotigivakkamikku aalatkeenigok ukkaotikakpaktun.

A

Illaingok Inuin pineglungnahugiyagiakanggittungok taimailiuktukaligaangan. Hunavaluingok pineglugjuheen anigukpangniangmatta inungmin nutkaktitaulimaitunik pivangniangmatta, ayungnangmangok kanugiliulimaitavungok ihuaghaktiffaalimaitavungok taimailigaanggatta. Pitkuhiungmangok ayughautitun ittun nuihimaangniangmattagok uvagungok naahugikaffuinagiakakpugungok.

B

Illaingok Inuin ukakpaktun taafumagok inuumhuna inminik tahamna aniguktitpagungnaghivaagok, pammeggaminik amihunik huiektitaiyungnaghivugok. Ukamaaghutiglugok, nuttaanigok pitkuhiuligaghanik malikpaktungok ayughautikayuitungnaghivungok.

C.

Illaillugok Inuin ukakpakpun inuutiagahuayuittungnaghigamik hunna pitkuhigivaktavun malittiayuitungnaghiyungnaghigamigin
taimaililakivagungnaghiyukkiak.

Kitulluagok pingahuuyuni ukautigiyaptingni itkughimanahugiviugok? _____

Kitulluagok tugliunahugiviuk ihuangninggagok? _____

Pinggahuuyunigok ukaotigiyaptingni kitulluamik Kugluktungmiun ihuaguhulluangnahugivigingok?

5(b). Aalangguguhium Inniangnahuginianun

(b. 45-nik avataanilu ukiulingnun)

Pingahun inningnighavyain ukakatigeeghutik ukauhikakpaktun hunanik nutakkatik tamayaningniangnahugitjutimingnik kauyimmakpattagok. Hamma tahapkuan ukauhigivagain.

C

Hivulik immaa ukamaakpakpugok: ukpiguhukpiaktunggagok nutakkatka tamayakatkiyauhungguyungnaghivun uvamnin havagyuakpakkumik, hivunighamingniklu ihuaghaittiakpakkumiklu. Inuingok aghuuttiakpaktun nakuutkiamik inuuhigitkiyauvagungnaghivun.

B

Tuglingga immaa ukakpakpuggok: ilihimanggittugok nutakkani inuuhigittiangniangmanggaatta, ayughangniangmanggaattaluuneen, adjekkuhiutiniangmanggaatta inmi inuuhigivaktammittungok. Inuuhivun ihuaghivatliakpiaktuttun, ayungnaghikattagaluaghuttik ilaani, havagyuagaluaktilutta naonaktun kanuk itjuhighavun hivuniptingni.

A

Pinggahuan immaa ukamaakpakpugok: ukpiguhukpugok inmi nutakkanigok adjekkutavyainnik pikutigivagamittun tamayaningniangnahuginniggiaminikgok, immaalugok kagitjipkainniangnahuginnighuni pitkuhigivagamingnik hivuagungok. Havaakangnahugiplunilu nutakkaminik aghun uuktungningmik havaktungnekpiakpakkumiklugok, ilettuginiakpungok itjuhighamingnik hivunighamingni pitkuhigivagaluagiyamingnik taimanitungok.

Kitulluagok ukauhigiyaptingni ihumakattiangnahugiviuk?
Kitugok aipaingnit tugliunahugiviuk ihumakattiangnahugiviugok?
Kitulluagok inuk pingahuuyunni ukautigiyaptingni innuuhuktuukatingnin innuunuktuukatingnin innuuhuktuukatingnin

6. Hunavalungnik Kungiangnik Tautungnaktunnik, Tautungnaitunniklugok

Aalatkeengguvakpungok kanuk ihummattigivagavun Godikpungok illauvagungnaghivugok innungnun, aalanunlu nunamiunun nauhimayunun, hilamiutanunlugok huggajaniklu ingniuhimaaktitaupkangnianunlu, huiektitaupkangnianunlugok. Hamma pinggahun ihumagiyauvaghimayun.

C

Godikpunlu innuinlu tamangmik havakatigeelikpaktun ubluk tamaan; innuingok innuutiangnahuangnianun attayutun ittun nauvaliatjuheen nautian nikauvaktun, hugatjanluuneen namauhian, namanggitjuhianluuneengok. Innuingok innuutiangnahuakpatta nakuuyumik, ihuaktumik Godimlu pitkuheenik malittiangnahuaghimallutik, nautian nikin nauvangniakpungok, hugatjatlugok ihuaktumik ingnivangniakpuni. 130k huhimaittumigok.

B

Godikpungok pipkaiyuituk hakugingninni atughugu hunavalungnik itjuheet aalangguktipkaiyuittuk hugatjatlu nautianlu nikin huveenik, itjuheenigok. Innuingok kihianik kanuk nunam aalanggukattauhian ammegikattaklugu, aaheen uuktugaghamingnik nalunaiyaiyagialgin piaghamingnigok.

A

Kanuggok Godipta hakugingnini atungniaguttaa nunamlu, hugatjatlu itjuhighain innungnin naunaiektaulaittakpungok. Hutkiyaungitutungok itpuk innuin ihumaniaguhian inmingnik ihumatik atuklugin aalangguktitainnahuangnian nautian nauvaliatjuhiannik nikauvaktunnik, hugatjanlu pammekhimattiavialuan aalangguktilainaptigu ihumainaklutagok. Ihuatkiyauniakpugok hunavaluin kaivaktun inmuhiptingnun, nunamiutanunlu hiuguyaakaffuktuttun ililugin, naahugilugin aalanggukattautjuheen, uvagun aaheen inmuukatiginahuaktutun ililugingok talvatuagok piyaghavun ayungnangman, aalangguktitailainapta ihumainaptigun.

Kitullusmigok husavaluin	itjuheennik	kunggiangniktun	ittak iba	ngittiakpingok
nakuutkiyaunahugiviugok?				• • •

Kitugok tugliunahugiviuk unipkaaktaptingni?

	Kitulluamigok hunavaluin itjuheetta kunggiangniatun ittuk Kugluktungmiunin tautungniktun ittuk ihuagiyauttiangnahugiviuk?
7. Iki	kayuktaunik Ayughaligaanggan
	Innugok nautiaminik nikighaliuktaminik tamaikakkugok, ukkalluaktagok pamighianigguk nikighanik tuktugluutaingok tukkuggakpiakkakkungok. Taafummagok kitungain ikkaiyuktauyagiakalikakkun ukeeniangnigumigok. Allatkeengguvun ikkaiyuktauhimatjuhighain taafumma. Kitungok ikkaiyuktaunighain ihuatkiyaunahugivigingok?
	В
	Ihuatkiyauniakpa Inuit annikatimingninluak, katanggutimingninlu ikkaiyughingningmik hilgahuluaghimavakpatta?
	C
	Ihuatkiyauniakpa Inuit katighinahuakpakkumik maningnik nunalaaminiunggittuk ahinin kihianik, ilaginggitamininlu maningnik tughekpakluni tuungmianin, havagviginggitamininlugok?
	A
	Ihuatkiyauniakpaluuneen Inuit attanguyagiyamingnun havagvigiyamingnun, inningnighamunluuneen uppautilutik kattanggutimingnin ikkaiyungnahuaggeeghimayumin, ikkaiyuktighaghiukluni taafumungga ayughautigiyani ihuaghivalianningganungok?
	Kitulluamigok ikkaiyughingningmik namatkiyaunahuginnikpingok?
	Kitugok ikkaiyuktauyumanik tugliunahugiviuk?
	Kitulluagok ilvin ikkaiyuktaunahuangningmik malingniagaluakpin?
	Kitumigok ihumavin Kugluktungmiun ihumakattiangniangnahuginiakpigingok?

8. Katanggutipta Havangnikun Kanugitjuheen

Unipkaangnianmiungga pinggahuinnik aalatkeenik katanggutigeen, illageen ihuaghaijjuhighautainnik havangnikun. Taapkuan katanggutigeengok illageektungok, atauhingmilugok iglulgin innuukatigeeghutiklugok.

C

Illainni Inuit pitkuhikakpangmiun (nunalaaniluuneen) ukpigiyauvangmiugok katanggutigeekaluaktilugin aipageek (Uienguyuklu, Nulianggalu, nutaggainlugok) innuniagutimingnik hunavalungnik inmikkuugutiplutik aolapkaivaktun, katanggutigiyamingniklu ighinaihimayutun ittutik ikkaiyuutiggeeyuitumigok innuunahuaktukalikpaktugok.

B

Illainni Inuin (nunalaaniluuneen) katanggutigeen, illageenlugok ikkaiyuutinahaughimagialgingok ikayuktigeegialgingok, ukakatigeegiakaktungok ayughautauyunik ataohektungok. Atanguyaghaghiukpaghutiklugok ihuaghaiplutik ihuagiyamingnik anggayughikpaaghiugiakanggittungok, atanguyaghamingnik attanektuiyighakpaktun ukakkatigeekpaghutik.

A

Illaini Innungni (nunalaaniluuneen) naaguhivakpungok katanggutigeen, illageengok atauhiktun ikkaiyuktigeekpangniakpun inningnighamik atanguyakaghutik aolattiyikaktutun ittutik pilagiunahugiyighamingniggok.

Kitulluamigok ihuangnigitkiyakakpin ukagiyaptingnigok?
Kitumigok tugliginningnahugivin ihuaghainingmik?
Kitulluamigok ihumavin Kugluktungmiun ihuaguhungnahugivigin ihuaghainingmik ikkaiyuutinikkun?

9. Innughaktangnik Katimayaktungningnun

Nunangningok katimayaktuktughamik inughaktagiakaguffi ahinun katimayaktuktughamik, kanuktun inughaktakpakpihi?

B

Ihuatkiyauniakpa katimapkailuhi ukakatiggeegiaffingni ihuagiyaffingnik votiktitauluhi inughaktaguffi tamavyaffi angikatigeegluhi inughaktagiaffingni?

A

Ihuatkiyauniakpa inningnighainangnin, hivulektilluangguvaktunin inughaktangnik munagiyauluaggumi katimayaktuktughamik inningnighan illihimattiangmatta, aollattiningmik?

C

Ihuatkiyauniakpa katimatkuiluhi, attingnik titigaktitailgaakluhi, votikluhi aaheen inughaktakluhi katimayaktuktughaghiuguffi amigainighanik ihuagiyauyumik aolaktughaghiuguffi innungnin illainin tamna akimayuk ihuigiyaugaluaktilugu?

Kitulluagok innughaktangnik ihuatkiyauvakpa ihuaghainningni tahapkuningga
Kitugok ihuaghainnik tugliunahugiviuk?
Kitumigok Kugluktungmiun ihunguhungnahugivigin inughaktangnikun?

10. Nunatigun Nauhivingnun Nikiliugutinik Munaghinianun

Pingahungok Inuit nunakakpaktun nautiannik nikiliugvingnik munagiyamingnik. Tahapkuangok aalatkeengguyunik nikiliuktun nautiamingnik munaghineennik pitkuhikakpaktun.

C

Atauttimgok nautiaghani nunammun illiugautjuhian innekpakamiuk, havagyuakpaghunnilu, innuutiangnahuakpaktugok ihuaktumik, nakuuyumiklu. Tamnalugok ukpiguhuktutun ittuni innuumgok innuunahuangniagok attanahugiplugu nunamunlugok hunna attanahugibluni innuuhiminik nakuuyumik innuuvakkumi nautianigok nikighan ihuakpiaktumik nauvangniangnahuginighunnilugok, taimaa innuunahuakpakkumi.

A

Atauhiglutaugok nautiaghaminik nunamun illihivangmiuklu.
Kakunggugheelgaagalunigok havakpagain munagibluginlu,
havagyuangnahuaghimaittuni nauteenahuakpaktuk nikighanik.
Taamnagok ukpiguhuktuttun innami hillamgok itjuhianeennak nautianni
naupkaktauniagungnaghivungok, inuingok innuuheen
hutkiyautilimangginnahugigamigingok.

В

Atautimgok nautiaghani nunammunggakkaaghugin havagyuakpagain munaginahuattiangnahuaghuginlugok, nutaanniklu munaghinnik atukpaghuni illinnahuakpaghunilu aalanik nauttinium mighaatigun nikiliungniumgok. Taimailiungnigumigok tamna inuk ukiugok tamaavyak aipagugaickpanlu ihiunnaakpatlaalimaingnahugivakkami nikiliungningmun naupkaghimayutigungok.

Kitulluamigok ihuaguhungnahugivin munaghiningmun nautianik nikighanik
Kitumigok tugliunahuginnikpin munaghiningmik nautianik nikighaliungningmik?
Kugluktungmiungok kituluamik ihuaguhungnahugivigin?

11. Innuuhium Ukpiguhungniunahuginianun

Inuingok aalatkeektunik ihummakakpaktun hivulipta innuunahuangniattigun, innuujuhighaptigunlu innuunahuagguhiptigunlu. Hammagok pingahun ihummagiyauvaktun hapkunuunagok.

B

Illanggingok inuin ukpiguhuktuttun itpaktungok tajja ublumi innuuhipta itjuheengok munaginahuattiagiakakunggok. Hivulipta innuunahuangniangok tammageengmangok, hivunighakkullugok naunangman kanuk itjuhighaa ihumaaluutigiyagiakanggitakkungok. Hunavalulun aalanggukattangmatta, illaani nammatkiamunggauyuttun itpangmatta illaanilu ihuanggittumin tikitauvangmiugunlugok, taimukagok huna innuuhivun adjekkeevyakpagungnaghivun taimainianungok. Tahapkuangok inuin ukpiguhuktun immaatun, ihuaguhungnahuginnikpakpun inmuunahuangnahuangnik nakuutkiyauniakpugok pitkuhiviniotinenik pihimanahuaghimaakluta

namaktunik, ihuagiyaptingniklu - immaalugok nutaanik pitkuhighaptingnik attungnahuaghimanahuaglutalugok innuuhiptingnik ayungnaickpatliajjutauyughanik innuuhiptingni aipaagu, aipaagumungok.

A

Illanggingok inuin ihumakakpangmiungok pitkuhivinivun taimaningmiuttan itkuumattiaghimayungok, ihuatkiyaoplutiklugok, nutaanggukpallianeengok pitkuhipta ihuiegutiyuumikpakpungok innuuhiptingnigok. Hapkuangok inuin ihumavakpun aghuughimmaaktughaugaluakpugungok pitkuhiviniptingnik pihimahimmaangnahuaghimalutta, uttektitainahuavfaagiakkakpugunlugok tamaivagaptingnik pitkuhivinikun.

C

Illanggingok inuin ukpiguhukpangmiun hivunighaptagok pitkuhighain nutaan - huli atuktauvanggittun - nakkuutkiyaunniagnahuginnikpakpun, immaalu ukakpaghutik illaanigok ayughautikakpangniagaluakhuta hunggittuk, nuttaanggukpallianiktun ittuk innuuhiptingnik ihuakutauvaktugok. Hapkuangok inuin ihumavun ihuatkiamigok innuunahuangnigok ihautkiyauvok hivunighaptingnun kunggiaktuttun itkumik nakuutkiyautauniakpugok, havagyuakpaghimaluttiklu, tajjalu hapkuttaivaklutta taimaaktuivakluttalu hunavallungnik, hivunighakkungok ihuaghivaalikpagiangganigok.

Kitulluamigok innuuhipta	kunggiangninggattun	ittumik ihuaguhukpingok?
—— Kitugok kunggiangniktun	ittuk innuuhiptingnik	tugliunahugiviugok?
Kitugok kunggiangniktun ihuagilluangnahugiviuk?		Kugluktungmiunin

12. Havangningmun Akkinnaktuktunnun

Pingahuvungok inuin havaktighakpautjuhiangok, (inmingnik havaktighakpanggittunin) aalan havakpagiangginigok.

C

Atauhigok havangnik immaitpuk, inmigungok havaakaktukakpangmiugok. Taimaitkaanggamikgok, inmingnik

pivalianahuan inmingnik attannektuktuttun itpaktungok. Inmiguukhutigok tahapkuan ihumaliukpaktun pinahuangnahuaktamingnigok, kanuk pikuhighamingnik pivaliangnahuagutimingnun inmingnigok aolapkakpagaangok. Taapkuangok inuin inmingneenagok munagiutun itpaktun, aalaninlugok ikkaiyuktighamingnik naahunniyuittungok.

B

Aalattaugok havangniktun ittuk immaitpuk, ataohiktungok inuin havaktutun ittaangmiun ataoheenangmik atanikaghimaitumik. Ataoheelaktaghutigok ukaktitauvaktun illauyun havagviuyumi ihumaliuligaanggamik, tamangmiglugok illauyun havaktamingni ikkayuktigeetiangniagninginlu, ikkaiyuktigeettiangningminglugok uienggaitiaghimaplutiklu ataohik kitulikaak ikkaiyuktikagumakpan kilamik ikkaiyuktighakainaktaaktungok.

A

Havagviklutaok ahiattaok immailinggavuglugok, attanguyakaghuttik nanminikaktumik pivaliatjutiminun havagvikaktaangmiun inuin, aolapkaktitaighaaktununluuneen. Taimaittagaanggan havaktun illaopkaktauyuietun ihumaliuktukaligaanggan havakveeta aolatjuhighangganungok, illihimagamigok attanguyaitta ikkaiyughimmaangniangmatigik.

Kitulluagok ihuatkiyauva havangnikkun?	innungmun havaktighaktayuitumingok ihuaghainik
Kitulluagok ihuatkiyuava ihuaghainik?	havaktighaktayuitumun inminik, tugliunahugiviuk
Kitumigok tahapkunangga ihuagittiangnahugiviugok?	pingahunin ihuaghaining Kugluktungmiunin

13. Ukpiguhungnik Hilam Itjuhian Inungnin Hulakinnianun

Pingabungok inuin aalatkeenik nunakaktun hunavalungningok hila hulakiyaunahugitjutimingnik ukakatigeekpaktun. Hammagok tahapkuan ukauhigivagain. A

Atauhigok immaa ukakpakpuk: innuukatitka hulakipkaiyuitpiaktun nipalungmik, annukkimiklu, aalaniklu hilamun atayunigok, hilamik hulakipkaillakilimaitpugunlugok. Illaingok ukiun nammakpiaktuttun hilam itjuheen itpakpungok, illainlu ukiun hilakatkiyuittutiglugok. Taimaitpakpugok hila, kauyimmakhimavalliaguvingok ilvin hilam itjuhia ubluk taman aamatjeenakpangniakkangok, manimivigivagiakkaktuttun itlugu.

B

Aipanggagok immaa ukakpakpugok: innuukataingok ukpiguhukpakpun munaghiyagiakaktutun ittun illettughaiyagiakaghutiklu kanugok hilam itjuhiannik aalanniklu hulakipkaiyagiallakiyaanggamingnigok, aalaniklugok hulakipkaitjuhiktik ihumagilugugok. Kakugugok hivunighaptingni hilamig hulakipkailnahogivot, nunamiklu pannekpautjuhialugoklu, immaukkakpautjuhianinglugok hunna hulakipkianohogiplogin.

C

Pingahuangok immaa ukammaakpakpugok: innuukataingok hilamik hulakipkaivaktun itjuhiannik aolapkaiyutunlu itpaghuttik hila aktuumakattaktuttun itpaghuggugok, tahapkuanlu hunavaluin nipalektitaivaktunlu, kannektitaivaktunniklu, aalatlu hunavaluin hilamun attayutun ittunigok. Ihuakpiaktumigok innahuakpakkupta - innuunahuattiakpakkupta - munagittiakpagluginlu nunautivun, hugatjanlu, immautivunlu, nammaktitpakkuptigin, hunavaluin ihuatkiyauhimavangniakpungok taimailiukpakkuptagok.

Kitulluagok innuk ukagiyaptingni ihuatkiyamik ihumakangnahugiviugok?
Kitugok tugliunahugiviuk ihumagiviuk nammaktumik ihumaligok?
Kitugok pingahunin inungnin ukagiyaptingnin Kugluktungmiunin ihuagiyautiangniangnahugiviugok?

14. Attugiaktugveen Tughiangnium Nutaanggukpatliatjuheen

Illanggingok inuin nunakatigiyakpingok tuutukpallialektungok tughiagutigivagavungok atugviptingni, aalanggukpallialektungok, taimanimingok.

C

Illanggingok inuin kuviahukpiakpaktun nutaanggukpalliangmatta tughiaguhigivaktavungok. Ihuaguhukkamigok nutaangok pitkuhin nakuutkiyaonahugigamigin utukkangnin pitkuhivigivaktaptingningok, hivummukpatlianahugivakkamigok taimailiugaanggamik hunavallungnik nutaanguktitaiggaanggamik pitkuhingnik, tughiaguhigivautiniklugok, hivummukpallianahuginnikpakamik taimailiugaanggamigok.

A

Illanggingok inuin kuviahunggitpaktun nutaanggukpalliajjuhiuyukangman. Ihuaguhulluagamigok tughiaguhigivaktavungok aolayagiakanggitkaluangmattagok itjuheen aalangguktittagiakanggitkaluangmattagok, taimanitun.

B

Illanggingok inuin uttukkaingok tughiagutivinivun naamatkiyaugaluangok, tigumihimmaalimaittavungok kihiani. Inuuhigiyakkunggok ayungnaivyaktuttun inniagungnaghivuk illainik nutaangguktigiuhinnik tughiangningmun ihuaguhukpakkuptta nuivalliatjuheenigok.

Kitulluagok ukaghimayutun itpa ukpiginahugiyangnik ukautigiyaptingni pingahuuyuni, ihuagittiangnahugiviuklugok?	
Kitungnigok aipaingni ukautauyungni tugliunahugiviuk ihuangningga?	
Kitulluagok pingahuni Inungnin ihuagiyaunahugiyauniangnahugiviuk?	

15. Innuunahuangniuyunnun

Malgugok innuk ukautikakpakpuk kanuk innuunahuagumaningmingnik. Allatkeenigok ihumakakpakpuk tapkua.

A

Atsuhik immas ukakpaktugok: ihuaguhuttiakpakpugok hunavalungnigok innighiutun innahuakagumapluni adjekkuhiutilunilugok ihuaghaittiaklunilugok innekpaktaminik aalanin innungningok.

Tautugumahimaagamigok innektauvaktunik hunavalungnik hanatiakulevagiaminiklugok ukakpaktugok.

B

Aipaa immaa ukakpaktugok: ihuaguhuttiakpakpugok hunavaluiengok itjuheen aolayagiakanggitpungok, ihumayaaminilu ihuaginahugiyaminik, uuktungnahuakpagiaminilugok inmi ijjuhivialuni malliktuttun ittaangani. Innighilluayuitkaluaghunigok, innuuhinigok kuviagihimmaangniaktuttungok inniagami innuuhimaaguhini maliktutun itlugu, tahammagok ihuagiluangnahugivagangok.

Kitulluagok malgok tapkuak innung ihumagiviging ihuatkiamigok ihumakangnahugiviugok?
Kitumigok innungnik taapkungningga adjekkuhiuktuttun itpin?
Kitulluamigok innuin taihiniangnahugivigin ihuatkiamik innuuhikangningmik ukagiyaptingnik?

16. Pamighannik Tuktuglungnik Aituuhiaktitaunnik

Annikatigeengok kemaiyauvaktun pamighanik tuktuglungnik aapagaluamingnit, maamagaluamingnin: 1gok huieguhiannigok. Tahapkuan anikatigeengok inningninggughimayun kanitugeeghutiklugok iglulgin. Pingahuuvungok pamighian aolatjuhighan.

A

Illaini innungni naahuginnikpakpungok anggayughingningok ayunggitpatta munaghitluaktitauvakpungok, aolapkaiplutiklugok tigumiyuttun ittamingnik pamighanik, nukkamilu nanminigiyaittun ittunik.

C

Illaini innungni naahuginnikpakpungok annikatiggeengok inmikkuuglutik avvaghaktuttun illilutik pamighianik piumavakpungok, aaheen aolapkaktitiplutik munaghiniannik pamighagiliktamingnik.

B

Illainilu innungni naahuginnikpakkivungok tahapkuan tamangmik ataohiktun illilutik katighilutik pamighanik tamainik munaghivangniakpungok, havakatigeeglutik aaheen ikkaiyuktigeeklutiklu, ihumaghaghiukatigeeglutiklugok kiagok

ayunggitkiaghiuktuttun illilutik atanguyaghamingnik, angayughikpaaghiugiakanggittutiklugok.

	Kitulluamigok ihuaguhutkiyaunahuginnikpin ihuaghainingmigok?
	Kitumigok aipaingnit tugliunahuginikpin ihuaghainingmik?
	Kitumigok Kugluktungmiun ihuaguhulluangniangnahugivigin ihuaghainingmik ukauhigiyaptingnik?
17. Nu	namik Kemaijuhiutin Huiektukagaangan
	Apeghiumaligivungga adjekkutavyaanik ukauhigivagapta hadjanuak nunatigun nautiviuvaktunik, pamighianlu nigivigivagainniklu, pamighianggunggittunik kihiani. Annikatigeengok nunaghamingnik kemaiyauvaktun nunaghainik nautiviuyughannik, pamighianlu nigivighainnigok illagaluangginin huieghimalihaaningok. Tahapkuangok inningninggughimaplutik, hanigaghigeeghutiklugok iglukaghutiklu. Pingahuuvungok nunanik avvektuguhighaingok.
	A
	Illainigok inungni naahuguktukakpakpun anggayughilluaningok ayungitpatta atanguyangguktuttun iliplutik munaghilluakpakpungok nunanik, munaghilluakpaghutiklugok nukkamiklu nunakutighainniklugok, tamangmigok nunakaktitaugaluaktillugingok.
•	c
	Illainigok inungni naahuguktukakpangmiun inmikkuughutik annikatigeer munaghivaktughaugaluingok nunagilektamingnik ihumattiklu inmingnik atughugin kanuk aolatjuhighangganik nunagilektamingnik ihuaghaivangniaghutik inmingneenak.
1	В
	Illainilugok inungni naahuguktukakpangmiuk tamangmigok annikatigeen atukatigeekpangniakpungok nunamik ataohektun illaggeekamigok. Atanguyaghaktangnahuagaangamiktaok, tamangmik ihuagiyamingnik angikatigeeghutik ihuaghaivangmiungok, angayughikpaaghiughimaitumigok.

Kitulluagok ihuatkiyamahugiviuk iluaghainik?

	Kitugok aipaingnit tugliginahugiviuk ihuaghainiktaok?
	Kitugok pingahuuyunin ihuaghainingnin ukautigiyapta Kugluktungmiunin ihuagiyauniangnahugiviugok?
18. 1	unat Munaghineen Nauttiveen
	Malguvugok innung nautiveenik nikeghan nauvaktun munaghiyiuvaktunigok. Allatkeengnigok innuunahuaguhikakpaktungnik.
	В
	Atautimgok nunautini nautiveen munagikaffukpagain, havagyuavigikattayuitugingok. Taamnagok taimailiukpaktuk illanamin puulaakpagiaminik, aolaakpagiaminilugok, innuuhigiyanilugok alliaginahuaktutungok kuviahungningmilluak attukpagiaminigok munaginnikaffukpaktuk nunagiyaminik nautivingmik. Taimaatungok ihuangnahuginikpakkami innuuhingmik.
	A
	Aipaatagok nunakaktum adjekkutaanik havagyuagiaminigok ihuaguhukpakkami munagigyuaktuttungok itpagain nunani nautivini aalanik nauvigiyaugaanggatta nikighaunggittunik piiyattiakkattakpaghugin, munagittiakpagaingok. Taamnagok taimaa munaghittiangningmik, havagyuakpakkami illanaminik puulakattayuitugok, aolaakattayuitugok unnaguieghikattayuituglugok, kuviahungnahuakattayuitunilugok. Taimailiungnigok ihuagitkiyagivakkamiugok taimailinggavakpuk innuuhia.
	Kitulluatungok innuktun itjuhiannik ukpiguhuktuttun itpin nunam munagitjuhiannik?
	Kituttun ukagiyaptiktun innahugivingok illingnik?
	Kituttun innuktun ukagiyaptingnik Inuit ihuaguhungniangnahugivigin?

19. Innuunium Aktilaangganun

Pingahungok inuin ukautikakpakpun inuin inmingnik kanugiliuglutik inmuhingmingnik inmughalakipkaillahiniagungnaghittaagiamingnigok. Hamagok ukautigivagain.

B

Atauhik immaa ukakpakpuk: itkuumayageekpugok daktininlu munaghininlugok pakettikattalekpungok innuughaalakipkaiyageengmattagok, pakettihimaaghutik, nalvaakhimaaktuttun nutaanik havautighanigok, niken ihivgiughuginlugok, aalaniklu ihuaghautauvaktunik kapettingnikkunlu havautitungnekkungok. Inuingok aamatjeenaghimaitpakkumigin hapkua nutaan itjuhitun ittun, innuughaakpangniagungnaghivongok.

A

Aipanggagok immaa ukamaakpakpuk: ukpiguhunggittaaminigok inuin kanugiliugaluaktilugin innuuhiptingnigok taghipkailimanggitpugungok. Ukpiguhughunilugok innuuhighavungok ihuaghageeghimayutun itpun kigleghain, nungguvighaan tikitpan tikiniakpugok huiegvighakkungok.

C

Pingahuan immaagok ukamaakpakpugok: ukpiguhukpugok ihuaghageeghimayukakpugun innuuhighapta itjuhighainnik, innuuyutlu hugatjatlutaok innuukatigittiaaghavullugok, inuinlugok ayuiekpalliavakpatta tahamna ihuaghaghimayuttun ittuk innuujuhighautikpun, tamnagok inuk taimailiukpakkumi innuughatkiyauniakpugok aalanin inungnin.

Kitungok tahapkuan ukauhiannik adjekkutavyaanik ilvin ihumagiyakpin ihuangnahuginiuhian ihuangnahugiviuk?
Kitugok aipaingnin ukautigiyapta itkuumatkiyauvagok?
Kitugok pingahunin ukautigiyauyunit Kugluktungmiun amigainighain ukamaangniakpan itkuumanahugiyamingnik?

20. Immangmik Avaghaktitainik

Gevamangok ikkaiyungnahuangniakpun munagiyaktun ittumik immautauvaktun amigaigyuumipkainahualighutigok algaffaaklutik, halumaghilutikiugok immektagviuvaktumik. Gevamanigok hevaktun ihumaghaghiugunmik pikaktughaugaluingok ismin immam avvektuguhighaatun ittumik, ukaghimanggittungok kihiani humaungmanggaanik atuktuuyughagok. Kasuk aktilaaghanggatta immautighauyuk ilihimayaungginmangok, imningok aalatkeenik ihumakakpaktun ihumaliungnikun immaghagiuiaktamitigun.

Α

Illaingok inuin avvektuitkuivakpun immautighamingnik taimanitun atukpagamiktittun immalikiningmik, immaghainik inuin ihuaghaivautjuhimiktittun nalunggitamiktun.

C

Illaingok inuin ihuaghaittiakpiagumaplutik hivuagun immaghamingnik avvektuiyaamingni, avvektutiaggianggani immautighakpagvighaktigok.

B

Illaitaugok inuin uttakkiyumakaffukpaktun immaginiaktatik immaghautiktik tikittekkaaglugu kihianik, ihuaghailihaagiamingnigok.

Kitulluamigok ihuaghainingmik ihumavin nakuutkiyaunahuginnikpin ukagiyaptigun?

Kitugok aipaingni ihuaghaijuhingnik tugliunahuginnikpin?___

Kitugok pingahuuyunin ihuaghainingnin ihumakakpin Kugluktungmiun ihuatkiyaunniangnahuginingniakpan?

21. Havangnik (Iglumingni)

Malgugok innuk ukauhikakpakpuk innuhigiumayamingnik.

B

Atauhigok ukakpakpuk havakpangniagiaminik aalatun innuktun uuktugahuakpangniagiaminik, hunavalungnigok havangningnik havakpallaagumayuitungok kihiani, iglum hilataatun halumaghiniattun ittunik. Pulaakpaguhektigok kihiani alliagekpiakpagaangok, aolaakpautjuhiktiklugok, aalaniklugok pulaahimayunnik ukakatigeekpautinilu.

A

Aipanggagok ukamankpakpuk ibuaguhugiaminik hulilukanngnigok iglumini alingivakkamiuk tuninguicktig utaungmangok, inmimun, aipagiyaminunbuncen. Kuviahuttiakpakpuglugok hulilukanligaanggami havallukanshuninok.

Kitulluamigok ukagiyaptingnik innuunahuagguhingnik ihumavin inuin innuunahuakpaktughaugaluingok?
Kituttungok inuktun ukagiyaptitun innahugivingok?
Kituttungok innuuhingmik Inuit ihumakangnahugivigin ihuaguhulluangnahuginningniakpangok?
22. Havagguighimalangningmi
Malgok innuk havaaghaigaanggamik aalatkeengguvaktuk itjuhiak havaghailaghimaningmingni, havaktilugigok havagvingmingni.
A
Atauhigok havaaghalligaanggami illiniangnahuakpakhuni, nutaaniklu havauhighaminik uuktukpaktuk ikkaiyungniaktunnik havaligaanggamigok.
В
Atauhigok havaaghalligaanggami ukakatikaghuni aalanik, unipkakpakhuni, hukkullaaghuniluuneen, illannagiyaminungok pivaktugok.
Kitugok innungnin taapkungnangga ihuatkiamigok innuuhikakpagok?
Kituttungok taapkuatun ilvin innahugivingok?
Kitulluamigok Inuit ihuaguhungniangnahugivigin ihuatkiamik nakuutkiamiklu innuuhikangnahuginingniakpangok?
23. Immektagvighaghiungnik
Nunalaan ihuaghainahualekpatta immektagvighammik nutaamik, apkuhiungnahualekpattakuuneen, pingahuuvungok allatkeen ihumaliuguhighaingok, kitkunlugok havaktitauluangniagiaghaittalugok.
A
Nunakakpugok illainni munani inningnighalbandu, hivuloghuktsuluakpaktuningok attannektuiluakpaktuninlu illageengnin,

ihuaghailuakpaktukaktunik kanugiliugutighanigok. Inuingok tamavyangmik hiuguyaakpagain kanugilliluaghimaitumik illihimayageeghimagamik tahapkunanggalluak ihuaghaktauvageeghimangmatta tahapkuan ihuaghagialgin, tahapkuanlugok ilihimayageektuttun itpangmattalugok.

B

Nunakakpakpuglugok tamavyangmik nuatkatigeen illaupkaktitauvaghuttik kanugiliuguhighaliuligaanggatagok ihummaliungnikun. Amihungok inuin ukaktitauvaktun, huliyuitungok kihiani tamavyangmik nuatkatigeen angikatigeekpaliattinnagingok kanuk illiuguhighaliukkaaktinagingok tamangmik.

Ċ

Nunakakpuglugok, inuin tamavyangmik inmikkuuktuttun ittunik innulingnik, ihuaghaivaghutiklugok votiknikkun ihuaghaivaghutiklugok kanugiliuguhighamingnik. Amiggainighaingok piumayangginnik malikpaktun, amihungok ihuiguhukkaluaktillugingok kanugiliuguhighamingnungok.

Kitumigok	ihumavin ihuatkiyaunnahugiyangnik ihuaghainingmik?
Kitumigok	ihuaghainingmik tugliunahuginnikpingok?
	ok pingahuuyunin ihuaghainingnin ihumavin Kugluktungmiunin niangnahuginikpingok?

24. Kinmit Tukuncetigun

Taimaniguuk inuk kinmigiakpaktun aolaagunminik. Tamavyangmigok kinmeet tukugakpaktun aalatkeengguplutik tukuggauheen. Inuingok ukautigivakkamikku tahamna aalatkeenigok ukauhikakpakpungok.

A

Illaingok inuin ukakpakpun inungnigok ukagiyakkagiakanggittugungok taimailiyakagannggangok. Hunavaluingok kaiyutun itpangniangmatta, imuingok kanugiliugvighainmatta kinmit tukugaligaanggatagok. Naalugiyagiakakpevungok ayughautin ayungnangmangok.

B

Illainlugok inuin ukamaakpakpun innuumgok taaffuma hunna inminik huiektitaiyungnaghivugok kinmiminigok.
Ihumakatiaghimaitungnaghigamigok kinmeeyalakivagungnaghivugok.
Ukaghutiklugok inuingok nutaanik pitkuhingnik
atungnahuaghimavaktulluat uuktungnahuattiakpaktun
ayughautikayuituuyungnaghivungok taimailiuggaanggamikkiagok.

C

Illailugok immaa ukamaakpakpun, inugok kinmeeyakpaktuk innuutiangnahuayuittungnaghigami kinmeeyalakivakkungnaghivugok hunna, hugajaniklugok innuutiakatikayuittungnaghigamilukiagok hunna taimaililakivagungnaghivugok.

Kitungok uk	auhipta ihumavin itkuumattiangnahugiyangnik?
	ningnit ukautigiyapta itkuumattiangnahugiviugok, viugok?
_	ok pingahuuyuni ukagiyaptingni Kugluktungmiun

25. Ikkaiyuktaunik Ayughangnikaligaangan

Inugok ayughakpakpugok ikalughiugaangamilu, angunahuagaanggamilugok. Katangutaingok ikkaiyuktauyagiakakpakpun ukeenahuattiagiamingni. Aalatkeenguvungok ikkaiyuktauyumanigin. Kitugok ikkaiyuktauyumanik ihuatkivauniakoa?

B

Ilwatkiyauniakpagok inuk kinalikaa annikatiminilluak kitungamininluak ikkaiyuktaukuakpakkumigok?

C

Ihuatkiyauniakpakuuneen inuk kinalikaa ikkaiyuktighaghiuluakpan inmikkun ahinin munakaktunik inungnin illaginggitagiyamininlu, havagviginggitamininlugok?

A

Ihuatkiyauniakpaluuneen tamna inuk atanguyagiyamininlu, inningnighaminluuneengok ikkaiyuktighailiuluakpangok, hivuagun ikkaiyuktaiyageeghimayunin illamingnik, ayughautaitta ihuaghivalianingganungok?

Kitulluagok ikkaiyuktauyumanik ihuatkiyaunahugiviuk?
Kitugok ikkaiyuktauyumanik tugliunahugiviuk?
Kitumigok ukautigiyaptitun ilvin ikkaiyuktighaghiungniagaluakpingok?
Kitulluamigok ihumavin Kugluktungmiun ihuaguhungniangnahugivigingok ikkaiyuktauyumakagumanikkun?

26. Kuvyan Atuguhianun

Pingahungok inuin kuvyakakpaktun. Pingahun tapkua inuin aalatkeenik kuvyektuijjuhikakpaktungok, munaghijjuhikakpaghutiklugok.

C

Atauhigok kuvyekkaagaaluni, havagyuangnahuakpaktugok, innuutiangnahuakpaghunilugok ihuangnahugiyaminik. Ukpiguhuktuttungok innami taamna inuk innuuhiginahuaktanigok aktuumanahugigamiuk hilamunlu hugajanunlugok, kuvyaktungningminunlugok hunna.

A

Atauhigok inuk kuvyekpaktuklu. Kuvyekkaaghunigok havakpagain munagikaffuktuttun illiplugin aaheen. Taamnagok inuk ukpiguhuktuttun innami hilamgok itjuhianin kuvyaktukpauhini kanuk inniangmanggaata tuivangniaktun kuvyaktuguhiutiminun atayumun, inuinlugok hulakipkainahugiyuinnamigin tahavfuma mighaatigunlugok.

B

Atauhigok inuktauk kuvyekpangmiuk munagittiangnahuattiaghugin aaheen, havagyuakpiakpautigibluginlugok, nutaaniklugok kuvyaktungningmun kauyihaghimayunik ayunggittunin

atungnahuakpaghuni ukiugok tammaan ayughangniutauvaktun hatumiallakiniangnahugigamigin taimailiungnigumigok.

	Kituguk pitkunik ukpigiviuk inuatkiyaunanugiviugok?
	Kitugok aipaingnit pitkuhingnit ukautigiyapta nakuutkianggunahugiviuk (tugliunahugiviugok)?
	Kituningok pingahuuyunin pitkuhinin Kugluktungmiun ihuaguhungniangnahugivigingok?
27. P	amighianik Kemaitjuhikaktitaunik
	Anikatigeen kinmingnigok kemaitjuhikaktitauvaktungok aapagaluamingninlu, maamagaluamingninlugok. Tahapkuan anikatigeengok inningninggughimayun haniligeeghutiklugok iglukaghutiklugok. Pingahuinigok aalatkeenik kinmit atuguhighainik piyaghagiakakpungok.
	A
	Innungni illaini naahugiyukakpakpugok anggayughikpaaluangok ayunggitkumik atanguyanggukpaktungok kinmit kanugilinggatjuhighainik munaghiyughalluangguktitaivaktungok, anikanmilugok kinmikaktitauhimagaluaktitlugingok.
	c
	Innungnihi illaini naahugiyukakpakpuglugok tahapkuan anikatigeen inmikkuuglutik kinmighaktaamingnik munaghiyumaniakpun inmeenakh aaheen munaghileklutik kinmektaghaagiyamingnik aalanik anikanmingnik ikkaiyuktikaghimaitumigok.
	В
	Illainilugok innungni naahugiyukakpakpuklutaok, tamangmigok anikatigoektun ataohektun illilutik ikkaiyuktigooglutik ihuaghainiakpungok kinaluagok atannektuiyighaghiukpaktungok anggayughekpaaghiugiakanggitutiklugok, tamangmik illauplutik ihuaghaivaktungok.
	Kitulluagok ilumagiviuk iluagitkiyaunahugiviugok?
	Kitsask sinsingsit ilmaskeisik melimelmelyluk?

Kitumigok pingahuuyunin ihuaghainingnin Kugluktungmiungok ihumaniangnahugivigin ihuaguhulluangniangnahugivigingok?

28. Tamayanik Kemaitjuhikaktitaunik

Tajjagok apekkutikagumagivungga adjekkutavyaata ukauhigivagapta pamighianggungitunigok kihiani. Anikatigeengok kemaitjutighaniktitauvangmiungok tamayanik (aoyivingmik nunamiklu, iglumiklugok) aapagaluamingninlu, maamagaluamingninlu huielihaaningok. Tahapkuangok inningninggughimayun hanileghigeeghutiklugok iglulgingok. Pingahuuvungok avvektungnighanggan tamayakaktitaupkangnian anikatigeen tahapkuangok.

A

Inungnigok illaini naahugiyukakpakkivuk angayughikpaaningok ayunggitpatta atanguyangguktitaivaktungok munaghiughamik aoyivighaannik anikatigeen tahapkuan tamangmik atuktitauhimapkaktauhimagaluaktilugin kemakuuhiniatigungok.

C

Inungnigok iliaini naahuginnikpangmiungok anikatigeengok inmikkuuklutik avvaghaktitauvaggiakaghutik tamangmik kemakuuktauyun, aaheen inmikkun piumayamingnik atuguhighaanik ihuashaivangmiun inmingneenagok.

B

Inungnigok illaini naahuginiktukakpangmiuk tamangmigok anikatigeen atukpangniakkaan auyivigilektaktik ataohektun illilutik. Atanguyaghaghiuligaanggamik, katittutik tamangmik ihuagiamingnik inughaktakpaktungok, angayughekpaaghiughimaitumiglugok, atannektuiyughamigok.

Kitugok pitkuhi	iuvaktuni ihuma	giviuk ihuatkiyaun	mhugiviugok ihu:	ghainik?
				

Kitugok pingahunin ilunghainigok Kugluktungmiunin ilunggilungniangnahugiviugok?

Kitugok aipaingnit ihuaghainik tugliunahugiviugok?

29. Kuvyat Munaghiniannun

Malguvugok innung kuvyaktukpaktugok, (kuvyallagok). Aallatkeektunigok innuujuhikakpaktuggok.

B

Atautimgok kuvyani munagikaffukpagain havattiagyuagvigihimaittumigok. Taamnagok inuk pulaakpagiamini, aolaakpagiamini, kuviahukpagiaminigok munaginnikaffukpaktuk kuvyaminik. Taimaatungok ihuangnahuginnikkami taamna.

A

Aipaaguk kihimi kuvyakatkikpiakpaktumik munaghittiakpaktuklugok, kuvyaminik halumapkaktitekpiagaaluni, ihuaktitihimapkaivaktuklugok. Havagyuangnahuakpakkamigin kuvyani taaffuma illanaminigok takukattayuitugok, aolaakattayuitunilugok, ahiagunlugok kuviahungningnik atuyuitutun itpaghuni. Taimaitjuhingminigok kihiani taamna ihuaguhukhimagami taimaitpaktugok havagyuakpakpugok kuvyikinikkun.

Kituttungok i ihuaguhukpin	nuktun ukpiguhukpin gok?	innahuangnahu	aguhingmigok	
Kituttungok i	nuktun ukagiyaptigun	innahugivingol	c?	
_	nkagiyaptigun Inuit ih kpakpanlugok?	umakakpakpan :	itumanahuagumaplutige	æ

30. Immakaktitaupkaktitaunik

Gavamangok ikkaiyungnahuangnialikpungok nunangnik immaghainnik inuin angigligaaniktitaivalleglutik, aghaluutinik immaktautiniklu, niuktuivaktuniklu tunihivaglutigok. Gavamani havaktungok ihumaghaghiunmik annittivaktungok nunaghigok ihuaghaiyageeghimayughaugaluagok atugaghavfingnik hivuagun aghaluutin tiketteklugingok, ukaghimanggittungok kihimi hunaungmanggaanik ihunghageeghimayughamigok. Immaghautiginialektaktigok naunaieghimainmangok, inuingok salatkeenik ihumakakpaktun ihuaghainiannik immaghaginialiktamingman.

Δ.	
	Illaingok inuin ukamaakpakpungok aghaluutighaginiaktatigok atuktauvaktughaugaluiengok aghaluutigivagtamiktun taimaninggaanitungok.
C	
	Illaingok inuin ihuaghaittiagumavakpun kanuk aghaluutighagilektait atuguhighaliugumakpiaghutiklugok tikitinagin.
В	
	Illaittaugok inuin utakkikaffugumalekpaktun aghaluutighatik tikitpattagok ihuaghaihungguyumaplutik, kanuk atuguhighaliugiamingnigok.
	uamigok ihuaguhungnahugivin ihumavin ihuatkiamik pitkuhighamik igiyaptingnik?
Kitum	nigok ihuaghainingnit aipaingnik tugliunningnahuginikpingok?
	igok pingahunin ihuaghainingmik ihumavin Kugluktungmiungok ihungniangnahugivigingok?

Appendix D

Back Translation

5(b) Change Expectations

(45 and over age group)

Three elders were talking about what their children would gain material things (goods) when they gained knowledge (grewup). Here is what they said.

A

The first said: I believe that my children may have more material goods than I, if they work hard and plan ahead for their future. People who try hard may have a better life.

B

The second one said this: She doesn't know if her children will have a better life, have a hard time, or be the same as her lifestyle. Our lives seems to get better, sometimes there's hard times even if we work hard we don't know how our future will be.

A

The third said this: she believes that her children may have similar material goods as her, and thought that she may bring back a similar lifestyle that she (mother) had before. She (mother) thought her children's responsibility was to try hard and work hard they will find out how they will live in their future and find ways to keep their lives as they once were.

Which do you think (in our discussion) had the best idea? Which of the two do you think had the next best idea?

Which person of the three in our discussion would your peers might think had the heat idea?

9. Choosing a person to go to meetings

In your community how do you choose a person who is to attend a meeting in another community, how do you choose a person?

B

Would it be best to arrange a meeting so that you can talk amongst yourselves to choose a person by voting for a person so that almost all you agree on the person chosen?

A

Is it better if the elders or people who have been leaders looked after choosing a person who is to go to a meeting because the elders know best (knowledge) about how these things are handled?

C

Would it be better to call a meeting, have people write their names and have a vote to choose a person to go to a meeting, and send the person who gets the most votes even if some people do not agree on the popular choice?

Which method of choosing a person is better when deciding these matters?

Which method of decision making do you think is the next best way?

Which way do you think the people of Coppermine think is the best way of choosing a person?

15. Ways of Living (Lifestyles)

Two people were discussing how they wished they could live. They had different ideas those two.

A

One talked like this: she thought that it was better that whatever she got done (accomplished) or tried to get done as well or better than other people. She wanted to continue to see results of whatever was done and wanted things done to the best of one's ability (work hard) she mid.

The other person said: she thought it was better that whatever, however things are should be left as they are, so that she may think whatever she thinks is right and that she may try to be as she really is.

Sometimes she does not accomplish too much (get things finished) she will continue to live her life happily and will follow her lifestyle because she thought that was the best way.

Which of the two people do you think had the better idea of thinking?

Which of the two people do you think you are similar to?

Which of the two ideas do you think Inuit will say is a better way of living?

Appendix E

Informed Consent for Subjects

TITLE OF RESEARCH - A Value Orientation Frofile of the Copper Inuit

Principle Researcher
Nancy A Edgecombe
Master of Nursing Candidate
Faculty of Nursing
University of Alberta
phone:

Thesis Supervisor Dr. P. Brink Associate Dean of Research Faculty of Nursing University of Alberta phone: (403) 492-6763

PURPOSE OF STUDY: To identify and describe the values of the Copper Inuit of Coppermine.

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY: My Name is Nancy Edgecombe. I am a Master's student at the University of Alberta. I will be in Coppermine the next few months. I have come to learn about the values of the Copper Inuit people. To do this I would like to tell you some short stories and ask you questions about these stories. I will write down your answers. I would also like to tape our interview so I can listen to your answers again later. This will take about 45 minutes.

If you do not want to talk to me, it is alright. If you do not want me to tape our talk I will not tape it. If you decide to talk to me and later change your mind, that is alright. Just tell me and we will stop talking. Tell me if you do not want to answer any of the questions just tell me and we will skip that question. I will not tell anybody that you have talked to me. Your name will not be place on your questionnaire. Also your name will not be mentioned when I write about the study.

I do not know of any risks to you for being in this study. I plan to give a copy of my study to the Hamlet of Coppermine and the Kitikmeot Health Board when my degree is finished. I expect nurses and doctors to use my study to help them understand the Inuit better. If they understand the Inuit better they will be more sensitive to the Inuit perspective.

I will be using your answers to the questions and my notes to write a description of the values of the Copper Isuit. Once I have finished my study I will destroy and the questionnaires. If you have any questions about me or what we have talked about, you can call to me (phone number) or my thesis supervisor Dr. P Brink (403) 492-6763.

CONSENT

The study has been explained to me by Nancy Edgecombe, and she has given me a copy of her explanation. All my questions about the study have been answered. I agree to be in her study.

Informant Date Researcher Date