

**HOWARD
HARRIS**

SEVEN

**The
Netsilik
Eskimos
on the
Sea Ice**



Man: A Course of Study

Developed by Education Development Center, Inc., under grants from the National Science Foundation.

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First commercial edition 1970.

Disseminated and produced by Curriculum Development Associates, Inc., Suite 414, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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PREFACE

As winter begins to creep down from the North Pole, edging plants with slivers of ice and rime and coating fields with layers of snow, the great oceans and salty seas of the Northern Hemisphere start to stiffen and silently freeze.

From "Nature Note," Science News,
December 16, 1967

We do not believe, we fear, for the world is a dangerous place. We fear the spirits, great and small. We fear the weather and sickness and suffering. We fear hunger in the snow.

From This World We Know

SECTION I THE DANGERS OF WINTER

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Winter is an arduous and dangerous time for the Netsilik. Storms and the uncertainties of hunting carry the threat of starvation. Because cooperative hunting assures the greatest number of seals and helps compensate for individual bad luck, many families meet and camp together through the winter. The ancient rules and rituals are particularly important in winter, and must be followed carefully. Netsilik believe that failure to observe taboos angers the Great Spirits, and the revenge of these spirits could bring disaster. The many families living together are dependent on one another, and each is apprehensive that another will threaten the community by a careless or selfish act.

There is, however, another side to winter: the excitement of once more living in a large group. Although the Netsilik are wary of nonrelatives, there is warmth and great pleasure in living together. This is the time for drum dances and song fests, for fun and laughter. The study of the sea ice camp shows the tension between the dark and the light side of life -- a tension that is reflected in everything the Netsilik feel, think and do.

The first topic of this section shows the Netsilik migrating to the sea ice for seal hunting. It reviews how the Netsilik, by migrating, find game all year and so can say, "We live in the world's most favored place."

The second topic shows a specific problem faced by the Netsilik in winter travel: the universal concern for the care of old people. The strong and productive members of the group are the most important for the survival of the family, and therefore, the older, weak people are expected to do all they can to help the strong. In an extreme case an old person might be expected to take his own life if this act would lessen the economic burden on a hunter and his family. In Netsilik society, as in other societies, there is a range of acceptable behavior. The story of Kigtak shows that within this range particular circumstances and individual personal relationships vary and lead to different solutions.

The third topic examines the way the Netsilik perceive their life at winter camp by looking at their reactions to the people they will live with there. It also asks children to consider how the Eskimos might feel about the small enclosed spaces of their igloos in contrast to the boundless landscape of the sea ice.

The fourth topic returns to the theme that introduced the Netsilik unit: man's universal need to explain misfortune. The Netsilik believe that the cruel actions of men in the distant past created the Great Spirits (Nuliajuk, Narsuk and Tatkek), and because of this cruelty the Great Spirits have little love for mankind. They require men to follow difficult rules and rituals, and if men do not obey, the Great Spirits punish them. In the Netsilik view, misfortune does not happen by chance; the actions of men, past and present, bring it upon them.

A. Coping with Winter by Moving to the Sea Ice 2 DAYS

The landscape was grey, undefined, a world without proportion, without dimension, above all without color. Never did the horizon draw its comforting line to divide earth from sky: the two were of the same substance. There was no middle distance, no perspective, no outline, nothing the eye could cling to except the thousands of smoky plumes of snow running along the ground before the wind.*

The Netsilik adapt to the world's most rigorous climate by a successful snow technology coupled with migration to follow the game. The Netsilik Eskimos are migratory, and there is no one place that they consider home. But their migration is not random; it follows a definite pattern as they move from one hunting activity to another. They see their year as separated into two quite different parts: the time they spend at various small camps on the land, and the time they spend in the larger camps on the sea ice.

Photomural, The Trek
 Pelly Bay map
 Film, "Winter Sea Ice Camp,"
 Part I (first 14 min., 16mm;
 cartridge 1, Super 8mm)
 Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic
The Data Book
On Firm Ice
The Arctic
 Eskimo cards

Film projector
 Screen
 Dittoed copies, Building
 an Igloo

*Gontran de Poncins, Kabloona (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), p. 58. Reprinted by permission of William Morrow & Company, Inc.

1. WHERE DO THE NETSILIK GET FOOD AND FUEL DURING THE WINTER?

The animal maps in The Arctic provide information for answering the following questions:

With the coming of winter, how does the environment change?
How do animal populations change?

What effect do these changes have on the food supply?

What animals of the Pelly Bay area are most readily available during the winter? (The only animals the Netsilik hunt regularly in the winter are seals. Polar bears and musk oxen are infrequent visitors to the Pelly Bay area; their whereabouts are never predictable.)

2. MOVING TO THE SEA ICE

Using the Pelly Bay map, trace the migration of Itimangnark and his family from the Kellett River camp to the sea ice camp. The Netsilik photomural, The Trek, shows this migration.

THE TREK - A group of related families travels from the autumn fish camp to set up a seal-hunting camp on the ice of Pelly Bay.

The first few minutes of the film "Winter Sea Ice Camp," Part I, show the journey to the sea ice to establish the winter camp. This journey is usually made in December or January. (The film was made in March, however, because there is not enough daylight in January for filming.) After the women come into the igloo to visit Kingnuk, stop the film and remind the class that the daylight they have seen on film lasts but a few hours in the middle of the day. Suggest to the children that sometime in the next few days they read the whole Pelly Bay chapter in A Journey to the Arctic, pp. 7-39.

Why do you think the Netsilik prefer winter travel to summer travel?

Using evidence from the film or from reading, how do you think they feel about the cold?

3. HOW AN IGLOO PROTECTS A FAMILY FROM THE COLD

The Eskimo builds his winter home from snow, a material readily available in the Arctic. Using snow to keep warm is an ingenious, if ironic, solution to the problem of shelter. The igloo, built quickly from materials found everywhere, is perfectly suited to the lives of hunters who are constantly on the move in search of game.

How is an igloo built? ("Building an Igloo" can be used for review. See p. 15.)

What tools and materials are used? by whom? (The children may go through the Eskimo cards to find these tools.)

What jobs are performed by men? by women?

Why is the igloo such a good shelter for the Netsilik?

The entries on "Snow" and "Igloo" in The Data Book and A Journey to the Arctic, April 16, provide information about igloos. For additional data the article "Why Eskimo Clothes and Igloos Are Warm," at the end of this lesson, can be dittoed for children. Explain that the igloo works by trapping the warmth of bodies. Review the principle of air capture before discussing the following questions:

Where do people sit in the igloo? Why don't they sit on the floor?

Where does the heat come from?

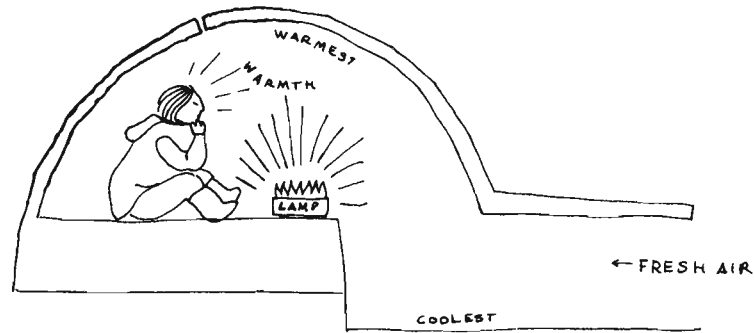
How would the temperature of an empty igloo differ from the temperature of one with several people in it?

What is the purpose of having a hole in the roof?

If it got too hot or cold in an igloo what could be done to lower or raise the temperature?

As a summary assignment, the children might draw a cross section of an igloo and label it to show:

the warmest area
the coolest area
where fresh air enters the igloo
where warmth in the igloo comes from



NOTE: Distribute copies of the book On Firm Ice and ask the children to read the first chapter, "Samik and Ukpik on Firm Ice." The social relationships of a winter camp introduced in this chapter will come up again throughout this unit.

OPTIONAL

a. Winter Trek Mural. Have the children make a large wall mural showing the winter trek. A group of children prepare a large background showing the environment while others select various people in the trek to draw and cut out. When the environment and the cutouts are ready, have the class discuss where each person should be placed, according to sex and age, as the cutout is put on the background. (Women walk first to break the trail. Men push the sleds or walk next to them. Young babies are carried on their mothers' backs, but little children ride on the sleds. Older children walk. Old people either walk or ride on the sleds.) Children can add to this mural throughout the unit.

b. An Eskimo Calendar. Children might compare the way the Netsilik divide the year with our own calendar. The names the Eskimos give their months are listed below, with their translations. Give the children copies of the following list.

NAMES OF THE ESKIMO MONTHS

TERITORKAT AMERAERFIAT - the moon-time when the younger caribou shed the velvet from their horns (end of August and September)

AQUIORWIK - the moon-time when one can begin overland sledding, when ice forms on lakes, when meat is fetched home from the caches (October)
 SEKINGILOT - the moon-time when the sun disappears below the horizon (November)
 KAPISRAK - the dark time (December and beginning of January)
 SEKINAUT - the moon-time when the sun reappears (last part of January)
 IKIARPARWIK - the moon-time when the sun rises higher in the sky (February)
 AVUNGNIVIK - the moon-time when the young seals are born (March and April)
 NACIALERWIK - the moon-time when one can catch the young seals (May)
 KAVASFIK - the moon-time when the white downy hair of the young seals falls off (June)
 ICAVIK - the moon-time when birds moult so they cannot fly (July)
 PIARALET ICAVIAT - the moon-time when birds with young moult. Their moulting time is later than that of the others (end of July)
 AMERAERFIK - the moon-time when velvet on the horns of the bull caribou falls off (beginning of August)

After studying the Netsilik descriptive way of naming months, ask the children to list our months and give each a name reflecting characteristics or events associated with that period of time. The Netsilik month names reflect a deep awareness of the natural environment. This may be compared or contrasted with those things that influence the students' choices for their month names.

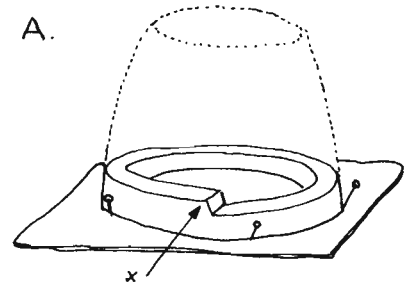
c. Building a Styrofoam Igloo. The following project gives children an opportunity to make a model of an igloo like the one seen in the film.

MATERIALS

One styrofoam ice bucket
 One bottle white glue
 One X-acto knife handle
 One injector razor blade
 Straight pins
 Corrugated paper or board
 Thread (heavy)
 Needle

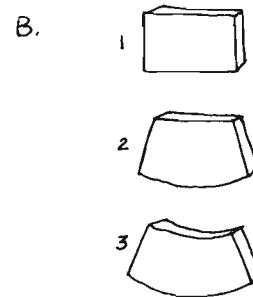
STEP I

Using the razor blade in the X-acto knife handle, cut the rim from the styrofoam bucket (see figure A) and pin it to the corrugated paper or board. The rim of the bucket should tilt slightly toward the inside.



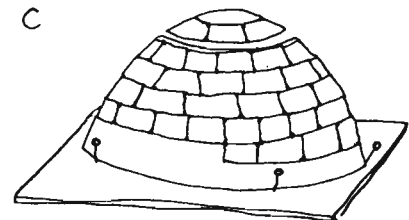
STEP II

Cut the remainder of the bucket into blocks and glue them onto the spiral beginning at point X (see figure A). It is a good idea to cut one block and glue it before cutting another. The first blocks are almost rectangular. Successive blocks become more curved (see figure B).
NOTE: The glue can fill in cracks so fitting need not be exact.



STEP III

The last six blocks can be strung on a thread or numbered for fitting. You may eventually want to glue these blocks to the top of the igloo -- or glue them together to form a removable lid (figure C).



WHY ESKIMO CLOTHES AND IGLOOS ARE WARM

Based on information in "Clothes Make the Eskimo,"
by Vilhajalmur Stefansson (Natural History, December 1955)

The Eskimo is the owner of a clothing system that allows him to be as active and comfortable in January as he is in July. We have taken a long time to learn how it works, and we still do not make full use of the ideas behind it.

Man has developed two different types of cold-weather clothing: snug garments and loose ones. Snug garments protect the body by direct insulation. Loose garments use the air-capture principle, which is based on the fact that warm air rises. They keep people warm by allowing an air space between the garment and the wearer's body. The air is heated by body heat, and it cannot escape and be replaced by cold air unless the garment is open at the top or sides.

The warm air inside an Eskimo jacket tends to rise rather than to flow out the bottom. The jacket fits snugly on the shoulders and around the neck, keeping the warmed air from escaping. So the Eskimo who is sitting out a blizzard does not lie down. If he did, the warm air would escape around the edge of his jacket. It is possible to sit still for a long time at fifty degrees below zero in Eskimo clothing without discomfort, and even to sleep an hour at a time hunched forward sitting up. But it is disastrous to lie flat in that temperature. The warm air inside the jacket will escape and the garment will serve as direct insulation only.

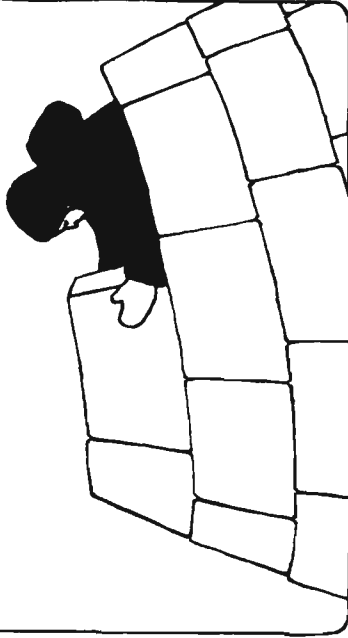
Eskimos in different areas build several kinds of winter houses. The materials may be snow, stone, sod, driftwood or combinations of these, but most house construction is based on the same principle as Eskimo clothing. Many groups locate their homes in a way that will allow an upward-sloping entrance passage, preventing the warm air from escaping.

The Netsilik Eskimos apply the principle in a slightly different way, by excavating the floor of the igloo so the entrance is below the level of the surrounding snow. Houses can be kept at a temperature well above freezing through the winter simply by the body heat of the persons who live in them. In fact, they may even become too warm. It is then necessary to open a ventilator in the roof a few inches.

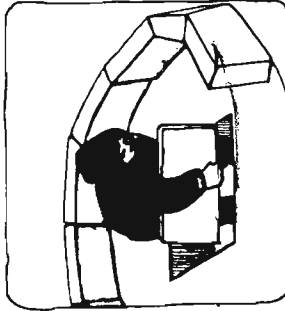
If the living quarters are crowded, or if the roof is especially thick, the Eskimos can live comfortably in igloos with little or no fire. Where there is much fuel, larger houses can be built and the roof does not need to be so thick. Nor does the alleyway need to be closed against the weather. Babies roll around without clothes in a well-made igloo, just as the Eskimo in his outdoor clothing wears nothing beneath the loosely fitting garment that is open at the bottom.

Both dwellings and clothes are air containers that open downward, in which the warmed air is held captive by its tendency to rise. Life in the far north would probably have been impossible without using the air-capture principle in building homes as well as in making clothing.

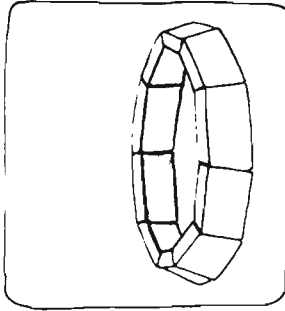
BUILDING AN IGLOO



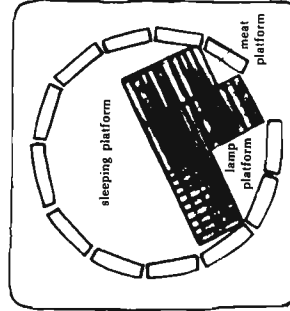
5 A trench is left where the blocks were cut out. The man stands in it as he cuts more blocks. The bottom of this trench will be the igloo floor.



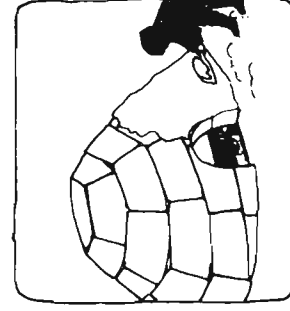
6 One row of blocks for the igloo is completed.



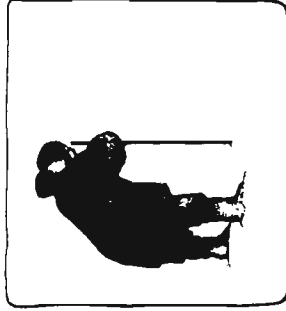
11 The darkened area shows where the man has cut out snow blocks. This is now the floor of the igloo. The areas in white are the sleeping platform, the lamp platform, and the meat platform. They are about two feet higher than the floor.



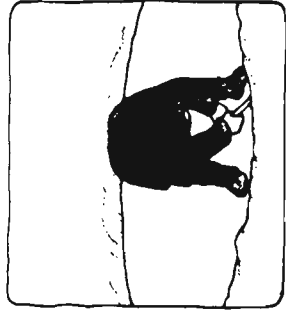
12 The man's wife throws snow on the igloo and packs it with her snow shovel to seal the cracks between blocks.



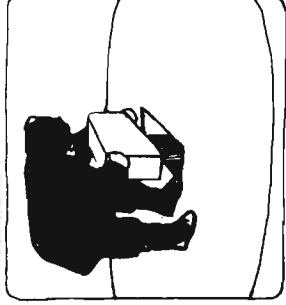
1 The man finds a snow drift and uses a snow probe to test its depth and texture. The snow must be at least twenty inches deep and packed firmly or it will not make strong blocks for building.



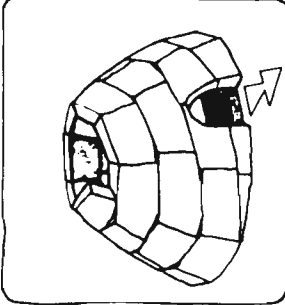
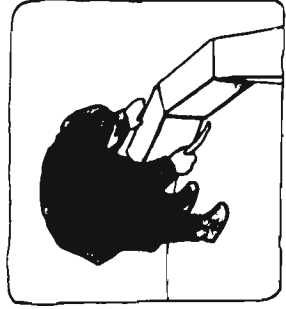
2 Using a snow knife, he marks a circle about ten feet in diameter in the snow. This is the size of the igloo.



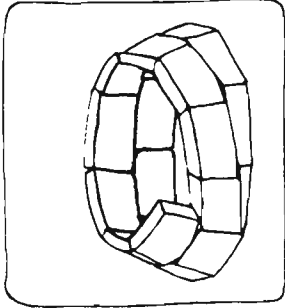
3 He cuts a snow block from inside the circle. Many more blocks will be cut from this area.



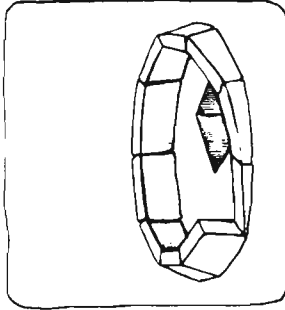
4 As the man sets the blocks along the edge of the circle, he shapes them with his knife so that they fit together.



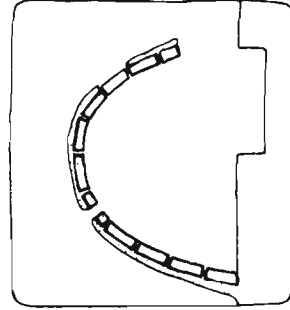
9 A doorway is cut through the wall of the igloo on the side away from the wind. The arrow shows which direction the wind is blowing.



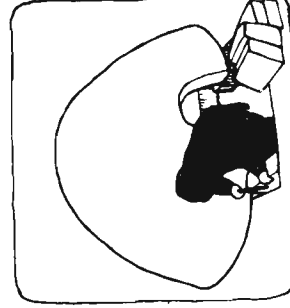
8 Now more blocks are added to continue the spiral. Each is cut to slope inwards. This will give a dome shape to the igloo.



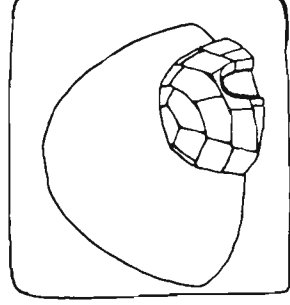
7 The first row of blocks is trimmed to make the beginning of a spiral.



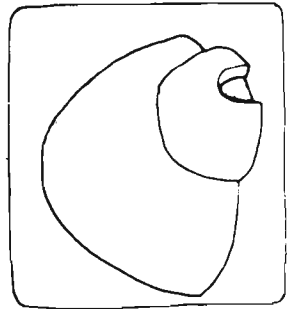
13 A cross-section shows some important features of the igloo. A ventilating hole is cut out above the sleeping platform. A window of ice is over the doorway. The extra layer of snow makes the igloo warmer by filling in cracks so that warm air does not escape and the wind does not blow in.



14 The man cuts blocks from in front of the doorway to make a small porch at the entrance to the main one. The porch can be square or it can be built like a small igloo.



15 The dogs sometimes try to come inside the porch in stormy weather, but normally it is used for storing meat, harnesses and tools.



16 After snow has been packed over the porch, the igloo is ready for the family to move their belongings inside.

FILM NOTES: NETSILIK ESKIMOS AT THE WINTER SEA ICE CAMP, PART I
(first 16 minutes, natural sound)

A group of twenty-five to thirty Netsilik, carrying all their belongings with them, moves slowly across the ice. Leading the group, breaking the trail, is Kingnuk, wife of Itimangnark. Their son Umiapik rides on top of their load, which is packed in a polar bear skin that serves as a sled. Itimangnark's brother Irkowagtok trudges beside the second sled. The third sled belongs to Ugak, and with him travels his son-in-law Nerlongayok. Sigguk and Allakanuark share the fourth and final sled of the caravan. Two women carrying babies on their backs bring up the rear of the procession. One is Kringartok, wife of Nerlongayok, carrying little Naluitok; the other is Krarliktok, wife of Allakanuark, and she carries little Arnoyok. Riding on one of the sleds is the oldest member of the band, Iluitsok, Sigguk's aunt.

It is March, and the days are light. The snow is deep and soft on top, but below the surface it is hard-packed and good for construction. The temperature is between zero and 20° or 30° below zero; when the harsh wind blows, it sears the face and hands. A move of this kind, when each family takes all its belongings, is a very strenuous event.

As the shadows lengthen, the train of sleds arrives at the location Itimangnark has selected. The men draw circles in the snow with their snow probes, test the texture of the snow below the surface, and go to work building the igloos. Soon a village of snow houses rises from the white expanse. Night falls.

With the coming of another day, the Eskimo families begin to stir. A little light filters into the igloo from the ice window in the dome. In Itimangnark's igloo, Kingnuk begins to spread the flame across the wick of the lamp. This will soon help to raise the temperature in the confined space inside the igloo.

In another igloo, Allakanuark is awake but quiet as Krarliktok and Arnoyok lie still beside him on his sleeping shelf. Their breath rises like smoke above their sleeping skins. In a third igloo, Kringartok has already spread the flame of her kudlik, or lamp. Beside her lies Nerlongayok, and between them their little baby, Naluitok. From what little we can see it is apparent they lie naked beneath the caribou skins. In his igloo Irkowagtok, stirring, reaches over to his youngest daughter, Alertailok, and rubs her head. Outside on the snow a dog raises his head.

Soon the hunters emerge to prepare the sleds, dogs and equipment for the hunt. Nerlongayok straightens his seal harpoon while Sigguk coils a length of thong. All the dogs of the camp are hitched to two sleds, so the hunters will be able to ride out to a hunting area.

After Itimangnark leaves, Kingnuk puts her household in order. First she sops up the old oil diluted with snow that has melted in the kudlik before she pours fresh oil. Then she inspects the roof of her igloo to see that it is tight.

The hunters travel some distance from the camp, Itimangnark and Irkowagtok each on a different sled. At a point they have agreed on, the hunters will spread out in search of the breathing holes and hunt individually.

In her igloo Kingnuk checks the mittens on the drying rack above the kudlik. She takes a pair belonging to Umiapik and turns them inside out to dry better. Before long Krarliktok and her child and Anningat and her baby come to visit Kingnuk in her igloo. Kingnuk welcomes them by offering each a little piece of frozen fish.

B. Old Kigtak

2 DAYS

When we spoke of Eskimo murder, Father Henry told me about a man now at Committee Bay who had come to him one day, and, after the usual tea and silence, had said to him suddenly:

"I took the old woman out on the ice to-day."

It was his own mother that he had driven out and set down at sea to freeze to death. He was fond of her, he explained. He had always been kind to her. But she was too old, she was no longer good for anything; so blind, she couldn't even find the porch to crawl into the igloo. So, on a day of blizzard, the whole family agreeing, he had taken her out, and they had struck camp and gone off, leaving her to die.

"With God's help I hope in time to change these things, to soften some of their ways," said Father Henry; "but it is difficult. They live a hard life, and it is in all respects a material life. They would say, if they knew our words, that they had to 'face facts.' That man had indeed been a good son. You must have seen yourself how they look after the aged on the trail, running back so often to the sled to see if the old people are warm enough, if they are comfortable, if they are not perhaps hungry and want a bit of fish. And the old people are a burden on the trail, a cause of delay and of complication. But the day comes when, after years with no word of complaint, the young people deem the thing no longer possible, and they leave the old man or the old woman on the ice. The old people are told in advance what their end is to be, and they submit peacefully without a word of recrimination. Sometimes, indeed, they are the first to suggest this end for themselves." *

On the sea ice the Netsilik migrate from place to place, camping where they can find seals and then moving on. Winter travel is physically demanding; it is particularly hard on the old people, who must keep up, unaided, with the family.

*Gontran de Poncins, Kabloona (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), pp. 249-250. Reprinted by permission of William Morrow & Company, Inc.

The dilemma of Kigtak and Arfek illustrates the conflicts that occur between family members especially in times of bad weather and poor hunting. Arfek, Kigtak's son-in-law, must decide among the conflicting roles of son-in-law, husband and father. And Kigtak's role as the weakest member of the family conflicts with her own desire to live, for "life was still sweet to her." Although societies have guidelines for behavior, they do not cover every situation adequately. For some situations there is no solution that is satisfactory to everyone.

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic
Songs and Stories of the
Netsilik Eskimos
Record, "Words Rise Up"

Phonograph

1. WHAT HAPPENED TO KIGTAK?

Listen to the poem "Hunger" on "Words Rise Up" or read it in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos. Ask the children what is meant by the following lines:

That is what may happen to people.
We have gone through it ourselves
and know what one may come to, so we do not judge them.
And how should one who has eaten his fill and is well
be able to understand the madness of hunger?
We only know that we all want so much to live!

Why does the speaker in the poem say "we do not judge them"?
Do you think the Netsilik would feel it was fair for us to
judge them?

Read the story of Kigtak in A Journey to the Arctic, the April 13 entry, to the children. Give the children an opportunity to talk freely about

the story; they then write about or discuss the following questions in small groups:

What happened to Kigtak?

What do you think about it?

Did Kigtak and Arfek have to act as they did? How else could they have acted?

It is important for the children to distinguish between their own and Netsilik attitudes toward Kigtak and Arfek. This is only the first step toward understanding other people. The next step is to try to understand the situation from the Netsilik point of view and why our attitudes are different from the Netsiliks.

2. GUIDELINES FOR BEHAVIOR

Ask the children what the other Netsilik thought of the way Arfek or Kigtak behaved.

Did the other Netsilik intervene in any way or force Arfek or Kigtak to do something either of them didn't want to do?

It is important for children to see that Arfek's treatment of Kigtak, although not condemned by other Netsilik, might not have been every Eskimo's choice of action in a similar situation. Each situation is different because of the individuals involved.

Discuss how we treat old people in our society.

What patterns are there in American families for taking care of people who are very old?

Is there agreement about the best way of taking care of people who are old?

Having strangers take care of our old relatives is accepted by our society. How might the Netsilik feel about this?

Describe a time when you had to choose between pleasing one person or another.

Do your parents ever have to choose between pleasing a friend and doing something that they believe is important or right?

Have you ever had to make a decision when there was no clear right or wrong?

NOTE: Some children might enjoy reading the poem "Old Kigtak" in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos.

3. THE OLD WOMAN IN THE STORM: A CONTRAST CASE

The band "The Old Woman in the Storm" on "Words Rise Up" gives the children a glimpse of another relationship between an old woman and her children.

In what ways is this story similar to the Kigtak story?

Who was supporting each of these two old women?

What could influence the way an adult son would treat his mother or mother-in-law?

What could influence the way an old woman fits into her family?

OPTIONAL

A class interested in role-play might try the following scene: Three families are traveling together. After several hours, Kigtak has fallen behind. Arfek and two other hunters discuss what to do about this, giving reasons for their opinions.

C. The Sea Ice Camp: Netsilik Viewpoint

2 DAYS

In learning about life at the inland camps, the children examined the independence of Netsilik families. On the sea ice, extended families no longer live independently of each other. When people arrive at winter camp, they meet families they have not seen for months. They may meet people they do not know well, some of whom they do not trust. A Netsilik's distrust of people who are not closely related to him is characteristic of the society, yet these people must cooperate to hunt effectively and to live together peacefully.

Ways of thinking about relatives and nonrelatives are one part of a cultural viewpoint, and so are ways of feeling about space. The children do role-play of activities inside the igloo, trying to create the feeling of living in close quarters and trying to examine the ways the Eskimo and the American feel about space.

Filmstrip, "Netsilik Life,"
frames 1-4, 12-16

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic
On Firm Ice

Poster, Families of Pelly Bay

Netsilik Portraits (11 photographs)

Record, "Words Rise Up"

Dittoed copies, Building
an Igloo

Dittoed sheets, Life at
Winter Camp

Filmstrip projector

Screen

Chalk, masking tape or
35-foot rope

Phonograph

1. WHO WILL BE IN THE WINTER CAMP?

Consider the number of people traveling together in the film. Itimangnark, Irkowagtok, Ugak and their families were joined by another extended family. Filmstrip frames 1-4 show the route that Itimangnark

and Irkowagtok took when they moved from the autumn river camp to Pelly Bay. Ugak's family joined them at the river camp. On the sea ice, they are joined by two other extended families whose yearly migration followed a similar pattern as they traveled to find game.

2. HOW DO THE NETSILIK THINK ABOUT LIFE AT WINTER CAMP?

First, establish the need for cooperation (and the resulting dependency) among the Netsilik on the sea ice by reading the entry for April 11 in A Journey to the Arctic. Then present the negative counterpart of this closeness by reading the April 12 entry on life in winter and the note on wife-stealing at the end of April 14.

Divide the class into small groups and give each group one of the Netsilik portraits. By consulting the Families of Pelly Bay poster the children can find out the age and family ties of their individual. The children should fill in the blanks at the top of the dittoed sheet, "Life at Winter Camp," for the individual they are given. They should then read the numbered comments about life at winter camp, and, after some reflection, answer the questions at the bottom of the sheet. Their answers can be written or presented to the class for discussion.

The following questions and comments should be dittoed and handed out to each group.

LIFE AT WINTER CAMP

Name of individual _____

Sex _____

Age _____

Relatives (List members of immediate family.) _____

1. Your close relatives will be in the camp, but so will people who are not your relatives, perhaps people you do not know well.
2. Old friends will be there whom you have not seen for months.
3. Hunting in winter is uncertain; on many days no one catches a seal.
4. There are more taboos in winter than in summer, and people do not always obey taboos. (Read page 14 in This World We Know.)
5. People who don't know you very well don't know what to expect of you.
6. Someone might practice evil magic against you.
7. You may spend long hours with others in the big ceremonial igloo because of bad weather and little daylight.
8. If hunting is bad, everyone in camp will have to move even if it is stormy.
9. Unmarried men have been known to steal wives at winter camp.

What are you looking forward to at winter camp? (people? events?)

What might you fear about life at winter camp? (people? events?)

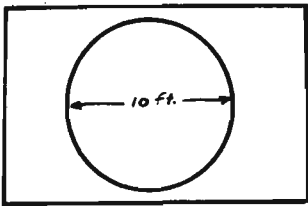
Which people do you imagine will be especially happy to see you?

Which people might be suspicious of you?

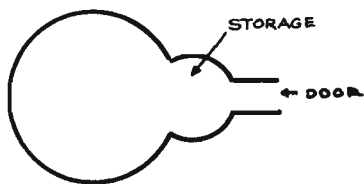
3. VIEWPOINTS ON LIVING SPACE

Informal role-play enables children to experience the size and space of an igloo. (You may want to reread "Informal Drama" in A Guide to the Course before going through this exercise.)

Arrange the desks so that everyone faces an empty space in the middle of the classroom. Ask a student to build an "igloo" on the floor by making a circle ten feet in diameter with masking tape (or put rope on the floor in a circle). As the imaginary igloo is being created, draw a large circle on the blackboard so that as each new feature is added to the classroom "igloo" it can also be recorded on the board.



Make a door with tape or rope and review the tunnel-like entrance. In this tunnel or porch are stored the dog harnesses, the man's tools and any extra supplies of meat.



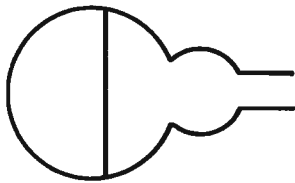
Ask four pupils, representing a mother, a father, a grandmother and a young child, to enter the igloo. If they do not crawl through the tunnel, ask the class how it should have been done. Then ask another child to enter properly. Four people is the size of an average Netsilik family.

Remind the children of the sleeping platform and mark it inside the igloo with chalk, tape or rope. Point out that the husband sleeps

THE DANGERS OF WINTER

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next to the wife unless there are small babies, who sleep between their parents; older children sleep between their father and the wall of the igloo.



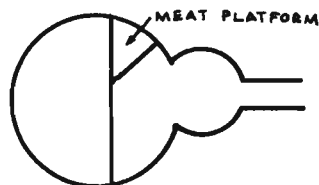
Let several groups of four move about inside this space.

How does it feel to have four people inside the igloo, now that the sleeping platform is there?

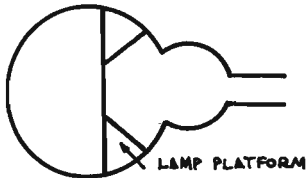
To sleep comfortably on the cold snow platform the Eskimos cover it with a mat of willow branches or with caribou rib bones and then add a layer of caribou skins. Ask one child to place "skins" on the platform and to sit on the edge of the platform or lie down.

Why not sit on the floor instead of the platform?
(It's much colder.)

A small platform is needed for keeping butchered meat. (Frozen food thaws inside the igloo, so food to be kept frozen is stored in the igloo porch.) If an Eskimo wants a piece of raw meat or fish, he takes it from the platform. Add this platform to the igloo.



Each married woman has a lamp, signifying her position as a wife. During the day she often sits near the lamp to tend it. The lamp is used for cooking, for heat and for light. Add the lamp platform.



Directly above the lamp platform is a rack, made of bone and thong, used for drying wet clothes, especially mittens and boots. A few children might put some mittens on the drying rack.

Read the entry for April 17 in A Journey to the Arctic. Some children can act out the morning routine in the igloo by taking the parts described in the entry.

A second group can portray life in the igloo during the evening: the hunter returns from seal hunting and the wife prepares a dinner of seal meat; older children play at string games; the young children nap. This is the time for story telling. Darken the classroom and play one of the poems (such as "Netsersuitsuarsuk" or "Day and Night and How They Came to Be") from the record, "Words Rise Up."

Show frames 12-16 of the filmstrip, "Netsilik Life" and discuss the questions below.

NOTES ON FILMSTRIP

FRAME 12. Begin with this exterior view of an igloo. Contrast the Arctic winter weather -- cold and dark -- with the interior of the igloo and its light and warmth.

FRAME 13. Nullut uses a wick trimmer of stone to tend the flame of the oil lamp. Over the lamp is the drying rack.

FRAME 14. Iluitsok (il-oo-WIT-sok) sits on the sleeping platform with members of her extended family: Aupaluktark (a-pa-LUK-tark), wife of Iluitsok's nephew Sigguk, and Krarshuvik, their daughter. Iluitsok is the daughter of the old angatok Orpingalik, whose stories are told in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos. Orpingalik and one of his sons were the first Netsilik Eskimos Knud Rasmussen met on his trip through the Canadian Arctic. See A Journey to the Arctic, March 29 to April 5.

FRAME 15. Kingnuk sits on the edge of the sleeping platform and reaches for a skin on the drying rack over the oil lamp. An antler peg stuck in the igloo wall holds a sealskin water bucket.

FRAME 16. At the end of a day, Itimangnark, Kingnuk and Umiapik snuggle under their warm caribou skins on the sleeping platform. The children should note that the warmth inside the igloo comes from people's bodies and that the family's closeness provides the maximum warmth.

What would it be like to live in such a small space? How would it affect the way you play?

How would you get any privacy? (By going outside, or turning your back, or through privacy of mind, not answering personal questions.)

How do you have privacy in your home? (Point out that the Netsilik enjoy the closeness of the igloo, whereas many Americans would feel a lack of privacy.)

In a family igloo, every person can hear everything another person says. What would you like or dislike about this?

As a homework project, ask the children to reflect on Netsilik and their own viewpoints on family living in close quarters. They might describe igloo living arrangements to their own families.

Students should record the reactions of various family members to the question:

How would family life change if the entire family moved into an igloo-sized room?

NOTE: The children will find a description of some aspects of life inside a family igloo during a blizzard in Chapter 2 of On Firm Ice.

D. The Need to Explain

2 DAYS

During the dangerous winter months, the Netsilik are not passive in the face of misfortune, for like all men they feel the need to explain and control the forces that bring disaster. They believe that catastrophe and bad luck are influenced by the Great Spirits, Nuliajuk, Narsuk and Tatkek, and they attempt to placate these spirits by carefully following the ancient rules of life.

Record, "Words Rise Up"
Booklets: Songs and Stories of the
 Netsilik Eskimos
 This World We Know
 The Data Book

Phonograph

NOTE: Review "World View" in Talks to Teachers before teaching this lesson.

1. A STORY TO EXPLAIN GREAT MISFORTUNE

Listen to "The Story of Nuliajuk" on "Words Rise Up." This is especially effective when heard in a darkened room. (The story is also in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos.) Nuliajuk's story brings out an important theme in Netsilik belief: powerful spirits are the souls of people or animals who have been mistreated by men.

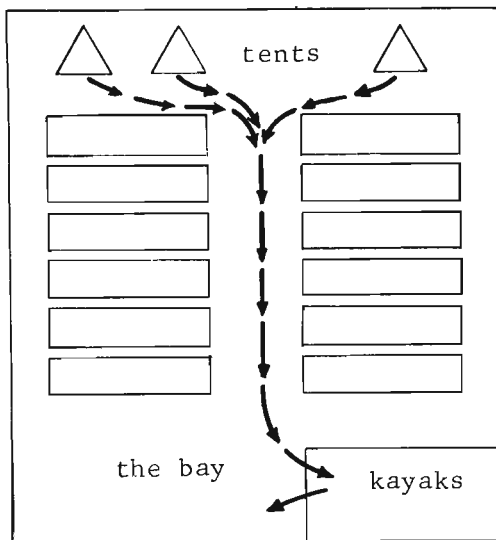
The underlying structure of the Nuliajuk myth can be divided into three parts, or dramatic scenes. The first scene introduces the weak, ill-treated orphan child. In the next the orphan is transformed into a powerful spirit. In the third scene the powerful Nuliajuk

controls men's lives. That the evil actions of men give rise to spirits who make men suffer is a basic theme in Netsilik belief.

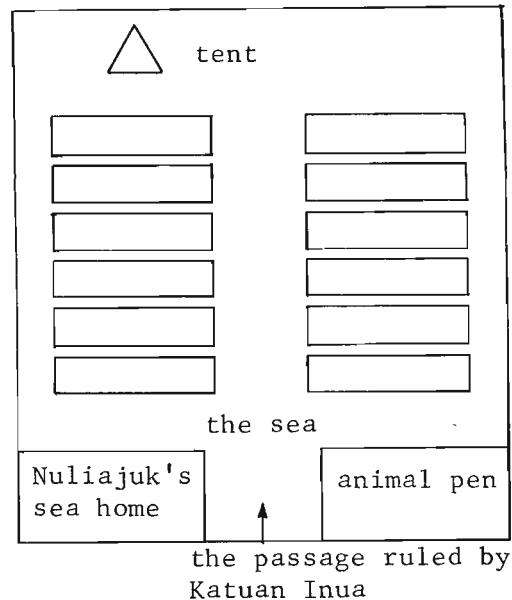
Synopsis of the story: The people living in the camp of the orphan Nuliajuk gather on kayaks lashed together to travel to new hunting grounds. When Nuliajuk tries to join them, they reject her. As she grabs the sides of the kayaks, they chop off her fingers which turn into seals and she sinks to the bottom of the sea. There she becomes a powerful spirit, the ruler of sea and land animals. From her house at the bottom of the sea, she controls men by demanding that they observe many taboos and rituals. When she learns from animals or the Ruler of the Passage that men have broken taboos, she punishes them by calling all the animals to her. Then people starve until they are able to please her again.

Dramatizing the story:

SCENE I



SCENES II, III



Play the record once or twice before dramatizing the story. Set the first scene by noting the location of tents, water and rafts. Act out each segment of Scene I separately, before dramatizing the scene as a whole. For example, in the first segment several men are working on the rafts, while women are preparing to leave camp. After several children act this short segment, discuss suggested improvements with the class. Have another group of children repeat the segment. Then move on to the next short segment, which includes the Eskimos getting on their raft and trying to keep Nuliajuk from joining them. Pause

again for critical comment, then choose a new group to improve the acting. When all four segments have been done this way, choose actors to perform the whole scene. Scenes II and III can be developed in the same way.

SCENE I. The people of the village throw the orphan Nuliajuk into the sea.

Characters:

Nuliajuk
3 men
2 women
3 boys
1 girl

Segments:

1. The Eskimos prepare to leave for new hunting grounds.
2. The people are reluctant to take her, but Nuliajuk jumps on the raft.
3. Nuliajuk is thrown into the sea. She tries to get on the raft, but her fingers are cut off.
4. The fingers become seals and Nuliajuk sinks to the bottom of the sea.

SCENE II. The orphan becomes a powerful spirit.

Characters:

Nuliajuk
Katuan Inua, Ruler of the Passage
Black Dog
Seals and Caribou

Segments:

1. Nuliajuk turns into a spirit, ruler of all beasts.
(Ask the children to dramatize this change from a helpless orphan to a powerful spirit. What would her house be like at the bottom of the sea? How might she move? What would she wear?)
2. Katuan Inua and Black Dog send the animals out to be hunted by man.

SCENE III. Now men live in fear of Nuliajuk.

Characters:

Nuliajuk
Katuan Inua
Black Dog
Seals and Caribou
Netsilik Family

Segments:

1. Someone in the family breaks taboo during caribou hunting season.
2. Katuan Inua reports the broken taboo to Nuliajuk, who summons the animals.
3. Weeks have passed and the family can't find caribou. When the guilty person realizes what he has done and admits breaking a taboo, the game return.

Discussion after the dramatization

1. What was Nuliajuk like before she became powerful?
2. What is the worst punishment that Nuliajuk can inflict on the Netsilik? If the Netsilik were farmers instead of hunters, what might be the worst punishment? If they were city-dwellers?
3. What can we learn about the Netsilik from this myth? (Things like kin relationships, hunting and seals, origins of misfortune)

2. HOW MIGHT THE NETSILIK PREVENT MISFORTUNE AND BRING GOOD HUNTING?

The Netsilik try to prevent misfortune by skill and hard work. But even with skill and patience a Netsilik hunter may not be able to get all the food he needs. By placating Nuliajuk, the Netsilik hope to enhance their hunting luck, just as they did through magic words at the caribou camp. Ask the children to list things that a Netsilik hunter might do to bring good hunting and then to share their ideas with the class. After the children have pooled their ideas, have them listen to "Magic Words for Hunting Seal," on "Words Rise Up" (or it can be read in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos). Magic words are also described in The Data Book.

To whom are these magic words addressed?

How could these words affect the hunter and the hunt?

3. HOW IS THE STORY OF NULIAJUK SIMILAR TO OTHER NETSILIK MYTHS?

A common theme in all the stories of Great Spirits is that the cruel actions of men led to the creation of a powerful spirit who can control the lives of mankind. This is evident in the section called "Great Spirits" in This World We Know and also in the poem "Thunder

and Lightning," in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos. Read "Great Spirits" before discussing the following questions.

How are the stories of Nuliajuk, Narsuk and Thunder and Lightning all similar? (They are all stories about orphans that illustrate the fear of being left outside the family and the menace of someone who has no defined place in the social order. They are also stories about weak people who become strong.)

The Netsilik believe that the actions of men cause misfortune. Give some examples of actions in the past that brought about misfortune. Give some examples of a way a man might act today that would bring about misfortune. (Consult the section called "The Ancient Rules of Life" in This World We Know.)

Why do people tell this kind of story?

OPTIONAL

Some children might be interested in looking for other stories explaining misfortune in the Bible or in mythologies of other cultures.

SECTION II THE HUNTING WAY OF LIFE IN WINTER

A. Hunting Seals at the Breathing Holes (2 days)	36
B. Words and Acts to Bring Good Seal Hunting (1 day)	42
C. Strategies for Hunting Seals (2 days)	44
D. The Value of a Distribution System (1 day)	50
E. Seal-Sharing Partnerships (2 days)	54
F. "We Dare" (1 day)	63

The lives of people who follow the hunting way of life have much in common. They often travel to find game; they keep harmony with the spirits of the animals they hunt; and they learn from infancy how to be either hunters or wives and mothers of hunters. A look at Netsilik life in any season reveals these common aspects of hunting life. But the Netsilik social organization, with its yearly cycle of changing group size and composition, gives its own special flavor to their lives. For example, relaxed family life in summer is mirrored in relaxed spiritual practices, whereas the tension and complexity of the winter camp is reflected in complicated and rigid relations with the spirit world.

The first two topics look at the skills and rituals that each hunter and his family must master. The next three topics examine another common characteristic of hunting societies -- a system for distributing food beyond the family.

The Seal Hunting Game, which simulates an Eskimo hunt, shows clearly that some hunters need the aid of their more fortunate companions. Students come to realize the advantage of a traditional system of sharing food. The Netsilik solution to the universal problem of food distribution is a network of sharing partnerships. Each man has several sharing partners, chosen from the hunters at the camp who are not closely related to him.

Ecological advantages alone do not explain why the Netsilik share according to partnership ties. (A "common pool" shared by all families would distribute seals as efficiently.) Partnerships have another function: they help build trust between individuals. The sharp distinction between kin and non-kin in Netsilik society necessitates some means of binding nonrelated families together. Netsilik partnerships serve two needs: the Netsilik need for ties among families and the universal need for a distribution system.

The section closes with a look at the travels of the Netsilik culture hero, the great hunter and angatok, Kiviok. The lesson goes beyond hunting and sharing behavior to focus on the brave and persevering spirit that is necessary to the hunting way of life.

A. Hunting Seals at the Breathing Holes

2 DAYS

O welcome gift in the shape of a seal!

From Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos

In winter, groups of six to twelve hunters, some related and some not, go out on the ice to hunt the ringed seal. The ringed seal is the only source of food and fuel readily available to the Netsilik in winter. Netsilik hunting strategy is based on knowledge of the animal and its behavior. The strategy and tools are different from those used in caribou hunting, but the relationship between them is the same.

Film, "Winter Sea Ice Camp," Part I
(last 16 min., 16mm; cartridge 2,
Super-8mm)

Film projector
Screen

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic
The Data Book
The Arctic
On Firm Ice (10 copies)

1. THE RINGED SEAL

The children will see from the animal distribution maps in The Arctic that seal is the most abundant game during the winter. The ringed seal is described in The Arctic. After reading about seals, study the seal breathing-hole formation diagrams on p. 35, The Arctic. The following questions will highlight the behaviors of the animal that are important to a hunter:

Why do you think seals would be difficult to hunt?

What would make it possible to catch a seal in winter?

2. PLAN FOR HUNTING SEALS

Show the film "Winter Sea Ice Camp," Part I, from the scene showing the men leaving the camp on the sleds to the capture of the seal. When the breathing hole has been prepared and the hunter assumes the waiting stance, ask several boys to "wait with him." They must bend over an imaginary breathing hole and wait motionless until a seal is caught. After watching the film to the end, the children should describe the hunting sequence.

How do they find, approach, kill and retrieve the seal?

What tools and skills were used in each step of hunting?

Besides tools, what does it take to be a good seal hunter?
(Enormous patience, dexterity, knowledge of animals' habits, amulets, powerful spirits)

Some additional questions for seal hunting experts:

Why did the hunter scoop the snow away and then put it back?

Why did he withdraw the harpoon shaft so carefully?

Is the harpoon a better device for killing seals at the breathing holes than a spear? than a rifle?

How did the hunter know when the seal was at the hole?
(The Data Book has a description of how the indicator works.
The swansdown is obtained from swans that migrate to the Arctic in summer.)

What kept the seal from sinking?

Show the film a second time if students want to review the complicated method. Stopping the film or rerunning a scene can help the children observe more closely.

The importance of the Eskimo's dogs on a seal hunt should not be overlooked. The tiny holes kept open by the seals are covered with snow and would be impossible to find without the dog's fine sense of smell. The entry for April 18 in A Journey to the Arctic and the article on

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For homework, the children might read the account of a seal hunt in A Journey to the Arctic, April 18. This gives a feeling for the patience of a hunter who must wait in the cold for a seal to appear. They also should read Chapters 3 and 4 of On Firm Ice. Chapter 4 will be discussed in the following lesson.

FILM NOTES: THE NETSILIK ESKIMOS AT THE WINTER SEA ICE CAMP, PART I
(last 16 minutes, natural sound)

The hunters have stopped the sleds, unhitched the dogs and now fan out in search of seal breathing holes. Each hunter takes his dog or dogs to sniff out the breathing holes. There are no clues on the surface of the snow to locate the holes. If a dog catches a scent, it stops and pokes its nose into the snow. The hunter then probes through the snow for the opening in the ice below.

Itimangnark's dogs find a promising spot, and he probes with his harpoon shaft until he hits the surface of the ice. Finally, he finds a spot where he can drive his harpoon shaft right through up to the hilt. He bends down and sniffs at the hole. If it is a hole used recently by a seal, the odor will be strong enough for him to detect it. He stands up and shouts, "Agloo! Agloo! Agloo!" telling the other hunters that he has found a breathing hole.

Itimangnark prepares the agloo, or breathing hole, for the hunt. First he cuts away some of the snow and uses his seal-hole searcher, a slender curved wand of caribou antler, which he twists and turns to explore the shape of the hole. When he has explored enough to know which way the seal is likely to approach the hole, he sets his harpoon shaft into the hole and sifts soft snow around it, so the returning seal will not sense that the hole has been tampered with. The hunter carefully removes the harpoon shaft, leaving a tiny hole from the surface of the snow down into the breathing hole.

So that the dogs will not give away his presence at the hole, Itimangnark leads them some distance away. Then he empties his hunting bag and puts it on the snow to help keep his feet warm during the long hours of waiting. To set up his seal indicator, a bit of sinew in a strange spider shape, he plucks a single filament from a fluff of swansdown and very carefully fits it in place, having wetted the prongs of the indicator with his tongue. He places the indicator at the edge of the tiny hole. The bit of swansdown is so light that a breath of air will make it flutter, warning the hunter that a seal is rising in the agloo.

Next he prepares his harpoon. Itimangnark fits the harpoon tip on the end of the shaft, fixes the thong along the length of the shaft, and catches the little toggle from it under a loop by the handle. He licks the harpoon tip to fasten it to the end of the shaft by a thin layer of ice. He carefully rests the shaft on the two harpoon rests padded with fur to prevent a telltale rattle. He pushes his hands into his sleeves to keep them warm and assumes the classic stance, bent double at the waist, watching the indicator.

Not far away Allakanuark finishes preparing his agloo, while his dog waits patiently nearby. In another area Ugak does the same.

Back in the camp, Kingnuk continues her daily chores in her igloo. Softening skin boots by chewing them is an endless task, because moisture and cold hardens leather to a boardlike stiffness. This is why the teeth of the Eskimo are worn and their jaws are strong. Indeed, an Eskimo's mouth is like a third hand to him. Above Kingnuk's lamp, food is cooking slowly in the stone pot.

Ugak's family shares a double igloo with Kringartok and her husband, Nerlongayok. The two igloos are joined at one side so that the two lamps and the sleeping platforms almost face each other. One entrance tunnel serves the double house. Anningat's older daughter Igsigaitok plays "boo" with her tiny sister Ingerpak. Near them Immingark, the little brother, plays with stones and pebbles on the sleeping shelf. Out of doors, one of Irkowagtok's daughters, Irkaluknaluk, carves utensils out of the snow and plays at making a kudlik for herself.

Still the hunters wait; Ugak, Allakanuark, Sigguk and Itimangnark. Itimangnark's indicator moves, his hands grasp his harpoon, down goes the shaft into the seal hole. He talks to himself as he ties the thong around his leg and then, removing the small pieces of apparatus on top of the hole, frantically begins to dig the hole wider to get down to the seal. The thong is taut. The harpoon tip is imbedded in the seal. Soon the blood begins to show on the snow. Hurriedly he scoops away the snow and ice. Using his harpoon shaft as a thrust, he begins to bob the seal carcass to clear the agloo of pieces of ice that have fallen in.

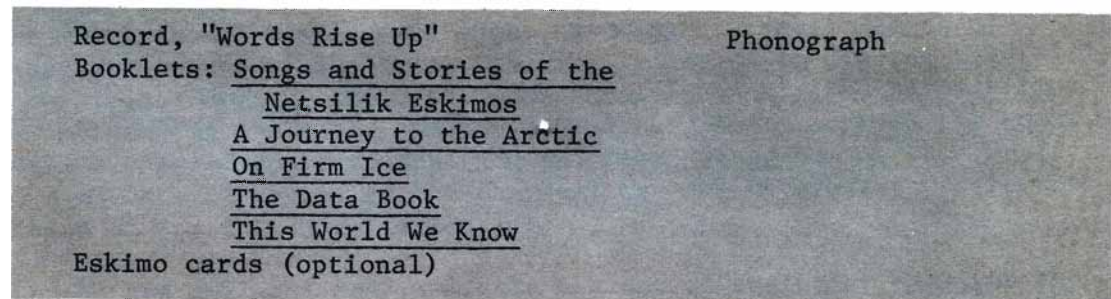
When he can pull the seal a little way out of the water, he jams the handle of the scoop through the seal's fragile skull and pulls a thong loop through the head of the seal to make sure that he doesn't lose it. Again he bobs the seal up and down until there is enough momentum for him to pull it clear. The dogs are beside him sniffing and yelping. He swings the seal back and forth over the surface of the snow. When he has it well clear of the hole he breaks its neck by bending its head back against its body. He removes the harpoon tip from the body, licks off the blood and coils it ready for use again.

The other hunters gather around the catch. Itimangnark describes his kill. Sigguk joins in the discussion and then Ugak. Irkowagtok has come up, and so has Allakanuark and Nerlongayok. Itimangnark drags the seal away from the trodden snow to an area of fresh snow and slits the stomach with his knife. The other men kneel around in a semicircle, watching him remove a piece of blubber and the liver. Soon each man is stabbing morsels for himself, feasting on the warm liver and fresh blubber. When the feast is over, the dogs rush in to lick up the shreds lying on the surface of the snow, and the hunters, refreshed after their snack, return to their breathing holes to continue the hunt.

At the camp Irkaluknaluk plays with the younger children, pretending to serve them a meal at her snow kudlik. Out on the ice, a hunter waits for the last few minutes over his agloo. As the sun goes down, it is time for the children to go inside. The hunters return in the dwindling light. Inside her family's igloo Irkaluknaluk sets the snow door in place at the entrance and seals it with loose snow. Her father Irkowagtok rouses Nullut to tamp down the fire in the stone lamp, leaving only a single pilot spear of flame to burn all night long.

B. Words and Acts to Bring Good Seal Hunting 1 DAY

The Netsilik believe that observing the ancient rules of life is as important to successful hunting as a good harpoon. Belief in spirits and the effectiveness of a ritual is an example of how a system of explanation and spiritual practices allows man -- here a Netsilik -- to feel that he has some control of his world. But if individual efforts fail the Netsilik, they call on the men who have the greatest spiritual power, their angatoks.



1. HOW DO TABOOS, RITUALS AND MAGIC HELP THE NETSILIK SEAL-HUNTER?

To discuss the following questions, the children should review the Netsilik beliefs they have read about or heard. Divide the class into four groups so that each can focus on one of the following sources to find answers to the questions below: (1) "Souls and Spirits" and "The Ancient Rules of Life" in This World We Know; (2) the descriptions of amulets, magic words and helping spirits in The Data Book; (3) A Journey to the Arctic, entries for May 15 and 16 on amulets; (4) "Magic Words for Hunting Seals" on the record "Words Rise Up," or in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos.

What rules are observed by the Netsilik in seal-hunting time?

How does following the ancient rules of life help a Netsilik hunter?

How are amulets used? magic words? spirits?

What would happen if a Netsilik did not observe the ancient rules?

2. HOW DOES THE ANGATOK RESTORE GOOD HUNTING?

Review Chapter 4, "Just a Boot Mended in Winter," in On Firm Ice, and read "Angatoks, Magic Words and Amulets" in This World We Know.

In Netsilik belief angatoks have the power to control certain spirits and to look into the lives of other men. The belief in the angatok's ability to uncover causes for bad hunting, sickness, storms and disaster causes people to preserve the ancient rules of life, and to rely on the angatok's knowledge when things go wrong.

How did people in On Firm Ice explain the lack of seals?

What powers do angatoks have?

What did they do to please the spirits?

What finally brought good hunting again?

What did Pamiok and her friends learn from this experience?

Is this an effective way of learning?

OPTIONAL

a. The children gather in small groups to choose from the Eskimo cards all items that they would need for a successful seal hunt. Every group makes up a seal hunting story by having each child in turn make up a sentence that includes an object from one of the cards. As the sentences are recorded, a composite seal hunting story grows.

b. Suggest that children read A Journey to the Arctic, the entries for April 20, May 15 and May 17, and think about the following questions:

How does someone become an angatok?

Can anyone become one?

C. Strategies for Hunting Seals

2 DAYS

Because a lone hunter cannot know the location of seals under the ice, he is never certain of getting enough food and fuel for himself and his family. It is more efficient for several men to hunt together, so more holes can be watched at once. The Seal Hunting Game simulates a group hunt, thus allowing children to test different hunting strategies and to discover the importance of sharing the catch.

Five Seal Hunting Game Boards
(to be borrowed from your
materials center)

Seal Hunting Record Sheets (tablet)

Seal-Meat Stickers

25 Sheets of Game Board Paper

Black crayons

Dittoed rules (optional)

1. THE SEAL HUNTING GAME

Six children gather around the game board which represents the ice of Pelly Bay. The board has 169 holes, each hole representing a breathing hole of a seal. Five of the children are Eskimo Hunters. They try to catch a seal by selecting one breathing hole to hunt each day, which they do by punching out the holes in the paper. Each child has twenty turns, representing twenty days of hunting. A Hunter is successful if he finds a strip of seal-meat stickers in the hole he punches open. Each catch is worth six days of food. The sixth child is the Referee; he keeps score for the game, and he does not hunt.

The game lets the children experiment with hunting and sharing strategies to solve the problems of an **unpredictable** supply of food. Discussions of strategies should follow each game session. About two

class periods are needed to play the game and its several variations and to discuss alternative strategies.

2. EXPLORING THE GAME BOARD

Before being introduced to the rules of the game, the children should have a chance to see how the board works. By removing the rubber bands and cover, they can see that the board consists of holes arranged in twenty-four circled ranges, each representing the area of one seal's breathing holes. Explain that a strip of six seal-meat stickers is rolled and placed in one hole somewhere in each range. The children might discuss some of these questions:

Do you think it is an unfair advantage for you to know how a game board works?

How could knowing the mechanics of the board help you play?

What information does a hunter of any animal need before going hunting?

What does an Eskimo hunter know about seals that can help him hunt?

What would a player of a seal-hunting game want to know before beginning to play?

To set up the game boards for plays, the teacher or the student Referee removes the rubber bands and cover to expose the seal ranges, rolls up strips of seal-meat stickers and inserts one in each of the twenty-four circled ranges. Then he covers the holes with a sheet of paper and secures the cover with rubber bands. The Referee, who is not a hunter, loads the board for successive games.

3. RULES FOR PLAYING THE GAME (there are no printed rulesheets)

Divide the children into groups of six, asking each group to choose the Referee for the first game. A playing group can consist of fewer than five Hunters, but the Referee may not hunt. Distribute a game board, a strip of seal-meat stickers, a black crayon and a dittoed record

sheet to each group. Introduce the following rules by putting key ideas on the blackboard, by duplicating copies for the whole class or by selecting five students to demonstrate the game while you act as Referee for about five hunting days. It will save time on the first day of play if the teacher has loaded the game boards before class.

RULES

- a. The Referee, who does not hunt, records the players' names on the record sheet and gives each of the five Hunters four seal-meat stickers as a beginning food supply. Each sticker represents one day's food. This food supply must be torn from a complete strip of six seal-meat stickers.
- b. For each hunting day, each Hunter chooses a seal breathing hole and punches one hole through the paper. If he makes a "catch" (finds a strip of seal-meat stickers inside), he takes out the strip, and places one sticker in his box on the record sheet for that day. He should also circle the box to indicate that it was the day of the catch.
- c. If a Hunter does not find a seal, he places a sticker from his pregame supply in his column for that day to represent the food he ate.
- d. If a Hunter has used up all his meat and has failed to catch more seals, he is charged with a hungry day by the Referee, who will mark an "X" in that Hunter's box for that day. (One purpose of the game is for the children to discover the usefulness and significance of sharing, and it is best to let them raise the issue themselves. The teacher can indicate that any system that is useful is permitted.)
- e. A Hunter who goes hungry for five consecutive days is dead and is out of the game.
- f. When all Hunters have hunted and have either placed meat in their boxes or been charged with a hungry day, the Referee checks off that day on the record sheet and the sequence begins again.
- g. The sequence is repeated for twenty days. Then the Referee tallies the total number of seals caught, hungry days and dead Hunters in the appropriate boxes on the record sheet.

4. FOLLOW-UP TO THE FIRST HUNT

After all groups have played one game, discuss the results with the class by using the record sheets and asking different groups to tell what strategies, if any, they used to get their results. Some groups will probably have dead Hunters.

How could you assure fewer hungry days for the whole group?

In the first play of the game, some groups may have recognized the need for sharing or for some kind of system, either hunting in one area or keeping track of where seals have been caught. If the children do not discover the need for such systems, encourage them to think about the problems that might develop in a group with a limited food supply.

Discussions concerning the game should include informal exchanges of experiences and direct references to the score sheets of various groups. Rather than the whole class reporting, have children regroup for discussion of the game, then return to original game groups for a second play. Ask the groups to choose new Referees, who will now reload the board for the group, and to play the game again, this time trying to see if they can reduce the number of hungry days and thus as a group have the fewest Hunters who die.

5. OTHER STRATEGIES

After several more games, perhaps in a later class period, you might discuss the children's strategies for hunting, the sharing patterns they have developed and the ways of remembering that have been helpful.

What techniques can a group of hunters use to ensure catching more seals?

If the hunters cooperate by hunting near each other on the sea ice, they may cover the territory of one seal in about one day, thus increasing their chances of getting at least one seal each day.

A seal has to move about over an extended area in order to catch a sufficient amount of food; thus it must keep open several breathing holes at a time. The chances of hunters getting a seal are considerably greater if several of the breathing holes are simultaneously watched. This factor explains the breathing-hole technique; the larger the number of sealers, the greater the chances of a successful hunt.

Asen Balikci, Basic Socio-economic
Units in Two Eskimo Communities

Some groups might enjoy trying to play the game using such a "cluster" method and note whether it significantly reduces the number of hungry days in a cycle. (The total number of seals caught should be about the same as in previous hunts of twenty "days," but the catches should occur more regularly.)

6. SUMMARIZING THE GAME

After the class has played the game using a variety of strategies, probably near the end of the second class period, the following questions should be discussed:

In what ways is this game like real seal hunting?

In what ways is it different?

Did anyone develop taboos or rituals for improving his luck?

On what does success depend in this game? in real seal hunting?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of hunting together in this game?

What problems arose when a sharing system was used?

If you were an Eskimo seal hunter, would you prefer to live alone, with your extended family, or in a large group? Why?

If rifles and harpoon guns were available to you and you didn't have to live in a large group, would you still want to?

OPTIONAL

Variations of the Game. After six or seven playings, when each group has experimented with ways of remembering which holes contained seals, you might impose the restriction that in the next playing no visual remembering system is allowed. The purpose of this limitation is to encourage the group to evolve long-range plans.

Children might also experiment with only two players in each game. One child places seals in the board and the other hunts to see how many turns it takes him to catch a given number of seals. They could then switch roles and discuss problems facing the solitary hunter.

D. The Value of a Distribution System

1 DAY

In the Netsilik language, a man does not say, "I am going hunting" when he sets out for the breathing holes; instead he says, "I am going out to get a seal share."

Knud Rasmussen, The Netsilik Eskimos

The Seal Hunting Game demonstrates that a system of distribution is necessary for group survival. This is true in every society, for there are always some people who are more productive than others. However the need for such a system does not guarantee that people will, in fact, share. The Netsilik do not depend on spontaneous generosity of individuals. The survival of the group, as well as its internal harmony, depends on traditional rules and patterns for the distribution of food, and to be a Netsilik is to follow these rules learned from childhood.

Photomural, A Successful Hunt
Booklet: A Journey to the Arctic

Dittoed copies,
NETSIRK (seal)
Seal Hunting Record Sheets
from previous lesson

1. WHY MUST PEOPLE SHARE IN WINTER CAMP?

Review the Seal Hunting record sheets to show the advantages of sharing.

Which hunters caught enough seals to provide for their families?

What were the various ways of sharing? gifts? promised exchange? cooperating pairs?

Refer to the journal entry for April 18, "Hunting Seals at the Breathing Holes," in which a seal-hunting tally indicates that a total of eleven or twelve seals is considered a good catch for one hunter in a six-month season.

How many hunters on Rasmussen's list do you believe could have survived a winter on just their own seals? (Assume that each hunter has at least one or two people for whom he must provide.)

2. SYSTEMS FOR SHARING

Clearly, it is to a hunter's advantage to share with other hunters who will be successful in the future. But why share with men who can never reciprocate? Formal patterns for sharing are necessary to assure the survival of unsuccessful hunters and their dependents. Not all men in a camp have productive relatives, and not all successful hunters can be relied upon to be generous.

In this exercise the children devise their own formalized methods for sharing seals. Working in small groups they come to realize the difficulties encountered by a group of hunters of varying ability each time a seal is caught. Divide the class into groups of six, each child assuming the role of one of the six hunters listed below.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Seals Caught</u>
Innuk: middle aged but strong; related to Satlak	30
Satlak: boy of fourteen years; related to Innuk	3
Ujarak: first class hunter; related to Inuksak	24
Inuksak: elderly hunter; related to Ujarak	2
Tarajuk: young but crippled hunter; related to Karasuk	3
Karasuk: good hunter who was sick during the year; related to Tarajuk	0

Announce that Ujarak has caught a seal. Refer to the photomural
A Successful Hunt to set the scene.

A SUCCESSFUL HUNT- A hunter is about to remove the liver of his
freshly caught seal and share it with five hunters
who have left other breathing holes in the area.
A piece of warm liver and a sip of seal blood provide each hunter with renewed energy for his solitary vigil.

Distribute one "Netsirk" to each Ujarak (successful hunter). He
decides if or how he will share it among the hunters. In making
his decision he should take into consideration such things as family
ties, individual need according to the tally, and the desirability
of sharing with those with good or poor hunting records. Each Ujarak
should report to the class what he did with his seal.

Why did the successful hunter share or not share?

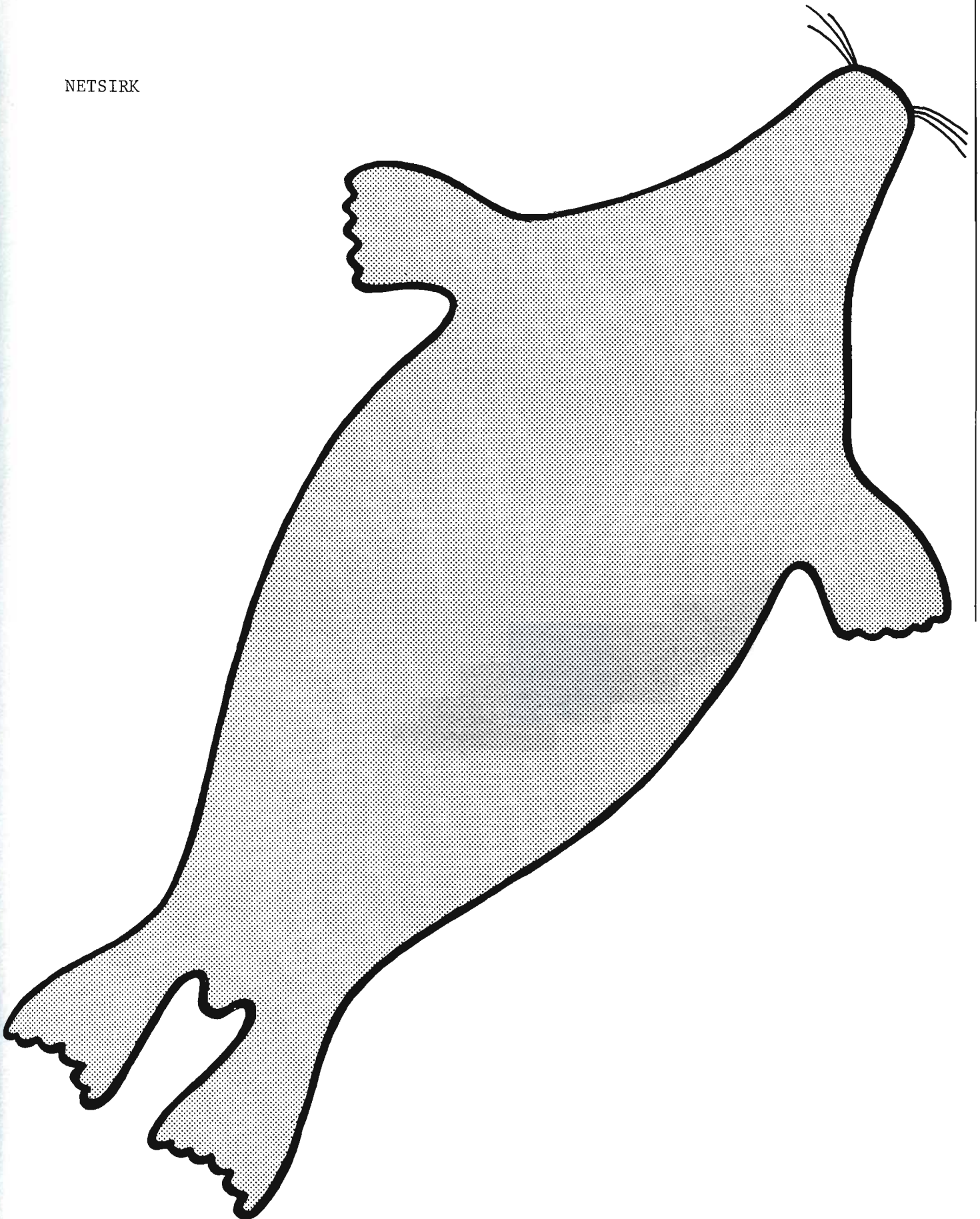
Who benefited from sharing?

Did each Ujarak share in the same way?

After discussing what Ujarak would do when he caught a seal, distribute one Netsirk to each Satlak. As before, Satlak decides if or how he will share it. After sharing this second seal, ask each group to devise a general sharing system that could be followed regardless of which hunter caught the seal. Remind the class that their sharing systems must take into account hunters of varying abilities; in the seal hunting game, by contrast, all hunters had an equal chance of good luck. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each proposed system.

Is our system of taxes a distribution system? Why?
Why not?

NETSIRK



E. Seal-Sharing Partnerships

2 DAYS

At winter camp, the Netsilik have traditionally extended sharing beyond the family by forming sharing partnerships with other hunters who are not relatives. Associated with these partnership ties are rules for sharing seals. In addition, the partnerships extend feelings of trust beyond the family. Boys are given one or two permanent partners at birth. This begins their socialization into the seal-sharing system and is the beginning of lifelong ties.

Posters: Seal for Sharing	Dittoed copies of
A Camp on the Sea Ice	Seal-sharing Part-
Families of Pelly Bay	nership sheets
Seal Hunting game board	Projector
Booklets: <u>A Journey to the Arctic</u>	Screen
<u>This World We Know</u>	Scissors
Film, "Winter Sea Ice Camp," Part III	
(30 min., 16 mm; cartridges 5 and 6,	
Super-8mm)	

1. WHAT IS THE NETSILIK SYSTEM OF RULES FOR SHARING SEALS?

The system the Netsilik use to share seals is described in A Journey to the Arctic, entry for April 19. The posters A Camp on the Sea Ice and Families of Pelly Bay show how many hunters and dependents must share the seals. One way to clarify the Netsilik partnership system is for the entire class to role-play individuals at the winter camp. Divide the class into eight groups, each group representing one immediate family. Assign to each family at least one hunter, one wife, and one child and/or grandparent. After each student is assigned one of these roles, explain that when a Netsilik hunter catches a seal, he shares it with prearranged partners. Each hunter has many partners.

2. HOW DO THE NETSILIK ACQUIRE LIFELONG SHARING PARTNERS?

For each newborn son Netsilik families arrange one or two sharing partnerships. These partners are young boys who are not related to each other. When they grow up they will always exchange a particular part of the seal. Use the Seal for Sharing poster to show how Itimangnark and Tungilik share the right side of the seal. Whenever Itimangnark catches a seal, he gives this part (sannerak) to Tungilik; when Tungilik is the successful hunter he gives the same to Itimangnark. Itimangnark also has partners with whom he shares other parts of the seal; for example, he gives the bottom of the spine to Sigguk and Sigguk reciprocates when he is the successful hunter. Certain parts of every seal that Itimangnark kills are "promised" to his partners.

Distribute Seal-Sharing Partnership sheets to each classroom hunter. Then show how lifelong partnerships are formed by assigning one or two permanent partners to each hunter in the classroom "camp," pretending that these partnerships were formed when the hunters were children. (John and Mark are permanent partners who share the head of the seal. John writes Mark's name next to naik'ok on his sheet, while Mark writes John's name next to naik'ok.) Partners, even when they are little boys, call each other by the name of the seal part which they share, instead of their regular name. (John and Mark call each other "Head" whereas Steven and James call each other "Right Side.")

3. HOW DO THE NETSILIK ACQUIRE TEMPORARY PARTNERS?

The seal is traditionally divided into ten parts (nine can be shared and one part is always kept for the hunter). A man rarely has more than one or two lifelong partners who are not related. Each year when he arrives at a new camp he will choose temporary partners who may or may not be relatives. These temporary partnerships will last for the season or until the group breaks up. Only the permanent partner-

ships last from year to year. To show how temporary partnerships are formed, have the hunters in the classroom choose temporary partners just as they would at a winter camp. They make note of these partners on their Partnership sheets. Each hunter now has written on his Partnership sheet the name of at least one permanent partner and as many temporary partners as he has chosen from among the other hunters in the classroom.

4. HOW THE SEAL IS SHARED

Sequence for Role Play

1. Several children make an imaginary igloo, as they did in Section I.
2. Eight hunters punch holes on one loaded Seal Hunting Game board.
3. The successful hunter is given a Seal for Sharing poster.
4. The hunter drags the seal into his igloo.
5. The wife of the lucky hunter gives a drink of water to the seal, because the Netsilik think that seals who live in the sea are always thirsty for fresh water. The soul of the seal will be pleased by this attention and therefore allow itself to be caught by the same hunter again. (See This World We Know, "The Ancient Rules of Life.")
6. The wife cuts up the seal (the poster is meant to be cut apart with scissors), giving tidbits to the young children.
7. The wife then gives appropriate parts to wives of partners. (She will need her husband's Seal-Sharing Partnership sheet to do this.) If the hunter does not have a partner for each of the ten parts, he can keep these parts for his own family or give them away to others of his own choosing.
8. Everyone eats his meat in his own family igloo.

Ask a few questions to see if children have understood the main points.

How many people in the class benefited from the catching of this seal?

SEAL-SHARING PARTNERSHIPS

HUNTER'S NAME _____

PARTNER'S NAME	PART OF THE SEAL
	OKPAT: REAR PART
	INNALUAP: INTESTINES
	KUYAK: BOTTOM OF SPINE
	SANNERAK: RIGHT SIDE
	SANNERAK IGLUA: LEFT SIDE
	KONGOSERK: NECK AND UPPER SPINE
	NAIK'OK: HEAD
	TAONONGAITOK: RIBS ON RIGHT SIDE
	AKSAITK'OLIK: RIBS ON LEFT SIDE

If a hunter caught no seals for a long time, would his family starve?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of having many partners?

Would a mother choose a close relative for her son's life-long sharing partner? Why or why not? (It is more advantageous to form partnerships with nonrelatives, since relatives would probably share anyway!)

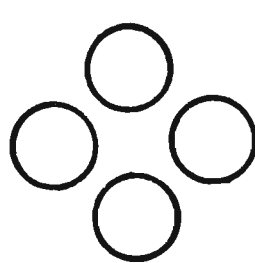
Does every hunter get a fair return of his own catch? What do we mean by fair? Do you think any of the sharing systems you devised in the previous lesson were fairer than the Netsilik system?

Do you think that the best hunters are particularly generous?

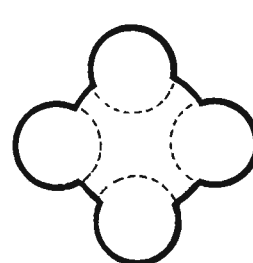
Why do the Netsilik claim that they do not need formal rules for sharing at caribou or fish camps? (There are usually relatives living together at these camps and family ties provide guidelines for sharing.)

What are the advantages of knowing in advance how the seal will be divided?

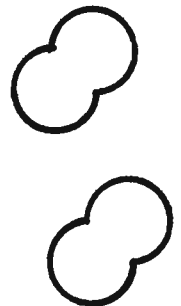
After the role-play, show the film "Winter Sea Ice Camp," Part III. Before showing the film explain to the children that the ceremonial igloo where the action of the film takes place is built when several seals have been caught. When they first arrived, the Netsilik built eight family igloos. They were arranged as shown below. When the film opens the Netsilik are joining four igloos into a ceremonial igloo, as shown in the "after" drawing below. This large igloo is the center of group life during the winter.



BEFORE



AFTER



Visually and acoustically the igloo is "open," a labyrinth alive with the movements of crowded people. No flat static walls arrest the ear or eye, but voices and laughter come from several directions and the eye can glance through here, past there, catching glimpses of the activities of nearly everyone.

Edmund Carpenter, Frederick Varley and
Robert Flaherty, Eskimo

OPTIONAL

After seeing "Winter Sea Ice Camp," Part III, ask the children to think about the games that adults and children play. Have them look at Eskimo Games (see p. 75) so that they can teach them to others or prepare to teach string games, another Eskimo favorite. (These games will be played at the Winter Festival in Section III.)

FILM NOTES: NETSILIK ESKIMOS AT THE WINTER SEA-ICE CAMP, PART III
(30 minutes, natural sound)

The Eskimos have been in the camp for several days. Hunting has been good, the weather is fine and the supply of meat is ample. The men take the time to build a ceremonial igloo.

Ugak and Sigguk cut snow blocks and carry them to the new structure in the middle of the camp. Ugak's son Karmatsiark also helps. The big igloo is being built by Itimangnark and his brother Irkowagtok. Since it is built on top of the existing igloos, the builders stand on parts of the old structures.

The small children play in the snow while the teenage girls and women throw snow on the outside walls of the big igloo. As the structure rises, it is harder to fill the cracks. Two teenage girls skillfully throw shovelfuls of snow from one to another to complete the upper walls. The center block, which will seal the dome of the new structure, is taken in through a temporary door at the side of the big igloo. Irkowagtok sets it in place.

As soon as the big igloo is finished, the entrance tunnels and the walls of the old igloos are broken down and removed. It is clear that the original placement of the single igloos was carefully planned, for each sleeping platform is on the far side of the single igloo, and the opening into the big igloo replaces what used to be the entrance tunnel of the individual igloos. The final step in the construction is to set ice windows into the dome so there will be plenty of light inside for communal activities.

The job finished, the men set out once more across the ice to hunt for seal. This time they go on foot, because they will not go far. From the top of an igloo the children watch Ugak and Karmatsiark and then Nerlongayok walk off across the snow.

In the big igloo, Anningat and her baby visit with Kingnuk. Kakortangoar and Irkaluknaluk play a "boo" game with Ingerpak, Anningat's baby, while Anningat and Kingnuk chat at the entrance to Kingnuk's alcove. In the next alcove Sigguk's family, Aupaluktark and her baby Krashuvik and old Aunt Iluitsok, play and joke on the sleeping shelf. In Allakanuark's igloo, his wife Krarliktok is feeding bits of fish to little Arnoyok. Kringartok and her baby Naluitok have come into the ceremonial igloo from their double igloo, the only one that does not lead directly into the big igloo. It is so easy now for the toddlers to run back and forth from one kudlik to another, and they enjoy their new freedom. Krarliktok is watchful but unconcerned as two-year-old Arnoyok uses the sharp ulu to cut the fish right at his mouth. At the kudlik of the fourth igloo Nullut brushes snow from the parka of little Alertailok.

Before long the young boys come piling in through the skin-covered doorway. Soon a game of blind man's bluff is under way between the younger children and the teenage girls. Igsigaitok is the first one to be "it." Soon Kringartok, with Naluitok on her back, joins the group. The older women sitting around on the sleeping shelves watch the game. The whole community has come to life, and the focal point of activity is the center of the ceremonial igloo.

Presently, Kingnuk sets up the spindle game. She jabs a short stake into the wall of the igloo as high up as she can reach. From it she suspends a small spindle perforated with three or four holes and weighted with a stone. The young girls stand in a circle and use bone-pointed sticks to jab at the revolving spindle, trying to impale it. Kingnuk joins the game and is amused and embarrassed when she is the first to impale the spindle.

Later all of the women and children gather at one of the sleeping shelves and eat fish brought from an inland cache. They enjoy the conviviality and companionship of the large group.

At dusk the men return. The big igloo is lit only by the lights of the kudliks, which form pools of light in the gloom. Irkowagtok joins Nullut and their daughter in a feast at the edge of the sleeping shelf; across the way Itimangnark sits on his shelf eating bits of boiled seal meat. Presently old Iluitsok engages the teenage girls with a lively tale of myth and magic before it is time for all to retire. (End of cartridge 5)

A day or two later Itimangnark returns from the hunt alone, his dogs dragging his catch. Into the big igloo he hauls his seal. Kingnuk melts a bit of ice in her mouth, then takes the water from her mouth and gives the seal a drink. This kindness to the soul of the dead animal is intended to keep the seals on good terms with the hunter so that he may continue to have success in his hunting.

Kingnuk then skins the seal and butchers it on the floor of the ceremonial igloo. She cuts slabs of blubber from the sides of the carcass and cleans the intestines and sets them aside. The offal she puts with the blood in a snow bowl beside the carcass. Some of the blood she offers to the young people to drink.

The butchering finished, Kingnuk distributes the meat. Different families receive different parts, according to their hunting relationship to her husband. Kingnuk puts the skin aside to clean later for her own use. Itimangnark picks up the snow bowl and sets it to one side of the igloo. Then he brings in his dog to clean up some of the debris of the butchering.

Everyone is well fed and content, but the evening is young. As they often do during evenings of relaxation, the men enjoy friendly com-

petition in games and feats of strength. First there is a tug-of-war; men seated on the floor pull at handles held together by a short thong, attempting to pull each other over. Irkowagtok and Sigguk are the contenders and the match ends in a draw. Next, Irkowagtok and Ugak vie in a match of mouth-pulling that draws much laughter from the onlookers. Sigguk and Allakanuark participate in a different kind of mouth-pulling game where each puts his thumbs in the corners of the other's mouth and stretches them wider and wider. Finally they can stand it no longer and break up in gales of laughter.

F. "We Dare"

1 DAY

"We fear.

"We fear the elements with which we have to fight in their
fury to wrest our food from land and sea.

"We fear cold and famine in our snow huts.

"We fear the sickness that is daily to be seen among us.
Not death, but the suffering.

"We fear the souls of the dead, of human and animal alike.

"We fear the spirits of earth and air.

"And therefore our fathers, taught by their fathers before
them, guarded themselves about with all these old rules and
customs.... We don't know how or why, but we obey them that
we may be suffered to live in peace. And for all our angatoks
and their knowledge of hidden things, we yet know so little
that we fear everything else."

An Eskimo, quoted by Knud Rasmussen in
The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos

Fear is an element in many of the legends and tales of the Netsilik. Yet, although the people have fears, they also dare to face hardship and uncertainty. Each man uses the strength of his body, the skills he has learned and all the spiritual help he can muster to face blizzards, conflicts and fear itself. This part of the Netsilik personality is reflected in the Kiviok tales. Here is the true Netsilik hero, the mighty Kiviok, who masters his world by his great power. He is the culture hero, the individualistic and aggressive man. Each Netsilik admires these qualities; each wants to be able to stand alone and to act as he pleases. All men know that they will never achieve the powers of the mighty Kiviok, but aspiring to his strength and independence helps the Netsilik gather the courage to face their world.

This World We Know
The Many Lives of Kiviok (10 copies)

1. NETSILIK WORLD VIEW

To summarize the Netsilik view of their world, the children should read the last chapter of This World We Know, which has the same title as the book itself. It sums up the feelings of the Netsilik Eskimos toward the world they live in and their beliefs about it.

What kinds of things do people you know fear?

Do they fear things which they cannot see? Why?

If you were to summarize your attitude towards the world that that you live in, would an important feeling be "I fear"?

2. THE NETSILIK HERO KIVIOK

A Netsilik man must be fearless, aggressive and powerful, and it is the hero Kiviok who possesses these qualities more than any other man. The tales of Kiviok's adventures include themes common to the literature of the world. The mighty hero travels in unknown lands where his strength, courage and wits are constantly called upon to overcome danger. Although he fears danger like other men, he always dares to challenge and confront it. He is the man all Netsilik men would like to be.

Half of the class might prepare a presentation of tale-telling while the other half work on independent projects. One way to do this is to assign one story to each student, who then learns the story, prepares art or music for it and finally tells it to the rest of the class. These stories are best heard in the same way the Netsilik hear them, and should be told in the order in which they appear in the book.

When the story-telling is over, ask each child to write another adventure for Kiviok. In discussing The Many Lives of Kiviok it is important for children to think about the tales in general terms. The individual adventures are not as important as the fact of Kiviok's restless search for danger and his urge to overcome it.

Do the stories of Kiviok tell us anything about what the Netsilik admire?

What traits of Kiviok's do you think all men would admire?

Why do people tell stories about heroes?

SECTION III WINTER CAMP: THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP

A. Ties Between Individuals (2 days)	68
B. Winter Festival (2 days)	72
C. Conflict Between Individuals (1 day)	76
D. The Group Acts to Protect Itself (1 day)	78
E. The Individual and the Group (2 days)	80

When a Netsilik Eskimo leaves the inland camps to live on the sea ice, one of the main changes he must adjust to is living in a large group. In the inland camps, Netsilik men are independent leaders of their families. The songs they sing and the stories they tell, like the Kiviok tales, extoll the qualities of individualism and aggressiveness. But winter sealing requires Netsilik men to cooperate with others and live closely with many other people through a season filled with uncertainties and hardships -- and pleasures as well. For there are many times at winter camp when the people gather together as a community. When food is plentiful they draw together in the ceremonial igloo for a feast and an evening of gossip, games and songs.

Many of the social relations between individuals at the winter camp are based on proximity or personal preference. As in any group, some people just seem to get along with others. But the cohesion of the winter camp does not rely solely on these informal ties between people. More formal ties, like the marriage partnership arranged in childhood, the seal-sharing partnership, the song partnership, extend to nonrelatives the exchange and trust characteristic of family members. The marriage arrangements made by their parents between children create an important tie between the families of the two children. Song partnerships are formed between men who enjoy each other's company, and the requirements of the partnership are not as formal as

those of seal sharing. While the seal-sharing partnership is based on the exchange of meat, the song partnership involves the exchange of songs, a drum, or even wives.

Family ties, partnership ties, communal activities are strong cohesive forces in Netsilik life. But present in all groups are disruptive forces, originating both outside and inside the group. Bad hunting and blizzards cause tension in the camp, but even more important are jealousies between hunters, fears that others are not doing their share in hunting and following the ancient rules, as well as the constant strain of being dependent on other people.

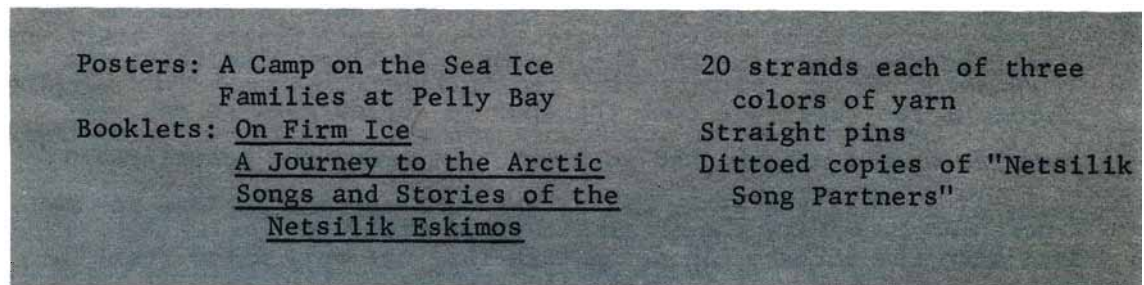
The Netsilik do not see personal disagreements as a threat to the group, because conflicts between individuals are settled between individuals. Competitions, physical and verbal, are one way to channel hostility and release tensions. The migration cycle itself is a check on mounting tension, for with the coming of spring, families diverge, and by the time they come together again the next year many of the wrongs of the past winter are forgotten. There are times, however, when a conflict grows to the point where it threatens the stability and safety of the whole camp. At times like this, the people of the camp must come together to decide what to do. For example, when a man who had gone mad threatened the security and peace of a camp, the other men of the camp met and decided how to deal with the threat. In doing this they not only acted together for the unity of the camp, but they also reaffirmed their belief in their traditions and way of life.

A. Ties Between Individuals

2 DAYS

In the process of studying any cultural system we find ourselves moving out of the neat and ordered world of our own cultural system, through a confusing and frightening reality and into the safe harbor of the neat and ordered world of another cultural system. Disease and misfortune are explained; good and bad people are described and ticketed; everything is arranged and in order. Only then does man dare to look upon reality and say, "It is just as we said it was."*

This lesson examines the social ties between unrelated individuals that stabilize life in winter camp. By tracing the various relationships on a poster of the people at the sea ice camp, the children see that the men of the winter camp and their families are interlocked through many ties including family and partnerships.



1. NETWORK OF SOCIAL TIES IN WINTER CAMP

The expectation of sharing with partners relieves uncertainty in winter camp, and the assurance of future aid is often as important as the

*From Culture in Process by Alan R. Beals. Copyright (c) 1967 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

actual exchange of goods. The class should look at the Families at Pelly Bay poster to see which hunters are closely related. Using A Camp on the Sea Ice the children can show the various relationships of these people by joining the names with pieces of colored yarn and straight pins on the poster. Ask a student to choose one color to represent the kinship tie and to connect the hunters who are closely related.

Have a second student choose a different color yarn to represent sharing partnerships listed below, and connect all permanent partners in the camp. Then add a few strands of the same color to represent at least two men who might be temporary partners for each hunter.

SEAL-SHARING PARTNERSHIPS

<u>Hunter</u>	<u>Seal-sharing partner(s)</u>
Itimangnark	Tungilik, Sigguk
Irkowagtok	Allakanuark
Ugak	Sigguk
Nerlongayok	Arnoyok
Kajasak	Tungilik
Tungilik	Itimangnark, Kajasak
Kakiarmiut	Allakanuark
Allakanuark	Irkowagtok, Kakiarmiut
Arnoyok	Nerlongayok
Sigguk	Itimangnark, Ugak

2. SONG PARTNERSHIPS

Two Netsilik men in winter camp who are on especially good terms with each other often decide to become song partners. In times of good hunting, the opening of a fish cache, or general good fortune, a man might sing at a songfest with his partner, recounting hunting successes, travels together or just good times.

Have the children read the journal entry for April 21 describing what song partners expect of each other. The teacher should assign song partnerships in class by choosing ten hunters to play the roles of the men at winter camp. Song partners should be listed on the black-

board as below. Ask each pair of partners to add a strand of a third color wool to the poster to show the partnership they are role-playing.

What do song partners do for each other?

How does having a song partner help men feel more secure?

Announce that there will be a winter festival in a few days and ask the song partners to begin writing songs or chants for the festival. To help them do this, they read the journal entry for April 20, and look through Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos for ideas. (There will be other activities for children who do not choose to be song partners.)

NETSILIK SONG PARTNERS	CLASSROOM SONG PARTNERS
Itimangnark	Student _____
Allakanuark	Student _____
Irkowagtok	Student _____
Sigguk	Student _____
Nerlongayok	Student _____
Tungilik	Student _____
Ugak	Student _____
Kakiarmiut	Student _____
Arnoyok	Student _____
Kajasak	Student _____

3. CHILDHOOD SOCIAL TIES

Every child everywhere is born into a set of family relationships. Each Netsilik infant also receives permanent sharing partners arranged by his parents and a promise of a wife. These ties give him a place in his society from birth. However, his childhood will also be filled with many informal friendships. Chapter 5 of On Firm Ice describes how a child, Nio, leaves the camp to live alone with his father and his father's new wife. Have the children read this chapter and discuss the following questions:

What did Nio think about leaving the camp?

What are the things Nio might miss by living with this isolated family?

If you had to move to another town, what would you feel badly about leaving behind?

What would worry you about going to a new community?

NOTE: The next lesson is a Winter Festival. The children must prepare activities a day in advance, so the directions on page 73 should be read at the end of this class and the activities assigned. Two days have been suggested so that one class period can be used for preparations, if necessary.

B. Winter Festival

2 DAYS

In addition to partnerships, people in winter camp are bound by common activities: hunting, seal sharing, living together, joining in ceremonies and rituals. When food is plentiful, feasts, accompanied by singing and games and contests, take place in the ceremonial igloo. Such activities are one way that the people at winter camp are drawn together as a community. The children should see that these happy gatherings help the people feel secure and the group become more cohesive.

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic
Songs and Stories of the
Netsilik Eskimos
On Firm Ice

Film, "The Legend of the Raven" (20
min., narrated)

Dittoed copies, "Eskimo
Games"

String or masking tape

Film projector

Screen

Have the children review the entry for April 20 in A Journey to the Arctic, "Songs and Games in the Ceremonial Igloo," in preparation for holding a Winter Festival of their own on the following day. Each child should prepare some activity from the list on the next page. A winter festival is held when there is plenty of food, and much of the pleasure comes from the sharing of food among the group. Encourage children to bring in something to eat that could be shared with the group, or perhaps some of the students would like to bake a cake or cookies to bring in and distribute.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

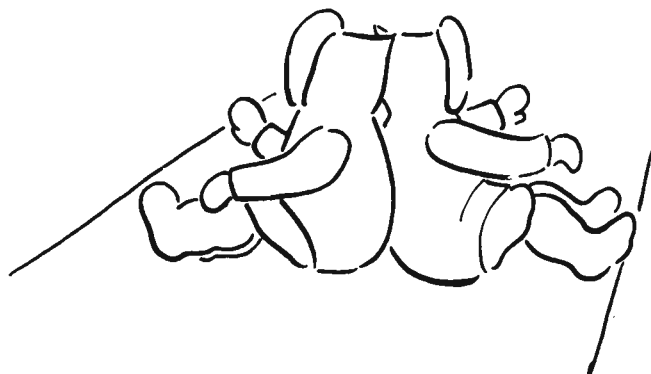
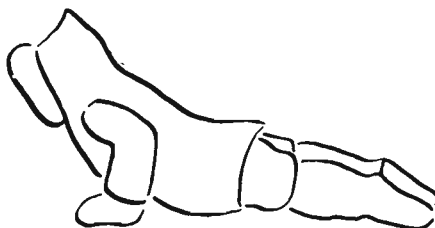
- Games Several children could look at "Eskimo Games" on page 75 and prepare to play some of them before the group.
- Stories This is an opportunity for the children to read to the class one of their own Kiviok adventures or write a story about one of their own heroes. Or children could write hunting stories, magic stories or accounts of adventures they have had.
- Poems Children who particularly enjoy Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos can recite or read one of the unassigned poems. Or they might make up their own poems of origin or poems on any other subject suggested by the Netsilik material.
- Songs Songs are an important part of Netsilik life, and the more songs the better for this project. Song partners from the previous lesson perform their songs, and other children make up songs or even sing a favorite song they already know. Animals, shared experiences and important events are all good subjects for songs.
- String
Figures String figures, such as cat's cradle, are made by children all around the world, and are a favorite pastime of the Netsilik. If some of the children in the class know some string figures, ask them to demonstrate them and try to teach them to their classmates.
- Drumming The Eskimo drum used at winter festivals is described in The Data Book. Some children might be interested in trying to make one for the festival to accompany the songs.

At the beginning of the class have two children make a circle on the floor (with masking tape or string) that is large enough for the class to sit around, with an open space in the center for games. This represents the space of a ceremonial igloo at the winter festival. The family alcoves could be made with desks. The children could then act out the families coming to the festival. Ask the children to volunteer to sing their songs, exhibit games and read poems.

At the end of the class show the film "The Legend of the Raven." Although this is not a Netsilik story, it is the sort of story that might be told at a winter festival. The film combines stone carvings, an Eskimo origin tale, poetry and the music of the drum dance. Some children might like to make carvings using soapstone or large cakes of soap.

ESKIMO GAMES

Seal racing on hands with
body trailing.

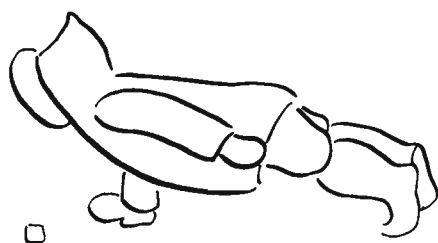
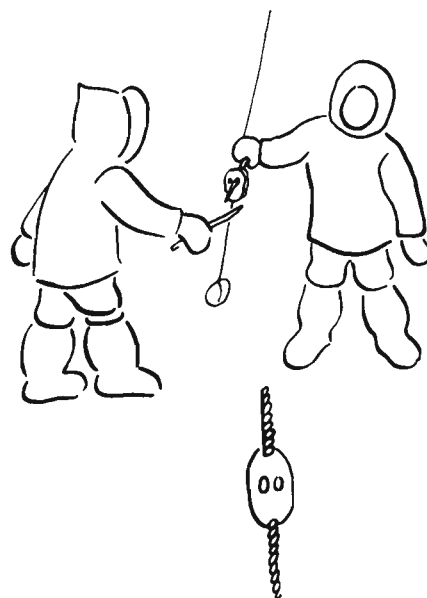


tunummijuk

Back to back, push opponent
over line using hands and
feet.

nullattartuq

Put stick into ivory spindle.



kiisinasuttuq

Pick up object from one-handed pushup position. Body is turned
slightly sideways.

Reprinted from Eskimo Games, with the permission of the Education
Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Ottawa, Canada.

C. Conflict Between Individuals

1 DAY

Partnership ties and communal activities cannot always assure peaceful relations. Conflict occurs among the Netsilik, as it does in all groups. This may be alleviated by a song duel, when men sing songs of ridicule in the ceremonial igloo. This accepted avenue of expressing aggression often lessens anger and a friendship can continue. Other methods for resolving conflicts between individuals are wrestling matches and other competitive feats of strength. It is dangerous to have anger unresolved, for the antagonists might resort to using evil magic or some other revenge.

Booklets: Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos
A Journey to the Arctic
On Firm Ice

1. SONG DUELS AS AN EXAMPLE OF SYMBOLIC DISPLACEMENT OF AGGRESSION
Songs are important to the Netsilik, for through them they describe events and express feelings. Although song partners have a formal agreement to exchange songs, all Netsilik compose and sing songs as a part of daily life. Songs of derision are a special talent of the Eskimos, and the Netsilik pride themselves on the subtlety of their insults.

When a man becomes angry at another, he may challenge his adversary to a song duel. Have the children review the journal entry for

April 20 which mentions these songs. A favorite way to mock a man is by pretending that he is an animal and using the qualities of that animal to abuse him. Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos contains two examples of this: "The Fly and the Water Beetle" and "The Raven and the Gull Have a Quarrel." (The latter is on the record.) The children might enjoy choosing an adversary and composing songs of derision pertinent to Eskimos or their own lives.

How might participants feel about each other after a song duel?

Have you ever done anything like that?

2. WHEN SONG DUELS ARE UNSUCCESSFUL

Have the children read Chapters 7 and 8, On Firm Ice, which show the progression of hostility between two men. (Because these chapters are so long it is suggested that they be read outside class.) Although songfests and wrestling matches often ease tension, Chapters 7 and 8 give an example of hostility that cannot be channeled by song or wrestling contests.

How might a wrestling match help settle a quarrel?

Why did Alornek feel angrier after he wrestled with Kunak?

Why do you think he practiced evil magic against Kunak?

What are some of the ways you express anger?

Do they make you feel less angry?

When, if ever, do you wish you could practice evil magic against someone?

D. The Group Acts to Protect Itself

1 DAY

There can be no coherent social life unless the way individuals behave is understandable and even predictable to others. To maintain an orderly system of social relations, people must behave according to the broadly accepted patterns of their society, and do this voluntarily. Children are trained to act productively and share and promote the values of their society. Not only do the adults encourage children to follow society's guidelines, but the beliefs and world view of the society support their advice.

Often, however, an individual's behavior does not fit the accepted patterns. When he is harmless to others, like a man who refuses to marry, he may be ridiculed. But when he threatens the group, he must be removed from it. In Netsilik society, the family is responsible for its own members. But when the camp as a whole is threatened, the men of the camp come together to decide on a course of action.

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic
On Firm Ice

1. WHAT ARE THE FORMAL RULES OF THE NETSILIK?

Have the children review the last two paragraphs of the entry for April 11, A Journey to the Arctic, which describes the Netsilik rules which should always be followed. They are few, but when they

are broken the peace of the group is threatened.

2. WHAT HAPPENS WHEN RULES ARE BROKEN AMONG THE NETSILIK?

Chapter 9 in On Firm Ice describes how members of the winter camp deal with a man who does not hunt and who finally goes mad and threatens the security of the camp.

What jobs did Alornek no longer perform?

What did he do that made him a threat to the rest of the group?

What effect did Alornek's menacing behavior have on people at the camp? (Children should see that although they were frightened, the people were drawn together by Alornek's threats.)

Although a group of hunters met to decide what should be done, it was Alornek's brother who was chosen to do the killing. Why?

Each of the following questions could lead into a discussion of some of the issues raised in this lesson. One or two might be appropriate for your class discussion:

Did the men kill Alornek as a punishment? Why do you think they killed him?

What choices were there other than killing Alornek? What choices would we have in dealing with a person like Alornek? Who would make these decisions?

What behaviors threaten the peace or safety of a group you know about? For example, can a child's behavior become so disruptive to a class that the child has to be expelled from the school? Do you think this is the best way of dealing with the problem?

E. The Individual and the Group

2 DAYS

Although generalizations can be made about groups of people, each individual has a personality unique to himself. The members of a society have many similarities in their beliefs, attitudes and ways of behaving, but each individual gives unique expression to these similarities. The children can learn that it is possible to generalize about people and at the same time recognize their individual differences by concentrating on the variations and similarities between themselves and people they know. We then ask them to consider a variety of generalizations they already make and how they formed them.

1. GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT THE NETSILIK

Review the difference between a statement describing the behavior of a particular Netsilik (Itimangnark, Kingnuk or any one of the individuals in the films) and the generalizations about Netsilik men and women discussed in Section III E of the Inland unit.

2. GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT OURSELVES

During class ask each student to write a general description of a fifth grade boy or girl. Then as homework they should consider:

Is this a satisfactory description of me?

What important things must I add to make it complete or personal?

The next day, as students share their general descriptions, see if they can agree on a composite picture of a fifth grade boy and girl that can be called a generalization.

Does the generalized picture of a fifth grader include behaviors? If not, can you make a general statement about what kinds of behaviors are generally accepted as suitable for a fifth grader in your school?

Do you know anybody who is like this general description of a fifth grade boy? girl?

Do you think your generalization would fit fifth graders in other communities? throughout the United States? How about other countries?

Why is it helpful to be able to make generalizations about the behavior of different groups to which you belong (church, school, family, ball team)?

3. HOW WE FORM AND EXPAND GENERALIZATIONS

Ask the children to list generalizations they have heard or believe to be true about other individuals or groups, religions, nationalities or societies, poor people or rich people, babies or high school students.

How do people form these generalizations?

Which of these generalizations are based on thoughtful and direct observation? Which ones are based on books, films, television?

Is one method of forming generalizations better than another? Is it always possible to use the method you think the best?

Have you ever made a generalization about people and changed it?

Which generalizations that you hold now do you think will change?

SECTION IV THE LONG GAZE

A. Nanook of the North (Optional)	83
B. The Changing Lives of Canada's Eskimos	85
C. What Makes Man Human?	87

The Netsilik Eskimo unit views culture through the example of one society. It has stressed that all the parts of a society are related. If the children come to see these relationships, they will see that a change in any one phase of Eskimo life eventually affects everything else: tools, social customs and world view. This section does not attempt to explore the historical sequence of events leading to change in Eskimo society, nor to describe in detail the effects this change has had on the lives of the people. Rather, it states that change has occurred, and that some aspects of their lives are changing faster than others.

The life of the Eskimo today is a blend of traditional and Western ways. Many are still hunters, but they use rifles and nets instead of spears and leisters. Most are Christians, but they may perform a drum dance at an Easter service. They have permanent settlements, but they still travel great distances to hunt.

By looking at a new and changed society, we gain new perspective on the traditional ways and on the relationship among various aspects of Netsilik life. We see how flexible man is, how he can, over time, learn new ways that reshape his traditions and restructure his world.

A. Nanook of the North (Optional)

2 DAYS

So far we have explored the lives of the traditional Netsilik to gain insight into man, the cultural animal. Before turning to the contemporary Netsilik, we recommend a glimpse of traditional Eskimo life in another tribe.

The classic film "Nanook of the North" is one of the finest ethnographic films ever made. We strongly recommend its use near the close of the Netsilik unit. The traditional Eskimo life on the east coast of Hudson's Bay in the 1920's is both like and unlike that of the Netsilik. Viewing the film should give children a new perspective on the Netsilik, and on man.

Film, "Nanook of the North"
(55 min.), available for rental:
see supplemental film list in
A Guide to the Course
Film projector
Screen

After their intensive study of the traditional Netsilik, the children should not only be able to learn from the film, but they should bring considerable related knowledge to it. The following background material will be helpful.

"Nanook of the North" was filmed by Robert Flaherty in 1920 and 1921 as publicity for the French fur trading company, Revillon Frères. Flaherty, an American prospector with no anthropological training, lived closely with the Eskimos of the east coast of Hudson Bay for

over a year. He organized his film around a middle-aged Eskimo called Nanook. There is no plot; the film sequences portray Nanook in real life situations (hunting, traveling, being with his family). Flaherty's aim was more than commercial: he wanted to show on film Nanook's own vision of the Arctic and the Eskimo. He succeeded by filming gestures and postures that were at once typically Eskimo and profoundly human.

B. The Changing Lives of Canada's Eskimos 2 DAYS

Culture change is a vast subject, but no study of the Netsilik Eskimos is complete without considering it. As a result of contact with a modern technological society, traditional Netsilik life is disappearing. It is easy to see what the Eskimos have gained by contact, but what they have lost should not be overlooked.

Filmstrip, "The Netsilik Today"
"The Changing Lives of Canada's Eskimos"
in Talks to Teachers

Filmstrip projector
Screen

1. THE NETSILIK TODAY

The filmstrip "The Netsilik Today" shows scenes of contemporary Netsilik life (see notes at the end of the lesson). After viewing the filmstrip once for an overall impression, divide the class into three groups. Have each group watch the filmstrip a second time and record their observations of one of the following:

- a. New ways of life (materials, customs and beliefs)
- b. Old ways
- c. Combinations of old and new ways

A classroom chart might then be compiled on the blackboard.

Sample chart:

New ways	Old ways	Combinations
rifles celebrating Mass stove clothes bought in stores	using a seal-oil lamp living in igloos hunting seals	holding Mass in an igloo hunting seals with rifles

2. OTHER CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO GROUPS

Children should give reports at this time on research they have done on the modern Netsilik or other Eskimo groups. (See The Netsilik Eskimos at the Inland Camps, p. 20.) Questions that they might consider in their reports:

How do societies change? Are the changes beneficial? harmful?

What must the modern Eskimo child learn to take his place in a rapidly changing society?

Additional films of the modern Eskimo (for comments on these films see A Guide to the Course):

"Land of the Long Day"

"Angotee, Story of an Eskimo Boy"

"Eskimo Artist -- Kenojuak"

NOTES ON FILMSTRIP: THE NETSILIK TODAY

FRAME 1. This is Itimangnark's house in the Eskimo settlement at the Pelly Bay mission (Roman Catholic) at the mouth of the Kugardjuk River, Pelly Bay. In 1959, only three Netsilik hunters had houses: Itimangnark, Irkowagtok and Tungilik, all of whom were excellent hunters. Most of the other Netsilik live in tents nearby. The house is made of wood and covered with canvas, inside and out.

FRAME 2. Kringhorn catches Arctic char with a net from his wooden dory near the mouth of a river that flows into Pelly Bay. His boat is imported and powered by an outboard motor.

FRAME 3. Karmatsiark, Kringhorn's wife, cleans fish with her ulu outside their canvas tent. Their adopted child plays with a metal pot. Karmatsiark wears an imported duffel parka covered with a cotton outer garment.

FRAME 4. Some Netsilik men fish for Arctic char in the traditional manner at the stone weir. Although the Netsilik spend most of the year near the mission on the eastern side of Pelly Bay, they still make seasonal trips inland and north for hunting and fishing. In the summer, the whole family makes a trip inland to a stone weir to spear fish. In the fall they again go inland and live in tents along the shore of the river while they spear fish through the thin river ice. Only the men go on a winter trip. They travel to the open water in the Gulf of Boothia to hunt for seals with rifles. The women and children stay behind so the children can attend the Pelly Bay School. In the spring whole families go north and south along the shore of Pelly Bay to hunt seals. These trips are usually brief. For a large part of the year the people live near the Pelly Bay mission.

FRAME 5. Two hunters prepare to hunt seals in the late spring. The ice has melted sufficiently to enable seals to come up through cracks in the ice. The hunters will use a rifle and a cloth screen for camouflage as they creep up on seals basking in the sun. The sled is made of imported wood and holds a case containing the primus stove, a teapot and mugs.

FRAME 6. A woman tends a kudlik (stone lamp) inside the igloo. She is wearing a duffel parka. A primus stove stands in the foreground, along with a cooking pot and a teapot. In the background is a frying pan holding bannock, a lightly leavened bread with raisins.

FRAME 7. A view of the Pelly Bay settlement in winter. A ceremonial igloo is in the foreground. To the right is the tower of the mission, built by the first missionary, Father Henry, between 1936 and 1938. At the right is a chapel.

Behind the ceremonial igloo is the store, where the women can buy needles, thread and tea and the men can buy guns, ammunition, tobacco and steel tools. The missionary, Father Van de Velde, runs the store at no profit. The goods are shipped by boat to Repulse Bay and carried by sled overland for five days to Pelly Bay. Trading trips are made only in winter, because in summer travel is too slow and difficult. The Eskimos sell fox and seal skins at the store. They also receive a family allowance from the Canadian Government. Elderly people receive an old-age pension.

The antenna is for a radio that is used only in emergencies. The shack also contains a generator to supply power for the radio.

FRAME 8. Mass is celebrated inside the ceremonial igloo on feast days, because the chapel is too small for the whole tribe. Here Father Van de Velde, spiritual leader, teacher and trader, celebrates a midnight Mass at Easter. Construction paper from the school has been attached to the wall of the igloo to make a decorative background for the Mass.

FRAME 9. After the Mass has been celebrated, the Eskimos hold a song-fest that includes a drum dance performed in the traditional way.

FRAME 10. The drum dance is followed by a communal feast. Here the tea kettles stand next to the primus stove. The Eskimo on the left wears a parka made of nylon, a material imported experimentally because of its light weight and low cost. However, the Eskimos found that it made a noise when they hunted for seals and decided not to buy more of them.

FRAME 11. Children blow up balloons given out by the missionary during the Easter party in the ceremonial igloo.

FRAME 12. Some of the Pelly Bay people stand at one end of the chapel. (Father Van de Velde stands in the center of the third row.) The wooden building attached at the right is a combination reception room, library and museum of local curios collected by the missionary. It is unheated and therefore is used only during the two summer months.

The photographs used in the filmstrip are reproduced with the permission of the National Film Board of Canada (frames 5, 6, 8 and 11) and the National Museum of Canada (frames 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10 and 12). Most of the photographs were taken in the early 1960's.

C. What Makes Man Human?

1 or 2 DAYS

This course has no ending. An understanding of what makes man human is a continuing process. Through the study of animals, the Netsilik Eskimos and themselves, children have begun their own inquiry. Although there have been times in the course when we have made generalizations about groups, we have never talked specifically about aspects of the Netsilik that could be called common human characteristics. The children should be asked to think of how they could generalize about all men from their Netsilik study, and through this to think about the question: What makes man human?

Film, "Winter Sea Ice Camp,"
Part III

Film projector
Screen
Optional: Film of
another society

1. WHAT MAKES MAN HUMAN?

View again the film "Winter Sea Ice Camp," Part III, and ask the children:

What things in the film do you think only Eskimos do?

What characteristics common to all men did you see in the film?

What is the value of studying a society different from your own?

What have you learned from your Netsilik study about yourself? about all men?

Using pictures, drawings, newspapers, stories and poems, the children could make a scrapbook about one characteristic common to all men seen in the film. This is similar to the first exercise of the course, but now they will be able to add many Netsilik examples. Children might also want to prepare a play or program to explain to other children some aspect of the course that interested them.

OPTIONAL

Other Societies. Have the children begin to investigate the lives of people in other societies. Their study of the Netsilik should provide guidelines for such a study. They may wish to concentrate on one aspect, such as: the mythology of a society and what it tells us about the concerns and lives of the people; economic activities of men and how they are related to the environment and to the social concerns of the society; conflict and the ways it is resolved.

Before they start, children should prepare questions they want to explore. Films and books about other societies are listed below as possible starting points for such an investigation.

Before they start, children should prepare questions they want to explore. Films about other societies are listed below as possible starting points for such an investigation.

"Four Families"

A picture of families in India, France, Japan and Canada with particular emphasis on childhood.

"The Hunters"

A film that follows four Bushmen on a giraffe hunt in the Kalahari desert, with occasional glimpses at Bushman family life.

"Man of Aran"

A documentary of fishermen's unending fight with the sea off the West Coast of Ireland.

"The Three Grandmothers"

A look at the lives of grandmothers in Nigeria, Brazil and Canada.