

# Noteworthy descriptions and definitions of Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit

From the appendices of: Kilabuk, Tapisa, Darlene Jacque, Tuttu Hunter, Christine Qillasiq Lussier, Edward Allen. 2023. *The Nunavut Arctic College and the mobilization of Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit in Nunavut research: A systematic review of research literature (1996-2022)*. This literature review surveys peer-reviewed and grey literature including books, scholarly articles, and other products of Nunavut research conducted between 1996 and 2022.

1. Arnakak, J. (2003). Inuit qaujimaningit and policy development. Proceedings of the second IPSSAS seminar, 176-180. <https://docslib.org/doc/5537425/building-capacity-in-arctic-societies-dynamics-and-shifting-perspectives>

Arnakak (2003) speaks specifically to IQ and its meaning by seeing it as something that is fluid, significant and comprehensive. They describe it as knowledge that is both “traditional” and “contemporary” infused with “social values and influences behavior” (p. 177). IQ being the means by which Inuit culture is “perpetuat[ed]” and “advance[d]”. The author further explaining it as a “corpus of Inuit epistemology and cosmology”.

In discussing the transmission of IQ, Arnakak (2003) states that “Inuit psychology” is very much reflected in the process of “observing, trying out and experiencing the skills or knowledge being learned” (p. 177). They add “[i]t is thus a very experiential approach to learning”. Further detailing IQ as being of “cultural value” that can be found in Inuit “art, technology and social structures”. It is not a “monolith” but rather a “phenomenon” that is “very diverse” in that it “changes from community to community with unlimited themes” (Arnakak, 2003, p. 177).

2. Martin, K. (2009). “Are we also here for that?”: Inuit qaujimaqatuqangit – traditional knowledge, or critical theory? *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 29(1/2), 183–202.

Martin (2009) quotes Jaypeetee Arnakak to explain that IQ is “not a set or finite body of knowledge; rather, it is “a set of teachings on practical truisms about society, human nature and experience passed on orally (traditionally) from one generation to the next.... It is holistic, dynamic and cumulative in its approach to knowledge, teaching and learning...” (p. 185).

Martin (2009) further notes that “[i]t is difficult to pin down or to define but is most readily manifested in the knowledge and memories of Nunavut Elders, who are able to provide information about what Inuit life was like before residential schools, welfare initiatives, and permanent settlements changed the face of Arctic Canada” (p. 185).

3. Semple, W. (2020). *Decolonizing architecture: Stories from the Canadian North* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta].

Semple (2020) interpretes IQ as being “embedded in a process” and a “system that links Inuit philosophy and action in the evolving contemporary context” (p. 102). It is the transfer of “knowledge and skill” that are important to supporting the development of “contributing member(s) of family and society”. It includes “knowledge and respect for the environment” and being a “protector of all things” (p. 102). Semple (2020) also adds that “IQ views ‘living things’ as being anything that has a cycle (e.g. seasons, rocks and waterways)” (p. 102).

4. Abele, F. & Gladstone, J. (2021). *Climate change health adaptation program: Synthesis report and impact analysis*.

[http://www.climatetelling.info/uploads/2/5/6/1/25611440/cchap\\_final\\_report.pdf](http://www.climatetelling.info/uploads/2/5/6/1/25611440/cchap_final_report.pdf)

Abele and Gladstone (2021) discuss how traditional knowledge is sometimes viewed as something tangible that can be gathered and used as needed. They state “Indigenous knowledge or traditional knowledge is treated as an item that can be ‘collected’ and then applied to a problem defined in externally determined terms” (p. 33). However, the authors argue “Indigenous knowledge is far more than a collection of facts. It is an understanding of the world and of the human place in the world....From observations, people everywhere find patterns and similarities and associations, from which they develop a view of how the world works, a view that explains the mysteries surrounding them, that gives them a sense of place” (p.33).

5. Aporta, C. (2002). *Life on the ice: understanding the codes of a changing environment*. *Polar Record*, 38(207), 341-354.

Aporta (2002) describes IQ as “Inuit knowledge” and they view this knowledge as “reveal[ing] a deep understanding of the complex relationships between ice, currents, the Moon, and the winds, as well as a holistic approach to knowledge where classification based on a western scientific approach becomes difficult, if not counter-productive” (p. 341). Further adding, it includes a “system of knowledge (...) which requires a lifetime of practice and observation” (p. 341).

6. Levac, L., McMurtry, L., Stienstra, D., Baikie, G., Hanson, C., & Mucina, D. (2018). *Learning across Indigenous and Western knowledge systems and intersectionality: Reconciling social science research approaches*. Unpublished SSHRC Knowledge Synthesis Report). University of Guelph.

Levac, McMurtry, Stienstra, Baikie, Hanson, & Mucina (2018) references IQ as a “theory” and they explain that it “is as much a way of life as it is sets of information” (p. 31). They also mention that it is through the eight [IQ] core principles “that Western knowledge will be able to examine and integrate IQ to the benefit of all mankind” (p. 31).

7. Laugrand, F.B., & Oosten, J. G. (2010). *Inuit shamanism and christianity: Transitions and transformations in the twentieth century*. McGill-Queen’s University Press.

Notably, Laugrand and Oosten (2010) explore IQ as a means for cultural revitalization. They tie “the loss of a shamanic tradition” to “the decline of Inuit culture”, and they state that “researching Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit” is considered “as a way to recover a cultural heritage” (p. 17). They argue Inuit will be enabled “to create a modern society based on their own traditions and values” in this way (Laugrand and Oosten, 2010, p. 17). In the past and modern day, Elders being considered “authorities on knowledge”.

Furthermore, Laugrand and Oosten, J. G. (2010) maintain that IQ contains “fundamental ideas and values that distinguished Inuit from Qallunaat” (p. xviii). They add that “Inuit qaujimajatuqangit helps to maintain people’s connection to [the deceased]. The deceased live on in the stories” (p. 308).

8. Brooker, A. L. (2018). *Counselling within Inuit systems in Canada’s north*. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, 52(1).

Brooker (2018) connects the “systems theory” to “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit” in that individuals are seen “in the context of their relationships [which] align with Inuit culture” adding this “[a]llow and encourage Inuit clients to engage with their families and communities when coping with difficulties [and this] would reconnect these clients with their cultural values” (p. 11). The author further states that IQ “reflects traditional values that encourage actions that serve one’s family and community” (p. 11). Maintaining that a “collectivistic mindset (...) moves away from an individualistic perspective” and it is considered “more appropriate”

(Brooker, 2018, p. 11). The author explains that the “guiding principles” of IQ “overlap, revealing the foundation of this society that values the interconnected nature of all involved” (p. 11).

9. White, G. (2006). Cultures in collision: Traditional knowledge and Euro-Canadian governance processes in Northern land-claim boards. *Arctic*, 59(4), 401–414.

In this article, White (2006) looks briefly at the language used in discussing Inuit knowledge. They point out the “misleading connotations” found in using such terminology as “traditional” which “suggest customs and beliefs [being] “frozen at a particular point in time (usually the distant past)” (Nadasdy, 2003 as cited in White, 2006, p. 402). They also state that IQ has become the preference over “traditional” given that IQ combines “the traditional knowledge, experience and values of Inuit society, along with the present Inuit knowledge, experience and values that prepare the way for future knowledge, experience and values” (GN, 2002 as cited in White, 2002, p. 402).

10. Schmidt, L. A., & Poole, K. L. (2020). Perspective on shyness as adaptive from Indigenous Peoples of North America. In *Adaptive Shyness*, 239–249. Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38877-5\\_13](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38877-5_13)

Gurr et al. (2020) states that IQ is “the concept of intelligent or adaptive qualities of thinking and behavior” and they feel the “central teaching (...) which predominates across Inuit Nunangat is piliriqatigiingniq” (p. 244). Piliriqatigiingniq being described as “emphasiz[ing] that Inuit people build collaborative networks to work toward a shared, overarching goal that benefits the common good” and “stress[ing] the primacy of the community over that of individual interests” (Gurr et al., 2020, p. 244).

11. McHugh, S. (2021). Arctic nomadology: Inuit stories of the mountie sled dog massacre. In *Love in a time of slaughters: human-animal stories against genocide and extinction*. Penn State University Press, 3, 122-154. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780271084541-007>

Interestingly, this article connects “managing dogs” as being a “central component of Inuit Qaujimaqatigangit (IQ)” (McHugh, 2021, p. 135). McHugh (2021) uses Keavy Martin’s (n.d) explanation that “IQ requires intense experiential efforts to achieve “a state of silatujuq—having wisdom—which aligns itself practically with a close understanding of one’s sila, one’s environment” (p. 135). The author explains that dogs (“qimmiit”) are used to hunt “large and formidable animals like seals, caribou, and polar bears” and they require skillful handling” which McHugh (2021) state is “so essential to IQ that it maintained an Inuk’s high social value, even his masculinity, within his culture” (p. 135). Additionally, today’s approach to dealing with sick dogs was seen as “controversial because it contrasts sharply with the IQ approach to sick dogs” (McHugh, 2021, p. 142).

12. Steiner, N. S., Bowman, J., Campbell, K., Chierici, M., Eronen-Rasimus, E., Falardeau, M., Nacke, M., Nomura, D., Tedesco, L., van Franeker, J. A., van Leeuwe, M. A., & Wongpan, P. (2021). Climate change impacts on sea-ice ecosystems and associated ecosystem services. *Elem Sci Anth*, 9(1), 00007.

Steiner, Bowman, Campbell, Chierici, Eronen-Rasimus, Falardeau, Nacke, Nomura, Tedesco, van Franeker, van Leeuwe, & Wongpan. (2021) describe IQ as something that will help inform understanding around climate change. They state that IQ “provides a wealth of information to help understand ongoing and future changes, and the interweaving of Inuit knowledge with academic science can lead to more comprehensive assessments of climatic changes” (p. 19). It is also noted that IQ will “inform future decision making for the management and protection of [Tallurutiup Imanga National Marine Conservation Area]” which is “an area that has been used since time immemorial by the Inuit” (p. 30).

13. Gordon, E. S. (2018). Critical engagement: Integrating spirituality and “wisdom sharing” into higher education curriculum development. In *Interreligious Pedagogy*, 89-105. Palgrave Pivot, Cham.

While discussing “contemporary (...) participatory research models involving indigenous knowledge”, Gordon (2018) adds a spiritual component to IQ by maintaining it has a “spiritual domain and cannot be reduced to a “cultural artifact” (p. 96). The author states that “[a]cknowledging these transcendent connections of spirituality as integrated into our humanity, as well as the difficulty in “capturing” a single, secure cross-cultural description”. Further maintaining, “tools” are needed to create space for the experiential and collaborative learning of wisdom sharing” (p. 96).

14. Tagalik, S. (2010). *A framework for Indigenous school health: foundations in cultural principles*. Prince George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health.

Tagalik (2010) explains that the Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit Education Framework for Nunavut Schools is based on “cultural embeddedness”. It outlines four foundational core beliefs which “include working for the common good, respect for all living things, maintaining harmony and balance , and continually preparing for the future.” (p. 8). Tagalik (2010) continues “These core beliefs are further articulated through eight guiding principles which are expressed as cross curricular competencies, and they are supported by forty key values which are expressed as educational expectations” (p. 8).

Tagalik (2010) also uses a description of IQ that focuses it “as a system of belief which considers the importance of relationship/interconnectedness to the environment/sila and to other people” (p. 8). The author further adds that “[t]hese critical relationships are embedded within circles of belonging, seasonal changes and of a continuum of life. Taken as a whole the conceptualization is described as the strengths of the individual” (p. 8). It requires “being in the here and now grounded in the continuum, but operating within in the whole context” (Tagalik, 2010, p. 17).

15. Kusagak, J. (2004). *Inuit traditional knowledge is a real science*. *Inuktitut (English, Inuktitut and French Ed.)*, 94, 2–.

Interestingly, Kusgak (2004) adds a different perspective around the meaning found in IQ translation. They explain “[f]ollowing the literal meaning of Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit, I would have been born with the knowledge of building iglus, qajaqs, Shamanism, traditional music skills, delivering babies, the intricacies of skinning animals, weather forecasting and a thousand other things; because Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit, which, when translated into English literally means “Inuit instinctive knowledge”. Other than suckling, crying and hurting, not much else is instinctive. [However], like all races of people in this world, all knowledge is learned” (p. n.a.). The author further adds “All this new knowledge had to be taught from one Inuk generation to the next. It also had to be taught and learnt in the most practical way respectable to the culture, in which it is taught and learned. That way was to observe, do, and improve, without unnecessary questioning. Fathers taught sons, mothers taught daughters, and when either was lacking, both parents taught the other. Thus gender in names was meaningless. It was the spirit of individuals to carry on the race that mattered, not oneself” (p. n.a.).

16. Aikens, K. (2019). *A critical policy analysis of environmental and sustainability education in Canada* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Saskatchewan].

Aikens (2019) describes IQ as being a “knowledge system” that is “key to the continued thriving of northern communities” (p.63). The author explains “the Elders are not advocating a return to the past, but a grounding of education in the strengths of the Inuit so that their children will survive and successfully negotiate the world in which they find themselves today” (Nunavut Department of Education, 2007 as cited in Aikens, 2019, p. 63).

17. DeLorenzo, L. C. (2016). *Giving voice to democracy in music education*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Within DeLorenzo’s exploration of Piercey’s work, they briefly discuss the significance of balancing between worlds. They state “Piercey (...) emphasizes that “the elders’ aim for Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit was not to force a return to the past but to illuminate the strengths of Inuit so children could successfully negotiate their worlds” (Piercey, 2012 as cited in DeLorenzo, 2016, p. 15).

18. McCall, S. (2014). 6 “I Can Only Sing This Song to Someone Who Understands It.” In *First Person Plural*. UBC Press.

McCall (2014) identifies some of the prominent arguments in the debate surrounding the of defining IQ. For instance, she relays “Political scientist Ailsa Henderson explains that IQ, usually glossed as ‘an Inuit way of doing things,’ is notoriously difficult to define. As a holistic philosophy, IQ encompasses a vast range of ideas and actions, including knowledge of land, kinship patterns, and customary law, as well as the elders’ accumulated ‘memories, knowledge, stories, and skills” (pp. 200 -201). McCall (2014) adds Japetee Arnakak’s insights on IQ as not a “fixed body of knowledge” but more so “a set of teachings on practical truisms about society, human nature and experience passed on orally (traditionally)” (p. 200 – 201).

19. Klein, J. (2017). *Indigenous rights in environmental justice: examining decolonization and human security in the context of Inuit seal hunting [Doctoral dissertation, Åbo Akademi University]*.

Notably, Klein (2017) brings the importance of animals into IQ literary dialogue. They speak to the value of seals in IQ. They state “[b]efore they became a source of economic growth and viability, seals were used by Inuit to sustain all aspects of life: the meat is incredibly nutritious and feeds many families, oil from seals was used in fires and candles, seal skin and fur were used for clothing and materials, and the passing of Inuit knowledge, Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit, and cultural values were preserved through the seal hunt” (p. 51).

20. Topkok, C. S. A. (2015). *Iñupiat ilitqusiak: Inner views of our iñupiaq values. [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alaska]*.

Topkok (2015) touches briefly on IQ and Inuit values. They offer some insight into how these work together. They state “[t]here are 38 values and beliefs for Inuit cultural values developed by Canadian Inuit Elders and educators (Aboriginal Learning Knowledge Centre, 2007). These Inuit values are centered on connection, work, coping, and government. According to the Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit, each value represents a person holding a skin blanket (learning) for a blanket toss (journey). In order for a successful pull, each individual (value) needs to pull equally in order to help the one on the blanket” (p. 21).

21. Woodley, S., MacKinnon, K., McCanny, S., Pither, R., Prior, K. S. N. & Lindenmayer, D. (2015). *Managing protected areas for biological diversity and ecosystem functions’ Protected Area Governance and Management, 651-684.*

Woodley, MacKinnon, McCanny, Pither, Prior, & Lindenmayer. (2015) highlight IQ as the “hard-won wisdom of the indigenous people of the Nunavut Territory of Canada—survivors in a harsh northern landscape” (p. 674).

The authors provide an example of the “effectiveness of IQ” in the research team’s work around “population and distribution trends for four species of migratory birds” (p. 674). The team found “[f]or two of the species examined, local knowledge identified population shifts that were previously unknown to Western science” (p. 674). It is concluded that “[i]n general, the degree of contact with the species was an important factor in determining the quality of observations. In one case, the species’ distribution was poorly understood by local hunters despite seasonal harvests. Thus, like any source of information, there must be scrutiny of reliability” (Woodley et al., 2015, p. 674).

22. Okalik, P. (2007). Nunavut: The road to indigenous sovereignty. *Intercultural Human Rights Law Review*, 2, 11–18.

Okalik (2007) explains IQ in term of being a “developed social code and knowledge system” (p. 12). They add that “[it] is this belief system that continues to define our Inuit societal values” and it is “closely tied to [Inuit] land and the family bonds that have allowed [Inuit] to flourish where others have not” (p. 12).

The author also touches on “[Inuit] statues and governing natural resources management” as being “[a]n example of [Inuit] traditional knowledge in modern law” (p. 16). They relay that it is through the use of “Inuktitut” that “Inuit have ensured (...) future land management decisions [are] interpreted through the prism of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit” (p. 16). Adding, “[i]t was only a few years ago that Inuit knowledge was dismissed. It wasn’t considered scientific, and was therefore unworthy of consideration” (Okalik, 2007, p. 16).

23. McMahan, R., O’Donnell, S., Smith, R., Woodman Simmonds, J., & Walmark, B. (2010). Putting the ‘last-mile’ first: Re-framing broadband development in First Nations and Inuit communities. Vancouver: Centre for Policy Research on Science and Technology (CPROST). Simon Fraser University.

The authors in this article describes IQ as “a body of knowledge and unique cultural insights of Inuit into the workings of nature, humans and animals” (Burgess, n.d. as cited in O’Donnell et al., 2010, p. 32).

24. Cowan, C. (2005). Re-Learning the traditional art of Inuit grass basket-making. *Convergence*, 38(4), 51-67.

In this article, Indigenous knowledge is “summarised as including three dynamic concepts: (a) the experience of colonisation, (b) identification with the land as a central component of identity, and (c) pedagogical processes that involve the strengthening and survival of both the people and the culture of a specific place” (Aikman, 1999 as cited in Cowan, 2005, p. 53). Cowan (2005) further touches on the traditional aspect of IQ and its influence on Inuit relational dynamic. They state that “[in] Nunavut, Inuit qaujimajatuqangit refers to the traditional worldview of the Inuit prior to colonisation and defines the essential relationships between individuals, families and the environment” (p. 53).

25. Griebel, B., Diesel, T., & Rast, T. (2016). Re-Presenting the past: A new archaeological outreach strategy for the Canadian Territory of Nunavut. *Open Archaeology*, 2(1).

Griebel et al. (2016) view IQ through a lens of historical and present-day transmission that is fostered within traditional way of life. They explain “[t]raditional Inuit understanding of space and time—as developed through land-based and nomadic hunting lifestyles—are seen as constituting the basis of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (...) and continue to inform the core of everyday practice in the North (Wenzel, 2004 as cited in Griebel et al., 2016, p. 292).

26. Soukup, K. T. (2006). Travelling through layers: Inuit artists appropriate new technologies. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31(1).

Seemingly, Soukup (2006) places much consideration on the value and holistic relationship approaches found within IQ. They describes IQ as “[the] pedagogical framework and guiding or foundational principles are based on the essential elements of humaneness, collaboration, environmental stewardship, acquiring skills and knowledge, being resourceful to solve problems, achieving consensus in decision-making, and serving the common good” (p. 244). They further add “IQ values creativity and innovation in all of these essential elements, as well as in the discipline of the arts, to recognize the importance of creative expression in Inuit life and the value of artistic excellence as a way of interpreting and sharing culture and values” (p. 244).

27. Kilbourne, J. (2008). Teaching social studies through storytelling: the enduring spirit of the Arctic. *Social Education*, 72(6), 322.

Kilbourne (2008) looks more closely at the environmental and sharing aspects of IQ. They state “[b]y engaging with the ocean, land, rivers, lakes, and animals, Inuit learn through observation, discovery, and experience. Information about where and how to fish and hunt, and a sense of sharing and community is passed from one generation to the next. This knowledge and these values, which are hallmarks of traditional Inuit culture, are known as Inuit Qaujimagatugangit (IQ); and Inuit in Iqaluit work hard to weave them into their daily lives. Fishing is an excellent activity for promoting these guiding principles” (p.n.a).

28. Gold, S. K. T. (2007). Techniques of citizenship: Health and subjectivity in a new and predominantly Inuit territory. *Citizenship Studies*, 11(4), 349-365.

Interestingly, Gold (2007) touches on the importance of IQ, the complexity of defining IQ in the English language and the difficulty of mobilizing IQ in Western systems. Notably, they reference IQ as “a hybridizing perspective” (p. 359). Further describing it as “a system of laws, values and consultations; and an understanding of complex family relationships that is explained by Inuktitut kinship terminology” (Nunavut, 2000 as cited in Gold, 2007, p. 359). Adding, “IQ is about “healthy, sustainable communities regaining their rights to a say in the governance of their lives using principles and values they regard as integral to who and what they are” (Arnakak, 2001 as cited in Gold, 2007, p. 359). The author states that IQ is “central to the attempt to legitimate northern and Inuit expertise” (p. 359). “[H]owever, [it] is not easily translated into English and its broad scope makes for an uneasy fit in government processes that reflect national governance processes. It is even more difficult to put into practice in Nunavut health care planning, due to the perception that health care is non-Inuit, that Inuit and northern lives are risky and that health expertise comes from the south” (p. 359).

29. Castleton A. (2017). Tecnología e identidad: el caso de los Inuit y Facebook. *CIC. Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*, 22, 107-125.  
<https://doi.org/10.5209/CIYC.55970>

Adding a modernized and youth perspective, Castleton (2017) challenges the traditional conceptualization of what it means to be an Inuk. They state “If we look closely at the iconic and real Inuk, the image appears to be both mythical and mythical – a rigid, inaccurate and outdated model, usually promoted by someone claiming to be an authority (...) Today, however, even the nature of the Inuit Qaujimagatugangit is being challenged by younger Inuit, who may have a different notion of what constitutes a real Inuk. For them, a real Inuk should not be judged by the standards of an earlier age or held up as a mythical, deviant, and unobtainable model today” (p. 112).

30. Howe, L. E. (2010). Temporality and reconciliation. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 32(4), 611-619.

In their work, Howe (2010) seeks out reconciliation to Inuit worldview. They touch on “the ambiguities of efforts to reconcile wildlife biology’s scientific knowledge with Inuit traditional knowledge” (p. 611). They advise “[i]f, as I have tried to show by way of thinking about temporality, Inuit qaujimajatuqangit fundamentally challenges mainstream temporal–political affectivity, then the best way to encourage scientists, administrators, and conservationists to react positively to a time out of joint is to offer a vision of having a better time” (p. 617).

31. Sbert, C. (2020). *The lens of ecological law: a look at mining*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781839102134>

Sbert (2020) states that "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) reflects a worldview based on interconnectedness with, and respect and responsibility towards the natural world. These 'traditional Inuit values, knowledge, behaviour, perceptions and expectations' have been explicitly incorporated into the Nunavut Wildlife Act. An initial analysis indicates that several of the IQ principles in the Act can be seen as examples of ecological law, in particular the acknowledgement of interconnectedness of people and nature, and a needs-based approach to wildlife harvesting that prohibits wastage and accumulation" (p. 75).

33. Berger, P., & Epp, J. R. (2006). Practices against culture that “work” in Nunavut schools: Problematising two common practices. *McGill Journal of Education/Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill*, 41(1).

Through relationality of time, Berger and Epp (2006) look at cultural complexities surrounding perceptions of Inuit culture, the “assault” of EuroCanadian contact and the conflict from within. They explain "By “practices against culture,” we mean teaching methods or ways of doing things that seem incongruent with historical or contemporary Inuit culture, as we understand it from the literature by both Qallunaat and Inuit authors. We are aware that culture is not static, that not all Inuit share the same beliefs and practices, and that cultures change over time (Crago, Annahatak, & Ningiurvik, 1993 as cited by Berger and Epp, 2006, p. 10). They add further, there is “An extremely complex cultural shift (...) underway (Henze & Vanett, 1993), and, although Inuit still hold values distinct from Euro-Canadian values (Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut [IQ] Task Force, 2002), Inuit culture has been under a massive assault by EuroCanadians for many years. This has sometimes led to alienation and confusion, a divide between elders and youth (Minor, 1992; Reimer, 1996), and changes in some Inuit values (Stairs, 1992); in deciding whether a practice is compatible with “Inuit culture,” a relevant question is, which culture" (Berger and Epp, 2006, p. 10).

34. Yamamura, B., Netser, S., & Qanatsiaq, N. (2003). Community elders, traditional knowledge, and a mathematics curriculum framework. *Education Canada*, 43(1), 44-46.

Despite the complex nature of IQ, there is simplicity and directness in Yamamura, Netser and Qanatsiaq (2003) description as they explain IQ as being "all aspects of the Inuit that makes them a unique people, including culture, language, values, beliefs, relationships, governance, etc." (p. n.a.).

35. Berkman, P. A., Vylegzhani, A. N., & Young, O. R. (2019). *Baseline of Russian Arctic laws (Vol. 438)*. Springer International Publishing.

Berkman, Vylegzhani and Young (2019) briefly looks at the inclusion of IQ in research and science. They contend "A key element of research and science in the North includes traditional knowledge and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit – the uniting of traditional thought and action. Northerners, because we live here and have lived here for centuries, have deep reservoirs of traditional and local knowledge about the land and the environment and can make major contributions in this regard" (pg. 327).

36. Arnakak J. (2002). Incorporation of Inuit qaujimanituqangit, or Inuit traditional knowledge, into the Government of Nunavut. *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*. 3(1):33-9.

Arnakak (2020) touches on the modern relationality of IQ. He relays "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, or IQ, from its inception, is intended to include not only Inuit traditional knowledge, but also the contemporary values of Nunavut's communities. IQ, translated as "that which are long known by Inuit," is a misnomer" (Arnakak, 2020, p. 34).

37. Burrows, J. (2006). *La justice en soi: les traditions juridiques autochtones*. Ottawa: Commission du droit du Canada.

Translated by Google: "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is a particularly important concept in Inuit law. It contains lessons for the future. The term Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit includes the orally transmitted traditional knowledge, family and political structures, learning, social development projects and even understanding the conditions local weather conditions. It has also been described as a living technology of rationalization of thought and gestures and organization of tasks, resources, family and society into a coherent whole."

38. Tremblay, M., Ford, J., Statham, S., Pearce, T., Ljubicic, G., Gauthier, Y., & Braithwaite, L. (2018). Access to the land and ice: Travel and hunting in a changing environment. In *Science to policy in the Eastern Canadian Arctic: An integrated regional impact study (IRIS) of climate change and moderization*. *ArcticNet*, 560, 305.

These authors reiterate that "IQ is transmitted orally through stories, myths, songs, and lessons, and it is continually being revised and expanded to include new information" (Berkes 1999, Aporta 2002, Thorpe et al. 2001, Thorpe et al. 2002, Berkes 2004, Laidler 2006 as cited in Tremblay et al., 2018, p. 307). When applied to climate change, they maintain "the dynamic and flexible nature of IQ continues to underpin Inuit adaptability to a rapidly changing climate (Laidler et al. 2009, Ford 2009, Ford et al. 2010, Pearce et al. 2015" (Tremblay et al., 2018, p. 307).

39. Jeannotte, M. S. (2017). Caretakers of the earth: Integrating Canadian Aboriginal perspectives on culture and sustainability into local plans. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23(2), 199-213.

Jeannotte (2017) speaks of project findings around the importance of land in culture connection and the significant of creative, cultural expression. "At these gatherings, participants asserted that the community was based on relationships anchored in the culture. One stated that 'Cultural connections to the land are hugely important to the quality of life of Iqalummuit and contribute positively to the health, education, family, community, culture and spirit of the community' (Sustainable Iqaluit 2012, 5). Another stated that 'Inuit are the land – the land is an extension of ourselves'. In addition to educating non-Inuit residents on Qaujimajatuqangit and strengthening the status of Inuktitut (the Inuit language), the participants wanted to 'balance living concurrently in two (or more) very different cultures'. Expressive elements of culture identified as being important included Inuit celebrations and festivals, an Inuit museum, and 'more Inuit artistic presentations, fairs, performances, art markets, film screenings; more public art, wall murals, sculptures/carvings; more Inuit art, books, prints, shows, TV and Inuit Broadcasting Corporation programming; more Inuit fashion, videogames, cartoons, animated films, illustrated books; more dancing, music concerts, theatre" (Jeannotte, 2017, p. 206).

40. McAuley, A., & Walton, F. (2011). Decolonizing cyberspace: Online support for the Nunavut MEd. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, 12(4), 17-34.

McAuley and Walton (2011) discuss IQ as a framework in relation to Nunavut MEd and its importance to government. They “A second, perhaps more diffuse conceptual framework permeating the Nunavut MEd, was that of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). A framework that “embraces all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations” (Government of Nunavut, 2005, as cited in McAuley, 2011, p. 20). They state “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is being used to guide the development of all government initiatives in Nunavut, including education. The diffuseness of this framework with respect to the Nunavut MEd is a result of its being an emergent “work in progress,” particularly at its intersection with the values and structures of contemporary governmental institutions and practices” (McAuley and Walton, 2011, p. 20-21).

McAuley and Walton (2011) also speak to the principles of IQ. They contend “...the eight Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principles are relational, that is, they focus on connections between individuals and their sociocultural, psychosocial, and physical environments. Although all eight principles influenced the design of the distance learning portion of the MEd, relationality was particularly important” (p. 21).

41. Baikie, G. (2020). Indigenist and decolonizing memory work research method. *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 9(1), 41-59.

Baikie (2020) leans heavily on Tagalik’s explanation and perspective of IQ. They report “Fortunately, when the Canadian territory of Nunavut was established in 1999, its government made a priority, through engaging with Elders as traditional knowledge keepers, to identify and articulate an Inuit ethnophilosophy as the means to develop Inuit-centered policies and practices. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)<sup>2</sup> was the outcome and is “defined as Inuit ways past, present and future” (Tagalik, 2009-2010, p. 2). Tagalik (2009-2010) explains “IQ encompasses the entire realm of Inuit experience in the world and the values, principles, beliefs and skills which have evolved as a result of that experience. It is the experience and resulting knowledge/wisdom that prepares us for success in the future and establishes the possible survival of Inuit.” (p.2). IQ also refers to the Inuit epistemology or “that which Inuit have always known to be true” (McGregor, 2012, p. 297). While there are variations amongst the diverse Inuit societies, IQ “has been recognized as being consistent with Inuit worldview as it is described in various Inuit circumpolar jurisdictions” (Tagalik, 2009-2010, p.1). Tagalik (2009-2010) points out that an Inuit worldview must be seen within the context of the knowledge continuum, the time continuum, and the relationship continuum. Furthermore, the Inuit Elders in Nunavut identified maligait (four big laws): working for the common good; respecting all living things; maintaining harmony and balance; continually planning and preparing for the future (Government of Nunavut, 2007; McGregor, 2012; Tagalik, 2009-2010) out of which emerge the IQ principles which are summarized in the table. These principles guided the evolution of the method, the research design and the research process” (Baikie, 2020, p.43).

42. Bishop, B., Owen, J., Wilson, L., Eccles, T., Chircop, A., & Fanning, L. (2022). How icebreaking governance interacts with Inuit rights and livelihoods in Nunavut: A policy review. *Marine Policy*, 137, 104957–. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2022.104957>

Bishop et al. (2022) recognizes the need for meaningful inclusion of Inuit within the IQ integration. Within their work, they state “Thus while we present the eight IQ principles and draw on them for our policy review, any consideration of Inuit governance values and their application to maritime policy development requires a nuanced understanding of IQ achieved through meaningful engagement with and by Inuit” (p. 4).

43. Clifford-Peña, J. (2009). Human perceptions, comprehension and awareness of contaminants in Sanikiluaq [Master's thesis, University of Manitoba].

Clifford-Peña (2009) speaks to the interchangeability that is sometimes found in literature around Inuit knowledge terminology. They explain "Currently, the term Traditional knowledge is now referred to as Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). IQ is used to describe a body of knowledge and unique cultural insights of Inuit into the workings of nature, humans and animals. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, then, has both practical and epistemological aspects that branch out from a fundamental principle that human beings are learning, rational beings with an infinite potential for problem-solving within the dictates of nature and technology (Kruse et al., 2004). However, for the purposes of this project, the term Traditional Knowledge is used for what is now commonly known today as "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit" (Clifford-Peña, 2009, p. 17).

44. Tomaselli, M. (2018). Improved wildlife health and disease surveillance through the combined use of local knowledge and scientific knowledge [Doctoral dissertation, University of Calgary].

Although conscience of diversity found in literature, Tomaselli (2018) explains that wildlife management tools prefer to use local knowledge terminology. They describe "There are several names that refer to experiential-based knowledge driven by local resource use and practices, including general names such as local and traditional ecological knowledge, indigenous knowledge, technical knowledge, folk knowledge and wisdom, and more specific names that connote specific groups, for example Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit or Inuit knowledge. This local and experiential-based body of knowledge is herein conjointly referred as LK" (p. 7).

45. Imrie, D. D. (2009). Limit knowledge and adaptations to sea ice change in the Belcher Islands, Nunavut [Doctoral dissertation, University of Manitoba].

Imrie (2009) explores IQ in the context of Inuit knowledge which is beyond the concept of traditional knowledge. They convey "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) is a term commonly used in Canada to encompass all forms of Inuit knowledge and ways of knowing (Thorpe et al., 2002). However, Quajimajatuqangit is a reference to old or historical knowledge, implying knowledge that is historical or outdated in nature, when in reality IQ is dynamic and relevant, and more accurately described by the term Inuit Quajimaningit, which translates directly into Inuit Knowledge (Leduc, 2006). Traditional Knowledge (TK) and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) can be included under the umbrella of IQ, which incorporates environmental knowledge, attitudes, values, behaviors, and world view (Wenzel, 2004). IQ will be considered synonymous with Inuit Knowledge for the purpose of this discussion" (Imrie, 2009, p. 19).

46. Obed, D. (2017). Illiniavugut Nunami: learning from the land: envisioning an Inuit-centered educational future [Masters Thesis, Saint Mary's University].

Obed (2017) mobilizes and validates the importance of IQ through their work. They state "This study, guided by Inuit knowledge and understandings of the land as pedagogy, meaning a process of relationship building that is specific to the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), supports us as Inuit to tell stories from our own worldviews while also honing and demonstrating our inherent competencies" (p. 4).

47. Grimwood, B. S., & Doubleday, N. C. (2013). Illuminating traces: Enactments of responsibility in practices of Arctic river tourists and inhabitants. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 12(2), 53-74.

In their work, Grimwood and Doubleday (2013) highlight that "Inuit knowledge, or Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut (IQ), is described as "the Inuit way of doing things: the past, present

and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit society' (Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut Task Force, 2002, p. 4). It represents a unity of fundamental relationships, an adaptive entanglement of factual knowledge, land use, values, norms, direct experience and cosmology (Tester & Irniq, 2008). Inuit Elders are the traditional interpreters of these seamless relations and transfer knowledge to younger generations" (n.p.a.).

48. Leduc, TB. (2006). Inuit economic adaptations for a changing global climate. *Ecological Economics*, 60(1), 27–35 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2006.02.004>

Leduc (2006) discusses an old controversy surrounding the traditional and modern-day dialogue found when exploring the meaning of IQ in English translation. They relay "More recently, an Inuit-directed compilation of cultural knowledge defined IQ as "knowledge that has been passed on to us by our ancestors, things that we have always known, things crucial to our survival—patience and resourcefulness" (Bennett and Rowley, 2004, p. xxi). Jaypeetee adds that IQ is not simply an ecological knowledge for managing relations with the environment or a traditional knowledge isolated in the past. Talking about this point in relation to defining Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, he wrote (Arnakak, 2004, p. 1): The fact remains that Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is a semi-literal translation of the original term in English—and in the passive tense at that. I have suggested on a number of occasions taking out the reference to "old" in Qaujimajatuqangit, and making the term an infinitive—Inuit Qaujimaningit—or simply, Inuit knowledge" (Leduc, 2006, p. 28).

49. Higdon, J. W., & Ferguson, S. H. (2014). Inuit recollections of a 1950s killer whale (*Orcinus orca*) ice entrapment in Foxe Basin, Nunavut, Canada. *Aquatic Mammals*, 40(1), 9.

Higdon and Ferguson (2014) touch on the holistic nature of IQ. From their literary exploration, they maintain "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) encompasses all aspects of traditional Inuit culture, including values, language, social organization, and knowledge (Simpson, 2004; Wenzel, 2004; Tester & Irniq, 2008). It can be broadly outlined as a set of teachings about society, human nature and experience, and ecological knowledge, passed on orally from one generation to the next, that is holistic, dynamic, and cumulative in its approach to knowledge, teaching, and learning, essentially, that one learns best by observing, doing, and experiencing (Arnakak, 2000, 2002)" (Higdon, 2014, p. 15).

50. Stern, P. R., & Stevenson, L. (Eds.). (2006). *Critical Inuit studies: an anthology of contemporary Arctic ethnography*. University of Nebraska Press.

Giving a historical review of IQ, Stern and Stevenson (2006) summarize "Based on a series of conferences and workshops with Inuit elders in the late 1990s, the Nunavut government initiated a plan to implement Inuit qaujimajatuqangit, or traditional knowledge (literally that which was known prior to the arrival of qallunaat—Europeans and Canadians of European descent), at all levels of government. Alexina Kublu of Arctic College in Iqaluit provided a detailed etymology of the term for me: qauji means to find out; qaujima means to know; qaujimajaq means what or that which is known; qaujimajatuqaq means something which has been known for a long time; and Inuit qaujimajatuqangit means something that Inuit have known for a long time" (p.101).

The authors further add "Lori Idlout, a longtime resident of Iqaluit and originally from Igloolik, Nunavut, has been centrally involved in the movement to incorporate Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (iq, or Inuit traditional knowledge over time) into the structures of the Nunavut government (Wilman 2002). Many Inuit see the conscious incorporation of IQ as a tool for decision making as critical to the success or failure of Nunavut in aboriginal self- government" (Stern and Stevenson, 2006, p. 54).

51. Gearhead, S., Pocernich, M., Stewart, R., Sanguya, J., & Huntington, H. P. (2010). Linking Inuit knowledge and meteorological station observations to understand changing wind patterns at Clyde River, Nunavut. *Climatic Change*, 100(2), 267-294.

While there is a relationship value acknowledgement, Gearhead et al. (2010) focus more on environmental knowledge found within IQ. "For generations, Inuit have lived off the land. Through activities such as hunting, fishing, preparing food and skins, and travelling the land, ice, and waters of the Arctic, Inuit have developed a complex understanding of the environment. Constant observation and experience over time accumulates to form Inuit knowledge (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit), which also incorporates Inuit values and beliefs. Inuit knowledge and skills are passed down through generations through oral tradition, observation, and practice. This knowledge is dynamic, constantly evolving as each knowledge-holder engages with their environment and integrates their own experiences (Berkes 1999; Ingold and Kurtilla 2000; GN 1999)" (Gearhead et al., 2010, p. 271).

52. Dunning, N. (2012). Reflections of a disk-less Inuk on Canada's Eskimo identification system. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 36(2), 209-226.

Dunning (2012) touches on the importance of Inuit connection to each other and the transmission of IQ. In part, they also rely on Arnakak's description of IQ. "Ujamiit became one of the missing items I needed to prove to my own people that I am who I say I am. I had only one thing, her atiq ('name'). Her named was Angaviadniak, a Pallirmiut woman. She is my maternal anaanatsiaq ('grandmother') and I know of her through the oral passing down of Inuit knowledge, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Qaujima is the verb 'to know,' and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit literally means 'the things that Inuit have known for a long time' (Stern 2010: 33). It is traditional knowledge from Inuit elders, and how Inuit know who, what, and where they are in this world. It is, as Jaypetee Arnakak says: a set of teachings on practical truisms about society, human nature and experience passed on orally (traditionally) from one generation to the next [...]. It is holistic, dynamic and cumulative in its approach to knowledge, teaching and learning [...]. IQ [...] is most readily manifested in the knowledge and memories of Nunavut Elders [...] (in Martin 2009: 184). Very simply put, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit "is about remembering; an ethical injunction that lies at the root of Inuit identity" (Tester and Irniq 2008: 61)" (Dunning, 2012, p. 210).

53. Hearne, J. (2017). "Who We Are Now": Iñupiaq Youth On the Ice. *MediaTropes*, 7(1), 185-202.

Hearne (2017) makes some notable mentions in their work as they look examine IQ in terms of adaptability and resourcefulness. They use this to analyze components of the film *On the Ice*. "In her 2012 study of Inuit literature, *Stories in a New Skin*, Keavy Martin turns to a document outlining Inuit cultural concepts, the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* ("IQ") ("what Inuit have known for a very long time"), which was commissioned by the government of Nunavut, the largest of Canada's three territories and the first Inuit majority territory, to guide the integration of Inuit values within the self-governing province. The IQ framework describes the quality of *qanuqtuurniq*, or "a quality of resourcefulness in problem-solving," suggestive of resilience or plasticity; as Qitsualik-Tinsley asserts, "Inuit are the embodiment of adaptability itself" (qtd. in Martin 3, 8). The IQ report foregrounds a model of traditional Inuit conceptions of knowledge that already encodes systems for incorporating the new, because its very definition as knowledge entails the ability to adapt resourcefully to changed circumstances as a central value. While *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* ("IQ") is linguistically and culturally Inuit, built from the participation and knowledge of elders from the eastern Arctic (Nunavummiut communities), its articulation of a mode of Inuit knowledge—along with western Arctic Iñupiaq concepts—can begin to offer a broad scaffold for understanding the

characters' interactions with ice and with each other in *On the Ice*, and for thinking through the film's Indigenization of American film genre forms" (Hearne, 2017, p.188).

54. Payne C. (2011). "You hear it in their voice": Photographs and cultural consolidation among Inuit youths and elders. In *Oral History and Photography. Palgarve Studies in Oral History*. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230120099\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230120099_6)

While discussing "six key concepts" of IQ, Payne (2011) briefly brings a feminist concept to the IQ discussion. "In this, the school reflects the Government of Nunavut's own emphasis on Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, which is widely known across Nunavut by the acronym "IQ." An indigenized play on intelligence quotient, IQ is defined and systematized by the territorial government as a set of "Inuit traditional knowledge and values" summarized by six key concepts: Pijitsirarniq (Serving), Aajiiqatigiingniq (Consensus-Decision Making), Pilimmaksarniq (Skills and Knowledge Acquisition), Qanuqtuurungnarniq (Being Resourceful to Solve Problems), Piliriqatigiingniq (Working in Collaborative Relationships toward a Common Purpose) and Avatimik Kamattiarniq (Environ - mental Stewardship).<sup>11</sup> In turn, these values inform some of the practice of governance in Nunavut.<sup>12</sup> IQ principles are based on community life and skills developed by Inuit hunter-gatherers as they were understood to be before European contact.<sup>13</sup> In this respect, IQ is arguably an exercise in "strategic essentialism." A concept coined by Gayatri Spivak and closely associated with second-wave feminism, strategic essentialism describes the subversive tactic of referencing broad (even stereotypical) cultural characteristics in an attempt to foster group cohesion while simultaneously critiquing the effect of essentializing stereotypes themselves" (Payne, 2011, p. 613 – 614).

55. Woynarski, L. (2020). *Decolonised ecologies: Performance against the anthropocene*. In *Ecodramaturgies*, 179-211.

Woynarski (2020) focuses on an Inuk elder's comparison of Inuit and Qallunaat knowledges. "Tulugaq, the Inuit elder, explains to him the role of traditional knowledge: That is Inuit qaujimajatuqangit. Inuit traditional knowledge. Old learning about living in peace with people, animals, nature. Arctic is not just numbers. Arctic is stories. Like aqsarniit story. Qallunaat learning: lots of numbers. But it comes here—(pointing to his head). Only here. Not good for us. Inuit qaujimajatuqangit comes here—(pointing to his head), here—(pointing to his heart), and here—(moving hands and feet). Inuit qaujimajatuqangit is alive. Observation, experience. Always changing. Numbers are not enough. We need stories. You understand? (Bilodeau 2015: 59–60) Rather than being the object of study, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit [traditional knowledge] is considered a relevant (and lifesaving) study in and of itself" (Woynarski, p. 204).

56. Knopf, K. (2018). *Indigenous knowledges, ecology, and living heritage in North America*. In *Decolonial heritage: Natures, cultures, and the asymmetries of memory*, 175-202.

Knopf (2018) touches on Tagalik's IQ continuum discussion in their detailed analysis. They relay, "Shirley Tagalik explains that Inuit qaujimajatuqangit — Inuit epistemology or the Indigenous knowledge of the Inuit - is based on three continuums: knowledge continuum, time continuum, and relationship continuum. Inuit qaujimajatuqangit is "knowledge embedded in process" (Knopf, 2018, p. 194). Knopf (2018) also adds that IQ is "...reliant on the cultural expectation of iqaqqaukkaringniq (deep thinking that leads to innovation). This is a dynamic process of knowing, applying, experiencing, evaluating and creating new knowledge grounded in a continuum of knowing and continually improving. This adapting and creating new knowledge is and has always been necessary to ensure survival. Likewise, the time continuum means that deep understandings of views and values of the past influence and support success in the future" (p. 194).

Knopf (2018) further adding societal values in their IQ description while warning against pan-Indigenization. They continue “And finally, building of relationships is central to Inuit qaujimajatuqangit and ‘is a consistently applied life building process aimed at establishing self-reliant, wise individuals who can cope successfully and actively contribute to the wellbeing of others and to the continual improvement of society’. Since Inuit knowledge includes traditional and contemporary knowledges constantly changing and adapting to neo/colonial, climatic, and industrial influences, it can be seen as ‘living heritage’ as suggested in the ‘memorial’ heritage discourse, which understands cultural heritage ‘as a corpus of processes and practices that are constantly recreated and renewed by present generations effecting a connection with the past’ (Alivizatou 48). But there are warnings against homogenization and commodification of living Indigenous knowledges in our capitalist and globalized world. The ‘discontents’ of such ‘minority heritage’ due to colonization and Westernization of non-European cultures, as Lowenthal argues, are manifold: diverse tribal views on aspects and content of heritage might be homogenized into pan-tribal or even pan-Indigenous views vis-a-vis other tribal or mainstream government concerns and political clout; diverse distinct ethnic and regional legacies might become more alike. Generalized abstractions of specific forms of religion and shamanism might become vehicles of cultural nationalism and political struggles. Indeed, even religious concepts and practices might be ‘Westernized’, popularized, and commodified by Indigenous sellers and New Age buyers of initiation seminars and ceremonies. Confrontation with the mainstream and Western cultures erodes distinctiveness, as Lowenthal explains: ‘The more minorities negotiate with sovereign powers and exchange views and tactics among themselves, the more all heritage “takes on a similar Western tinge’ (The Heritage Crusade 84-85). Western mainstream trivializes Indigenous legacies by reducing and formularizing their diversity into omnipresent and retrievable icons of Indigeneity, like profiles of famous chiefs, their speeches, historic sites, wise proverbs, traditions, and skills - many of which slip into the realm of stereotypes” (Knopf, 2018, p. 194).

57. Derman, B. B. (2015). [Making climate justice: Social natures and political spaces of the anthropocene \[Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington\]](#).

In their doctoral work, Derman (2015) briefly explains the environmental significance of IQ transmission. The author states “The ICC [Inuit Circumpolar Council] first methodically demonstrates the validity and importance of traditional knowledge (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, or IQ) for the maintenance of Inuit culture and livelihood. Crucially, IQ encodes sophisticated understanding of weather, climate, and the ecological conditions they influence, which are in turn described as fundamental to Inuit practices of hunting, travel, and shelter” (p. 79).

58. McCarney, P. (2018). [Contexts, conditions and methods conducive to knowledge co-Production: Three case studies involving scientific and community perspectives in Arctic wildlife research \[Doctoral Dissertation, York University\]](#).

McCarney (2018) notes the importance of appropriately referencing and positioning Inuit knowledge terminology and literary conceptualization in their work. “For the purposes of this dissertation, it was not critical that I develop and adhere to a single term and unified definition for Traditional Knowledge, including distinguishing between terms used and preferred by a variety of scholars, including Indigenous Knowledge, Traditional Ecological Knowledge, or Local Ecological Knowledge. For my purposes, it was more important to focus on understanding key conceptual foundations of Traditional Knowledge, rather than grasping for a concrete definition. To that end, I focus more specifically on Inuit Knowledge as recognition of the culturally specific form of knowledge with which I interacted in this research. Attempts to define Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), the Inuktitut term for Inuit

Knowledge in Nunavut, have been criticized for being overly narrow, often focusing on IQ as 'either useful to a more nuanced management and development of resources or important to cultural survival and resistance to dominant Western ideology' (Tester & Irniq, 2008, p. 49)" (McCarney, 2018, p. 8).

The author detailing "The Government of Nunavut has worked to develop a unified understanding of IQ and the role of Inuit culture in government operations. A meeting on Traditional Knowledge in Igloodik, Nunavut in 1998 convened by the Nunavut Social Development Council brought together Elders from all Nunavut communities to address this need. Wenzel (2004) quotes an anonymous meeting participant who conceptualized IQ as a way of knowing that encompasses 'all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions, and expectations'. In Tester & Irniq's (2008) discussion about the foundations of Inuit Knowledge, they refer to IQ as a 'seamless' knowledge system that does not have easily distinguishable or compartmentalized constituent parts. In using the idea of a 'seamless' body of knowledge, Tester & Irniq (2008) adopt Bell's (2002) definition of IQ as 'the Inuit way of doing things: the past, present, and future knowledge of Inuit Society' (p. 3)" (McCarney, 2018, p. 8-9).

McCarney (2018) further discussing "Similarly, Wenzel (2004) documents three primary sources that give more clarity to the meaning of IQ. These sources together describe the essence of IQ as a 'living technology' that, while derived from 'the ancient knowledge of the Inuit', includes and applies to 'all aspects of Inuit life' (Wenzel, 2004, pp. 241-242). Therefore, Indigenous Knowledge in general, and IQ in the current context, shouldn't be defined in such a way that its meaning is restricted to the environmental aspects of the knowledge, but within an understanding that encompasses all aspects of life (Huntington, 2005; Tester & Irniq, 2008; Wenzel, 2004). This research is not examining IQ as a knowledge system, but rather is concerned with the inclusion of Inuit community perspectives in knowledge co-production processes and therefore recognizes the role of IQ in framing these perspectives" (p. 9).

59. Kelley, K. E. (2009). [Policies and practicalities of shipping in changing ice conditions: A case study from Cape Dorset, Nunavut \[Doctoral dissertation, Carleton University\]](#).

In their dissertation, Kelley (2009) provides much discussion around IQ. They maintain "The concepts of traditional knowledge and, in the Inuit context, Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit (IQ), can be used alongside political ecology as they recognize different perspectives, social networks, and environmental knowledge alongside unique cultural and political practices. Traditional knowledge has been defined as "a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment" (Berkes, 2008: 7). In this context, tradition is considered "cultural continuity transmitted in the form of social attitudes, beliefs, principles, and conventions of behavior and practice derived from historical experience" (Berkes, 2008: 3), and ecological knowledge is considered "knowledge, however acquired, of relationships of living beings with one another and with their environment" (Berkes, 2008: 5). In the Canadian North "aboriginal peoples often refer to their 'knowledge of the land' rather than to ecological knowledge" (Berkes, 2008: 5). Land "includes the living environment" (Berkes, 2008: 5) and is not limited to the physical land, but also the sea ice, and water. Overall, Inuit recognize that humans and the environment should be considered as parts of a whole. They are intrinsically linked and have enormous influences and effects on each other. This research attempts to understand, incorporate and respect this foundational knowledge gained by people through living and connecting with the land" (p. 43 – 44).

Kelley (2009) continues "In the Canadian Arctic, the term IQ was coined by Inuit in the context of the new reality created by the territory of Nunavut (GN, 2006). This term is preferred when discussing all aspects of Inuit knowledge, and way of life. IQ is defined as "encompassing] all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-views, language, social organizations, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations" (Anonymous 1998:1 as cited in Wenzel 2004: 240). This is, in fact, the guiding principle adopted by the Government of Nunavut (GN), and used by many academics to broadly refer to Inuit knowledge (see Laidler, 2006; Wenzel, 2004), in an effort to incorporate more relevant terminology in relation to Inuit knowledge, practices, and beliefs in governance and research. In the context of my own work and research in Cape Dorset, it was important to recognize and understand what this concept entails. IQ involves respecting traditional and contemporary perspectives, thoughts and actions, decision-making, resourcefulness, and environmental stewardship (Wenzel, 2004). IQ is also considered as a type of conceptual framework, and remains a changing concept, evolving as Inuit face new challenges and new opportunities (Wenzel, 2004). It has been well established that "Inuit have knowledge of many natural processes occurring in their ecosystem including seasonal cycles, rivers, currents, sea ice, food webs and seasonal foods" (McDonald and Dalby, 1997: 9) and that "Inuit knowledge of ecosystem[s are] founded on respect for the environment and its processes and for the wildlife they share the region with" (McDonald and Dalby, 1997: 9). It is my intention to reflect on such understandings through the study of how Inuit of Cape Dorset understand and use the sea ice. Inuit have developed a deep understanding of their environmental context and surroundings, through their long-term observations, uses, and experiences of the land, water, sea, and ice around their communities and in the places were they used to live before moving to the settlements. Within the limits of the thesis, and given my relatively short exposure to Inuit life and the concept of IQ, I have done my best to incorporate Inuit perspectives and understanding of the sea ice, weather, travel, shipping and sovereignty" (Kelley, 2009, p. 44 – 45).

60. Williamson, C. (2022). *Sewing in Arviat: Inuit women's work through stories and parkas* [Doctoral dissertation, Carleton University].

In their work, Williamson (2022) touches on various discussions surrounding IQ and IQ mobilization. Notably, they clarify why they prefer to use Inuit knowledge over other terminology. "I use the term Inuit Knowledge rather than Indigenous Knowledge, Traditional Knowledge, or the term Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) in this dissertation. Inuit Knowledge is more specific than the terms Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Knowledge; there is, for some, an implied pastness in the latter term as well.<sup>74</sup> The most controversial aspect of my choice is, however, not to use the term IQ. Often translated as "that which is long known by Inuit," IQ is a neologism developed by the Government of Nunavut (GN), and although it is increasingly used interchangeably with Inuit Knowledge, the two concepts should not be conflated (Plate 1.1). The concept of IQ came out of a 1998 Nunavut Sustainable Development Committee meeting to develop a formalized set of principles based on Inuit Knowledge that would guide GN policy and governance in ensuring its operations were culturally relevant.<sup>75</sup> IQ is a descriptive and structured way of thinking about and describing the ancient knowledge, ontology and epistemology that remains relevant and embedded in Inuit society today, but it is vital that it not be conflated with the knowledge in and of itself. A risk with the structuring of IQ principles and maligait (natural laws) by the GN is that it has the potential of ossifying Inuit knowledge and masking the particularities of the localized, community-based knowledge found across Nunavut. For these reasons, I am personally resistant to using the term IQ, with the caveat that IQ has served as an empowering and useful concept for many Inuit and Qallunaat scholars, policymakers, activists and others.<sup>76</sup>" (Williamson, 2022, p. 46 – 47).

Furthermore, Williamson (2022) speaks to how IQ helped Inuit traders adapt. "Qiqut's material wealth and trade strategy required more help and support in the camp context, and the three wives, with their distinct roles, show the differentiation of labour needed for this trade context. According to Arviat historian Mark Kalluak, Inuit traders were successful because "they knew exactly what Inuit would want to buy."<sup>59</sup> Natasha Lyons argues that they "provide ideal examples of IQ [Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit]—they found ways to accommodate and thrive in the new foreign trade economy at the same time as sustaining Inuit family values."<sup>60</sup> (p. 94).

The author also touches on the lack of discussion around gender and Indigenous knowledge contexts. "This chapter begins by showing how studies about traditional/Indigenous knowledge often fail to acknowledge the gendered nature of that knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Of course, traditions are dynamic and ever-changing, and Indigenous knowledge is more than a static collection of skills and information. I use the term Inuit knowledge in order to reinforce that this is a specific, situated complex of living knowledge and skills (see also the discussion on Inuit knowledge and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in Chapter 1, section 9)" (Williamson, 2022, p. 165).

Williamson (2002) does provide some mention of IQ integration within their work. They state "With its intensive period of skill development, the workshop format broke from the traditional method of learning through long periods of observation followed by attempting the task oneself. Nonetheless, these workshops still allowed for the transfer of knowledge and following the Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principle of pijitsirniq (to serve and provide for family and community).<sup>130</sup> Workshops can mitigate, at least to some degree, the generational separation caused by ilisayuq southern-style schooling, which removes intergenerational connections and extended time spent together. Workshops place skilled women in a space with other women who could learn using isumsaqsayuq methods" (p. 219).

61. [McGregor, H. E. \(2013\). Situating Nunavut education with indigenous education in Canada. \*Canadian Journal of Education\*, 36\(2\), 87-118.](#)

McGregor (2013) distinctively highlights the nature of IQ outside the broad generalization that can be found within Indigenous knowledge discussion. They explain "Like Indigenous peoples around the globe, over the last two decades Inuit have been actively "reclaiming their cultural knowledges and asserting their legitimacy in many spaces" (Dei, 2011b, p. 3). Inuit conceptual paradigms do not include the medicine wheel or the characteristics seen in other Indigenous cultures in Canada. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) is defined by Elders as: "knowledge that has been passed on to us by our ancestors, things that we have always known, things crucial to our survival – patience and resourcefulness" (Bennett & Rowley, 2004, p. xxi). The holistic and inclusive nature of IQ is repeatedly emphasized: "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit embraces all aspects of traditional Inuit culture, including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations" (Nunavut Social Development Council, 1998). IQ as a "theory of knowledge" has been outlined by Jaypetee Arnakak (2000) working closely with Elders as a set of oral, practical, intergenerational teachings about social and human experience; the knowledge of "country" and interrelationships within the environment; and, holistic, dynamic and cumulative approaches to teaching and learning through observing, doing and experience" (p. 97 – 98)

62. [Martin, K. \(2009\). Stories in a new skin: Approaches to Inuit literature in Nunavut \[Doctoral dissertation, thèse de doctorat, University of Toronto\].](#)

Martin (2009) touches on the challenge of successfully mobilizing IQ within Southern contexts given the lack of meaningful and significant Western acknowledgement and engagement. They state "Along with Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), Inuit

Qaujimajatuqangit is attracting more and more interest in the South, especially as wildlife management officials have to negotiate with Inuit assessments and protocols, which are often radically different from their own.<sup>147</sup> In 2003, a book entitled *In the Words of Elders: Aboriginal Cultures in Transition* made important steps toward the recognition of elders as scholars, and discussed the importance of "showing a new respect for the thought of Aboriginal cultural, spiritual, artistic, and political leaders . . . [and for] providing a greater legitimacy in academic settings for the teachings of those leaders" (Kulchyski, McCaskill, and Newhouse xi). However, as the sled dog controversy demonstrates, many Southerners still do not have a great deal of confidence in Inuit as scholars of their own reality. IQ may be tolerated for its romantic appeal, but it has yet to be taken seriously as an intellectual tradition" (p. 118).

63. Johnston, P. (2014). Constructing a bridge between two cultures: How "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit" is essential to addressing the "modern" child welfare system in Nunavut. *Canadian Social Work Review*, 31(2), 267–287.

Johnston (2014) challenges the perspective of IQ being only of historical significance. They state "IQ is not a "museum piece with limited use," but rather a means for the past to inform the present and future, as well as the "critical underpinning of Inuit worldview" (Tagalik, 2009a, p. 2)" (Johnston, 2014, p. 269).

64. McAuley, A., & Walton, F. (2011). Decolonizing cyberspace: Online support for the Nunavut MEd. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, 12(4), 17-34.

McAuley and Walton (2011) does a brief examination of the IQ principles. They relay "...six of the eight Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principles are relational, that is, they focus on connections between individuals and their sociocultural, psychosocial, and physical environments" (p. 21). They continue, "Given that the principles are as much "a living technology . . . a means of organizing family and society into coherent wholes" (Arnakak, 2001) as they are a fixed set of traditional values, allowing the non-Inuit lead instructors to predefine their roles in the online environment would have been inappropriate at best" (p. 23).

65. Henshaw, A. (2006). Pausing along the journey: Learning landscapes, environmental change, and toponymy amongst the Sikusilarmiut. *Arctic Anthropology*, 43(1), 52-66.

As similar to other authors, Henshaw (2006) conveys "...Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) or Inuit ""traditional"" knowledge that ""encompasses all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and explanation" (Department of Culture, Language, Elder and Youth 2005)" (p. 53).

66. Healy, G., & Tagak Sr, A. (2014). Piliriqatigiinni 'working in a collaborative way for the common good': a perspective on the space where health research methodology and Inuit epistemology come together. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 7(1), 1-14.

Healy and Tagak (2014, explores the holistic nature of IQ in their discussion. They relay "Iqqaumaqatigiinni is the Inuit concept of all thoughts, or all knowing, coming into one. It is often referred to as part of the holistic Indigenous worldview. [...] How are these ideas coming together? What do they offer to the Inuit community? What do they offer to the community of colleagues, collaborators, partners and participants? Placing the ideas in the context of the literature, the experiences of others and the experiences of the community is part of finding meaning and understanding" (p. 8).

67. Johnston, P. (2011). Stuck in the Ways of the South: How Meritocracy, Bureaucracy, and a One-Size-Fits-All Approach to Child Welfare fails Nunavut's Children. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, 6(1), 66–82. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1068897ar>

Johnston (2011) describes IQ as reasoning that leads into organized wholeness. They maintain "Fortunately, a road map to resolving issues within Nunavut's child welfare system has already been drawn. Inuit culture and traditional knowledge can provide the direction, for Inuit epistemology or the theory of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), has been described as "a means of rationalizing thought and action, a means of organizing tasks and resources, [and] a means of organizing family and society into coherent wholes," (Arnakak, 2001)" (Johnston, 2011, p. 69).

68. Grimwood, B. S. R. (2012). *Picturing the Thelon: natures, ethics, and travel within an Arctic riverscape* [Doctoral dissertation, Carleton University].

Building from other authors and perspectives, Grimwood (2012) provide some insight into IQ and relationship descriptions. They explain "Inuit knowledge, or Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut (IQ), has been described as "the Inuit way of doing things: the past, present and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit society" (Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut Task Force, 2002 as cited in Grimwood, 2012, p. 200). They continue "Tester and Irniq (2008) link such perspectives in a discussion of Inuit knowledge, or Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)<sup>11</sup>. As a variant to holistic metaphors of Indigenous knowledge, IQ is a "seamless" unity with no discernable parts and where everything is related to everything else in such a way that nothing can stand alone, even in the interest of gaining an appreciation of the whole" (Tester & Irniq, 2008, p. 49). For Tester and Irniq, IQ is fundamentally about relationships: for example, between factual knowledge and uses of the environment; culturally informed values, norms, and behaviours; and culturally based cosmology founded upon the explanations and guidance derived from observation, experience, and instruction. The definition and application of IQ in Nunavut government and Land Claim contexts demonstrates its adaptability and fluidity (Tester & Irniq, 2008)" (Grimwood, 2012, p. 88-89).

69. McMillan, J., & Sheppard, L. (2020). Unsettling ground: Arctic urbanism on fluid geology. *Etudes Inuit*, 44(1/2), 183–206. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1081802ar>

Uniquely, McMillan and Sheppard (2020) explore IQ as applied to building and land change. The authors note "Traditional dwelling on the changing ground has been maintained by adapting building practices based on generations of shared knowledge. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, or IQ, describes the deep body of ancestral knowledge passed down through generations, rooted in understanding, and respecting the uniqueness of weather, climate, and living with other species (Kalluak 2016, 43). IQ frames a world view around Nuna by four maligarjuat (translated literally as 'big things that must be followed'): maintaining harmony in communities and in the mind; working for the common good; being respectful of all living things; and continuously planning for the future in the changing environment (Karetak and Tester 2017, 9–15). For Inuit, these ethical principles are the foundations for living together and collective adaptation" (McMillan & Sheppard, 2020, p. 197 – 198). The authors further add "Today, generational and seasonal cycles still drive the social and economic relationships of collective spaces. The principle of aajiiqatigiingniq, or collective work to address challenges, is the principle used by Inuit to adapt as a community to their environment. Elder Rhoda Karetak describes the principle as an important part of healing the brutal legacy of colonization by all who work and research in Inuit Nunangat (Karetak 2017, 200–201). Readily visible in Arviat is a local building practice that works between the fluid geology and constructed stability of housing to weave together new connections between the buildings of the town and the inhabited terrain of Unsettling Ground 199 the community. Faced with the accelerating impacts of climate change and the

inherited instability of this form of public housing, the unique architecture informed by the principles of IQ addresses the complex rates of change in the environment. Inuit are themselves negotiating the dislocation and trauma of living between two worlds: that of the modern Canadian town and traditional life on the land (Collignon 2006, 207). The many residents of Arviat I spoke with did not consider their local building as a form of climate adaptation, but rather as building in “a good way”, namely, attuned to their community needs and the shifting land” (McMillan & Sheppard, 2020, p. 198 – 199).

70. Yunes, E. E. (2019). *Decolonizing Nunavut's art market [Doctoral Dissertation, York University]*.

Yunes (2019) relays that “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is a living technology incorporated into every aspect of Inuit life. As Tagalik says, “For Inuit, being grounded in Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit supports personal wellness, but also contributes to a collective cultural sense of health and wellness which has sustained Inuit over generations”. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is the foundation of adaptation and innovation and is interwoven with Inuit futurisms through its incorporation with emerging technologies, policies, and communications” (p. 6). They maintain “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit positions communities first; creates strong, robust cultural connections; and places the power of decision making in collaboration and discussion. As Inuit community leader Joe Karetak and geographer and cultural researcher Frank Tester describe in Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: What Inuit Have Always Known To Be True, “In Inuit culture the application of principles is holistic, occurring through an integrated and mutually supporting system of beliefs, cultural practices and principle-based social processes... It engages the environment, universe and spiritual realms as considerations of equal importance” (Karetak Loc. 369–371)” (Yunes, 2019, p. 6).

The authors continue “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is transmitted through storytelling and exemplifies a path to living a collaborative and adaptive life built through the experiential knowledge of Arctic peoples spanning hundreds of years. The principles are as follows:

1. Working for the common good;
2. Respecting all living things;
3. Maintaining harmony and balance; and
4. Continually planning and preparing for the future.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is achieved through the following societal values:

1. Tunnganarniq (fostering good spirits by being open, welcoming, and inclusive);
2. Pijitsirniq (serving one’s family/community);
3. Aajiiqatigiinni (decision making through discussion and consensus);
4. Pilimmaksarniq/Pijariuqsarniq (developing one’s knowledge and skills);
5. Piliriqatigiinni/Ikajuqtigiinni (collaborating for the common good);
6. Qanuqtuurniq (problem solving through creativity and resourcefulness);
7. Avatimik Kamattiarniq/Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq (stewarding the ecosystem); and
8. Inuuqatigiitsiarniq (respecting others and relationships and caring for people) (Inuit Societal Values, Tagalik 2)” (Yunes, 2019, p. 6 – 7).

71. Gold, S. T., O’Neil, J., & Van Wagner, V. (2005). *Examining midwifery-based options to improve continuity of maternity care services in remote Nunavut communities*.

Gold et al. (2005) discuss IQ in terms of its complex, evolving nature and in relation to maternity care. “Beginning with Nunavummiut requires that maternity care talk be informed by Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is most simply defined as Inuit traditional knowledge, expertise, and experience; however, this definition fails to capture the breadth of the term as well as the evolving, fluid quality of this knowledge, expertise, and

experience. Inuit Qaujumajatuqanjut is too often reduced to the ways in which things were done long ago. This treatment risks the oversimplification of its incorporation into maternity care governance through the gathering of stories about birthing on the land — the tools and knowledge that were used. While Inuit Qaujumajatuqanjut certainly includes these ways, it is an ever-evolving, all-encompassing approach to life that is based in Inuit history and experiences of living on the land, colonialism, and resulting settlement of communities and the imposition of Western European religions and Southern Canadian healthcare. One elder suggests that to appreciate the evolving nature of Inuit Qaujumajatuqanjut we should think of it as Inuit experiences rather than traditional knowledge" (Gold et al., 2005, p. 17).

72. Franke, A., Berteaux, D., Ferguson, S., Gauthier, G., Hotson, C., Marcoux, M., Martin, Z., Sahanatien, V., Statham, S., Szor, G., Tallman, R. (2018). Climate change impacts on managed wildlife. In *From science to policy in the Eastern Canadian Arctic: An integrated regional impact study (IRIS) of climate change and modernization. ArcticNet*, 417–457.

"Of the 13 principles that comprise IQ, five explicitly relate to hunting and/or stewardship of wildlife. The principle of:

'Surattittailimaniq' indicates that one must hunt only what is necessary and avoid waste;

'Ilijaaqaqtalliniq' requires that harvesting must avoid cruelty to animals. Similarly,

'Sirlisaaqtittilliniq' requires that harvesters avoid causing unnecessary harm to wildlife. The principle of

'Akiraqtuutjariaqanginni' explicitly recognises that "the animals and land cannot be owned", and

'Nirjutiit Pijjutigillugit Ikpigusuttiarniq' obliges harvesters and others to treat all wildlife with respect."

73. Gadoua, MP. (2013). *Integrating research and Inuit knowledge: Critical approaches to archeology in the Canadian Arctic*, McGill University.

Gadoua (2013) briefly mentions the influence of past on the present and future. They state "IQ is a concrete example of how Inuit use their past collectively and institutionally, for present needs and future goals" (p. 137).

74. Thompson, C. J. (2008). *Inside school administration in Nunavut: Four women's stories* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Western Ontario].

Thompson (2008) describes IQ key principles which are applied these to leadership in detail. They explain "As identified in Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (1Q), the guiding principles of Inuit leadership were, and continue to be:

**Pijitsirarniq; Concept of Serving**

The concept of serving is central to the Inuit style of leadership as is the measure of the maturity and wisdom of an Inuk. Key here is the understanding that each person has a contribution to make and is a valued contributor to his/her community. Students will be expected to demonstrate this kind of leadership and commitment to serving the common good.

**Aajiqatigiingniq: Consensus Decision-Making**

The concept of consensus decision-making relies on strong communication skills and a strong belief in shared goals. All students are expected to become contributing members of their community and to participate actively in building the strength of Inuit in Nunavut. Being able to think and act collaboratively, to assist with the development of shared understandings, to resolve personal conflict

in consensus-building ways, and to consult respecting various perspectives and worldviews, are expectations that cross all curriculum areas.

***Piummaksarniq: Concept of Skills and Knowledge Acquisition***

The concept of skills and knowledge acquisition and capacity building is central to the success of Inuit in a harsh environment. Building personal capacity in Inuit ways of knowing and doing are key expectations for students. Demonstrating empowerment to lead a successful and productive life, that is respectful of all, is a powerful end goal of our education system.

***Qanuqtuurungnarniq: Concept of Being Resourceful to Solve Problems***

The concept of being resourceful to solve problems through innovative and creative use of resources and demonstrating adaptability and flexibility in response to a rapidly changing world, are strengths all our students should develop, Resourcefulness should be demonstrated in all learning and also thinking that seeks to improve the context in which Inuit live.

***Pitiriqatigiingniq: Concept of Collaborative Relationship or Working Together for a Common Purpose***

The concept of developing collaborative relationships and working together for a common purpose is an essential Inuit belief that stresses the importance of the group over the individual should pervade all our teaching. Expectations for students will reflect working for the common good, collaboration, shared leadership and volunteerism. Pitiriqatigiingniq also sets expectations for supportive behaviour development, strong relationship-building and consensus building.

***Avatimik Kamattiarniq: Concept of Environmental Stewardship***

The concept of environmental stewardship stresses the key relationship Inuit have with their environment and with the world in which they live. Students will be expected to articulate respect for this mutually interdependent relationship and to demonstrate responsible behaviours that seek to improve and protect the relationship in ways that meet global challenges to environmental wellness. (GN, Department of Human Resources, 2006, pp. 2-3, holding in original, italics added)" (Thompson, 2008, p. 43 – 45).

75. [Rosen, A. \(2013\). Inuit art, knowledge and "staying power": Perspectives from Pangnirtung. \[Master's thesis, University of Manitoba\].](#)

Rosen (2013) elaborates more on the concept of 'process' within IQ knowledge and the difficulty found in defining it. They discuss "Two elements of this understanding are important, the emphasis on process ("doing"), and a way of thinking about time that is indicated in the synthesis of past, present and future. IQ is not just a product or body of knowledge, but a way or process. In being "traditional", it is not fixed, or only relevant to bygone days. Similarly, to the idea of IK (Indigenous Knowledge) in general, IQ is not easily defined, nor should it be. Tester and Irniq (2008, p.49) suggest the term "avaluqanngittuq 'that which has no circle or border around it'" as descriptive of the way IQ is all encompassing or "seamless," and argue that it is dangerous to construe the meaning of IQ narrowly" (Rosen, 2013, p. 8).

76. [Brown, A. D. \(2016\). Collaborative management, differential discourse, and youth engagement; A case study of Auyuittuq National Park, Nunavut \[Master's thesis, University of Manitoba\].](#)

Brown (2016) focuses more on the IQ being societal laws that guide behaviour and influence relationships. They highlight "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, which often translates to

“Inuit Traditional Knowledge” or “The Inuit Way of Knowing” outlines a series of eight cultural values through which Inuit society weighs and measures individual behavior. These laws include (Department of Nunavut Education 2007:32-35):

- Inuuqatigiitsiarniq – showing respect and a caring attitude towards others.
- Tunnganarniq – being welcoming to others, open in communication, and inclusive in the ways of interacting.
- Piliriqatigiinqniq – developing collaborative relationships.
- Avatittinnik Kamattiarniq – environmental stewardship.
- Pilimmaksarniq – the concept of skills and knowledge acquisition.
- Qanuqtuurunnarniq – being resourceful to solve problems.
- Aajiqatigiingniq – consensus decision-making.
- Pijitsirniq – the concept of serving.

Adhering to these cultural values implies that one is willing to place the common good ahead of their own self-interests. In doing so, individuals demonstrate social responsibility, humility, respect for others, and a commitment to maintaining social harmony (Department of Nunavut Education 2007, 28-29)" (p. 22). Brown (2016) further adding "(...) Elders are regarded as the keepers of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), language, culture, and knowledge" (Brown, 2016, p. 23).

Brown (2016) also touches on IQ transmission characteristics. "Such lessons served to pass cultural information onto successive generations through observational, experiential, and participatory learning methods. This process ensured that upon reaching puberty, each individual would be fully capable of, and therefore expected to meaningfully contribute to the community's physical and social needs (Condon and Stern 1993). Thus, by age twelve or thirteen, an individual would be expected to complete all tasks socially ascribed to their gender (Condon and Stern 1993). In short, childhood was characterized as a period of experimental learning, while adulthood required tangible action" (p. 73).

77. Jeannotte, M. S. (2017). Caretakers of the earth: Integrating Canadian Aboriginal perspectives on culture and sustainability into local plans. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23(2), 199-213.

Jeannotte (2017) maintains “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit helps us to better understand and adapt to today’s changes and challenges. It recognises that everything is related to everything else, in such a way that nothing can stand alone. This is actually the pulse of our sustainability’. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit also guided the process by which the plan was developed, such that ‘opportunities for respectful dialogue, discussion, questioning, and listening revolved around these concepts” (pp. 205-206).

78. Meis Mason, A. H. (2015). Canadian Inuit use of caribou and Swedish Sámi use of reindeer in entrepreneurship [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Canterbury].

Meis Mason (2015) includes Arnakak and the IQ Task Force’s definition of IQ in their work. "IQ is more than traditional knowledge or wisdom; it is about process (Arnakak, 2001). According to the First Annual Report of the Inuit Qaujimajatuqanginnut Task Force (2002, p. 7),

“It is more properly defined as, The Inuit way of doing things: the past, present and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit Society.” This definition makes clear that it is the combining of the traditional knowledge, experience, and values of Inuit society, along with

the present Inuit knowledge, experience and values that prepare the way for future knowledge, experience and values.” (p. 137)

They also include some discussion on interpersonal elements. “In Inuit culture, valued personal characteristics are self-reliance and the ability to meet life’s challenges with innovation, resourcefulness and perseverance as well as patience and the ability to accept reality (Pauktuutit, 2006a)” (Meis Mason, 2015, p. 137).

79. Ferrazzi, P., Tagalik, S., Christie, P., Karetak, J., Baker, K., & Angalik, L. (2019). *Aajiqatigiingniq : An Inuit consensus methodology in qualitative health research. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 18.* <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919894796> Ferrazzi, Tagalik, Christie, Karetak, Baker, & Angalik (2019) add to the IQ and traditional knowledge discussion. They state “In this article, the authors use the phrase “cultural knowledge” rather than “traditional knowledge” as the shorthand English-language reference to IQ. While the latter is used frequently in scientific literature, many Inuit elders are not comfortable with this terminology as potentially ignoring the very dynamic and adaptive nature of IQ. The phrase “cultural knowledge” is thought to better capture the need to include contemporary and future knowledge as epistemological conceptions embedded in IQ” (p. 3).

80. Metuzals, J., & Hird, M. J. (2018). “The disease that knowledge must cure”?: Sites of uncertainty in Arctic development. *Arctic Yearbook 2018, 57.* Metuzals and Hird (2018) discuss IQ in a way that has not been looked at closely much in literature. They connect it to being comfortable with the unknown. The authors state “Inuit ways of knowing (which means acknowledging and working with uncertainty)” (p. 8). Furthering adding, “Cameron emphasizes that responding to uncertainty in this way is based on an epistemology that does not imply a need to master a set of circumstances. Rather, it reflects a patient engagement with the future and an acceptance of the confusion, and limits that necessarily accompanies living within, and as part of, permanently changing (and therefore uncertain) environments” (Metuzals and Hird, 2018, p. 8).

81. Schmidt, L. A., & Poole, K. L. (Eds.). (2020). *Adaptive shyness: Multiple perspectives on behavior and development.* Springer Nature. Schmidt and Poole (2020) focus on piliriqatigiingniq as being a primary IQ principle. They maintain, “Arguably, the central teaching of Inuit qaujimajatuqangit (the concept of intelligent or adaptive qualities of thinking and behavior) which predominates across Inuit Nunangat is piliriqatigiingniq, which emphasizes that Inuit people build collaborative networks to work toward a shared, overarching goal that benefits the common good. This value stresses the primacy of the community over that of individual interests” (p. 244).

82. Weber, B. (2013). *The politics of development in Nunavut: Land claims, Arctic urbanization, and geopolitics.* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta]. Weber (2013) acknowledges IQ importance to current times. They content “IQ represents an effort to recognise and harvest the great continuities and strengths of Inuit culture in the context of the 21st century with its mad scramble for resources in the ‘pristine’ Arctic” (p. 215).

