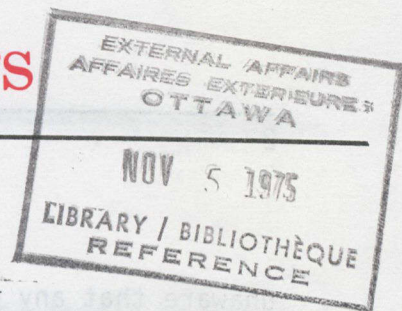




# Reference Papers



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## THE ESKIMOS OF CANADA

(Prepared by the Social Development Division, Territorial and Social Development Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.)

The many changes that have occurred in the Canadian North during recent years have affected almost every aspect of the lives of the Inuit (as some Eskimos now prefer to be called). There are only about 100,000 Inuit in the world, about 20,000 of whom live in Canada. The others are to be found in the United States, Denmark and the U.S.S.R. The Canadian Inuit inhabit a strip of territory that extends nearly half-way along the Arctic coast, and they occupy some inland regions as well. Throughout this entire area they are notable for the uniformity of their physical type, their language and their culture.

Early records and archaeological finds indicate that the Inuit of Canada once ranged further south than they do today, especially on the Atlantic seaboard. Early in the seventeenth century they were reported along the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and they occupied the whole coast of Labrador. In the Hudson Bay region they do not seem to have appeared further south than Cape Jones on the east and Churchill on the west.

The original Inuit were chiefly a coastal people, who fished and hunted seals, walrus, polar bears and whales. The Caribou, or Inland, Inuit inhabited the barrens and lived on caribou meat and fish caught in the numerous lakes. The inland population made their fires with shrubs instead of the animal fat used by the coastal groups. They rarely visited the sea -- in fact, some of them lived their whole lives without seeing salt water.

For over 4,000 years the Inuit or their predecessors, through four culture sequences, have inhabited Canada's Arctic regions. Several Icelandic sagas describe encounters with people who are thought to have been Eskimos, and the early European explorers of the Arctic occasionally came across people of the same type. The Europeans introduced the natives to the idea of trade and familiarized them with many new goods. This influence, however, was transitory; the real development of Canada's Arctic began much later than that of other Arctic lands. While their relatives in other countries were already trading with the whites, many Canadian Inuit remained completely

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unaware that any men existed except themselves. Their isolation helps explain why they called themselves Inuit -- "The People", the only people.

#### Coming of the whalers

In some places the first extended contact was with the crews of whaling ships. As early as 1821, British whalers ventured north into Davis Strait and Baffin Bay; whalers from the United States soon followed. By the 1860s the whale hunt had spread into nearly all the navigable waters of the Eastern Arctic. During the next decade, the hunt took such a toll of whales in this region that the American whalers began to turn their eyes westward, and so came into contact with the nomadic Eskimos of the Western Arctic.

From the Scottish and American whalers the Eskimos acquired a knowledge of wooden boats, firearms and tobacco, as well as European clothing, food, tools and utensils.

Trade brought with it disease; it also resulted in a certain amount of racial intermixture. Among the more practical innovations for the Inuit were the skills of the deep-sea sailor and a new manner of hunting, which differed greatly from that with which they were familiar.

An important change in their way of life resulted for those Inuit families who were employed by the whalers in manning boats and helping to run shore stations. When a ship was about to venture into areas where there were no Eskimos, large numbers of native men, women and children were taken aboard during the early summer. In the autumn, if the whaler did not winter on the new whaling-ground, the Inuit were returned to their home territory. If the ship did winter, the natives either remained on board or lived nearby until the following season. Though they received little payment for their services, they were assured of plenty of meat so long as the whaling was successful. Even during an unprofitable season, they were usually given sufficient food and other supplies to tide them over. Some fell heir to whale-boats. Most of the men acquired rifles, ammunition, clothing and tools, while the women obtained knives, cooking utensils, needles and matches. When, after about a century of prosperity, the whaling industry came to an end in the Canadian Arctic, the Eskimos emerged better equipped in many ways to make a living in their own country.

As the bottom dropped out of the whaling market, the value of white-fox fur soared to a level that made the operation of Arctic trading-

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posts commercially feasible. Many a whaler turned trader as the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company shifted north to the tundra. In the long run, the influence of the trader on the Inuit was far more extensive than that of the whaler had been.

The first trading-post in Eskimo territory was established at Wolstenholme on the south side of Hudson Strait. The influence of Fort Chimo (1830) and Little Whale River (1854) was felt along the whole stretch of coast between the two places. By the 1930s, the Arctic regions were covered by a network of trading posts belonging to the HBC and other trading concerns. By 1937, what was then considered adequate coverage was made of all the inhabited areas of the Canadian Arctic. The HBC today has over 50 stores in the Arctic.

#### Transition gradual

The transition of the Eskimos from their primitive state has been a gradual one. It is difficult to generalize about the Inuit as a whole because there are significant regional differences, caused by the progress of the different groups within their own cultures and by the degree to which they have been affected by the white man's way of life. Innovations such as firearms have had a tremendous effect on the daily lives of the Inuit. From the early years of this century to the Second World War, the lure of new goods offered by the fur trade gradually involved the Inuit in a new economy. With it came the breakdown of an ancient way of life. This influence was felt in varying degrees over a million square miles of Arctic territory. Until the war, however, the Canadian Inuit still lived a fairly primitive nomadic life in a remote, sparsely-populated country. They obtained their staple food and their clothing from the resources of the land. Their other requirements were generally bought with the proceeds of trapping.

The Second World War and the rapid development of long-range air travel broke down the isolation of the Arctic. Air-strips were established in many places for defence installations, and to service meteorological and radio stations.

Other interests also started to move north. The situation of the Inuit became a matter of concern to the Canadian public. In the early Fifties, therefore, the Canadian Government began to prepare the native people for their proper role in the economy of the changing Arctic. Improved education, health and welfare services and housing, social, resource and economic development programs were begun.



## Administration

Since in every respect they are full citizens, the Eskimos enjoy the same rights and bear the same responsibilities as other Canadians -- for example, in regard to the franchise, federal, provincial and territorial law, taxation, land ownership and social services. Although the Inuit were excluded from the Indian Act, a Supreme Court decision of 1939 held that the term "Indian" as used in the British North America Act included them and that the legislative responsibility for the Inuit was a federal one. The special federal jurisdiction nevertheless represents an extra service, not an alternative to normal citizenship.

Present Government policy towards the Inuit is basically one of equalizing their opportunities while enabling them to retain as much of their culture as they wish, so that, as a group, they may make a distinctive contribution to Canada's multicultural society. To this end, the Federal Government, either directly, or indirectly through the government of the Northwest Territories, is involved with the Inuit in the programs discussed in the following pages.

## Government

Constitutional development in the Northwest Territories has been consistent with the federal purpose of furthering the evolution of self-government. The first step was taken in 1969, with the creation of the government of the Northwest Territories, which took over functions of a provincial type from the Department of Northern Affairs and other federal departments. The goal of the Northern Affairs Program is the establishment of fully representative and responsible government in the North.

In 1975, two bills were introduced for the purpose of giving the North greater representation at the national level -- Bill C-9, to provide the Yukon and the Northwest Territories with a seat apiece in the Senate, and Bill C-59, to provide the N.W.T. with a second seat in the House of Commons. The life of the Territorial Council was extended from three to four years in 1970 by amendments to the N.W.T. Act. In 1974, another amendment established a fully-elected Council of 15 members and a Speaker to preside over it. In 1975, two elected Council members were appointed to the Executive Committee for the first time, one of whom was an Eskimo. Elections held in March 1975 resulted in the first native majority in the Council -- nine members, of whom six were Inuit. With regard to services of a provincial type, the transfer of responsibility for housing was completed in April 1974.



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Of 60 settlements listed in the Northwest Territories in 1974, 48 are incorporated or organized municipalities governed by locally-elected councils. Membership on the councils is 76.2 percent native; the majority of native members are Inuit.

An increasing number of Inuit are forming their own associations or serving in groups with non-Inuit people -- for example, in hunters' and trappers' associations and on the Game Management Advisory Council, which advises the Commissioner. Inuit representatives have also been appointed to the Strathcona Sound-Training and Employment Advisory Committee, the Alcohol and Drug Co-ordinating Council and the Boards of Directors of the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation, Canadian Arctic Producers and Panarctic Oil.

The N.W.T. government is following a policy of introducing "grass-roots" control of individual communities by creating hamlets and villages with councils of their own, in most cases with Inuit or Indian majorities.

Such factors as geography, population, the tax-base, economic growth and the administrative experience of the N.W.T. government have had a bearing on the achievement of self-government. The territories are large in size but small in population. Their revenues are low in comparison to their expenditures, and will remain so until there is increased economic development.

#### Eskimo associations

During recent years, a number of associations devoted to the special interests of the Inuit have come into existence. These groups have been supported by federal funds since 1971. The most notable are: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the national Eskimo organization; the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), active in the Western Arctic; the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA); and the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA). All these groups are dedicated to the retention and preservation of the culture and traditional values of the Inuit, to the promotion of social improvement, and to the securing of aboriginal rights and claims to lands and waters historically used by the Inuit. The native associations have initiated numerous projects involving land claims, the Inuit language, the laws, education and game-management.

#### Cultural development

One of the principal aims of the Eskimo associations is the preservation of Inuit culture. In the pursuit of this goal, they encourage native artists, craftsmen and writers to seek national and inter-

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national recognition and to take a leading part in the maintenance and development of the unique way of life of their people. This cultural program aims at the creation of a body of Inuit literature and the encouragement of Inuit participation in the performing arts.

Since 1970 the Federal Government has been supporting these aims by means of national and international exhibitions and a program of public information and lectures. These activities reflect an ever-increasing demand for art, the value of which to the Inuit community in 1974 was estimated at \$3 million.

During 1974, a contract was signed with Inuit Tapirisat of Canada for a survey to develop a universally-acceptable spelling system. Regular grants are now made to Inuit groups and individuals for the promotion of a variety of cultural endeavours, including the publication of literature, travel and exchange programs.

Since 1969-70, a number of Inuit writers have received assistance in publishing their work and certain Arctic communities have been encouraged to print local newspapers in Inuit and English. Inuit actors have demonstrated their talent on film and in the drama; an Inuit-produced film has received critical acclaim in international competition.

Cross-cultural conferences to promote Inuit understanding of southern conditions have been organized and video-taped for distribution in the Arctic.

#### Economic development program

The objects of this program include credit facilities, through a loan fund, in areas of the Arctic not served by commercial institutions and grants to stimulate economic growth. To encourage full participation in the economic development of the North through co-operative ownership and enterprise, as well as resource-harvesting in the N.W.T., loans are made to trappers for food and supplies.

In the beginning, the growth of co-operatives was slow, because of physical isolation and unfamiliarity with southern market conditions and business practices. The development of communications in the North has rectified this situation.

The first two native co-operatives in the Arctic were incorporated in 1959. By 1974 there were 41. These are multi-purpose organizations engaged in the production of arts and crafts, in fur trading, construction, retailing and the provision of municipal services. In 1974 the value of their business amounted to over \$7.5 million. They

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employed about 300 local residents full time and about 600 on a casual basis.

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs also supports Canadian Arctic Producers as the central marketing service for the art-producing co-operatives of the N.W.T. Sales by this company have increased from over \$1 million in 1970 to over \$2.5 million in 1974.

#### Health and social development

The basic N.W.T. social and welfare programs are comparable to those of the provinces. They are provided mainly by the territorial government, some responsibilities for health care for the Inuit and other residents being shared with the Federal Government. The N.W.T. has hospitalization and medical services similar to those available in the provinces, at no cost to residents. Health facilities range from modern hospitals in larger centres to nursing stations in the small communities. While sophisticated medical care is available only in the hospitals, professional attention is available to all people, and arrangements exist to transport the sick to southern facilities in cases of emergency. Dramatic improvements in the rates of infant mortality and respiratory diseases have occurred among the Inuit, but the harsh climate and the low economic status of many natives still take a heavy toll. Infant mortality was lowered from 53.7 a 1,000 in 1969 to 27.77 a 1,000 in 1973. Venereal disease is still widespread, and is associated in many instances with the influx of workers from Southern Canada.

The aims of the social development program are to reduce infant-mortality rates and to continue efforts to combat tuberculosis, venereal disease and other communicable diseases. The Department of National Health and Welfare has principal responsibility in these areas; results, however, are dependent on other factors, such as better housing, improved water- and waste-disposal systems and home-management programs, all of which fall within the jurisdiction of the territorial government.

Although sporadic outbreaks of tuberculosis still occur, there has been a large reduction in the number of new cases reported each year. For example, T.B. declined among the Inuit from 103 cases in 1969 to only 17 cases in 1973. The treatment of most T.B. patients is now given mainly in the North, where surveillance is also maintained over old cases and new-case contacts. Most Eskimos are now willing to report to the medical authorities if they suspect they have T.B., whereas previously they were unwilling to take tests or undergo X-rays, since these forms of treatment meant leaving home, relatives and native food for long periods. The new approach also

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reduces mental strain, and has resulted in a shorter treatment period.

The North is not without its alcohol problems. The territorial alcohol-education programs, in collaboration with committees of concerned persons in various communities, now educate and counsel individuals, families and employers on the prevention and treatment of drinking problems.

Crime is also being combated at the local level by decentralizing correctional services in the hope that keeping inmates closer to their homes will act as a positive factor in their rehabilitation.

The N.W.T. now provides funds for recreational purposes and leadership-training programs. Wherever possible, existing facilities, such as school gymnasiums, are used; however, other major projects, such as portable swimming pools and an arena, have been undertaken with success. There has been extensive Inuit participation in the Arctic Winter and Summer Games, which include native games and competitions.

#### Housing and community services

One of the most difficult adjustments imposed on the Eskimos in recent years has been necessitated by the increase in urbanization. Isolated settlements have become organized communities, and a sedentary way of life, with most of the amenities of a Southern Canadian town, has become possible. In spite of the good things that urbanization has brought with it, the Inuit-turned-townsmen still experiences much frustration and much conflict between the new "life-style" and values and those he has been used to.

Northern housing programs are intended to provide adequate shelter for all Inuit at rents they can afford. The homes that are being built in accordance with this policy are of a standard as high as possible consistent with the level of services available in the individual communities. An important element in the success of such programs is the participation of the natives themselves in their operation and administration.

The main housing agency is Northern Rental Housing, which came into existence in the Eastern Arctic and now serves the N.W.T. The rent for a house provided with heat, light, water and sewer services starts at \$5.00 a month. About 2,500 homes have been erected in the N.W.T. under the NRH program, which has paid high dividends in better health conditions and has played an important part in the process of rapid urbanization. Tenant associations have taken over



the administration of the program in the settlements. Such groups have been very successful in developing community spirit and social goals with the common objective of improving living conditions and services in their own communities.

The Northern Rental Housing program contains a provision for home ownership as soon as tenants become financially able; if tenants desire to become owners, part of the rent they pay is applied to the purchase price. Ownership has been hindered by the fact that, whereas fuel-oil, electricity, water, sewage and garbage services are supplied to tenants, owners must assume the full cost of providing these services, which can be very expensive.

Water delivery in the North, as well as sewage and garbage disposal, is done mainly by truck. In some communities, Inuit co-operatives are responsible for utilities; elsewhere they are provided by the Northwest Territories government or by private companies that possess the tenders. In communities with hamlet or village status, utilities, road maintenance and snow removal have been handed over to councils that, in most cases, have Inuit majorities. In larger, more-developed communities, utilidor\* systems provide both water-supply and sewage-disposal. As settlements grow and become better planned, utilidors are replacing truck delivery and pick-up. New sewage and garbage systems are being planned, not only to ensure the delicate environmental balance is not disturbed but to improve health.

### Communications

In November 1972, a new era in communications began with the launching of *Anik*, the telecommunications satellite. *Anik* provides instant and reliable news and information to the Inuit and has allowed extensive use of telephones for intersettlement communications, replacing unreliable radiophones. It has not only brought the South into better focus for the Inuit but has facilitated communications on an individual level between settlements. Television and radio programs have been broadcast in *Inuktituut* (the Eskimo language), and it is hoped that this activity can be increased as more Inuit technicians and announcers are trained. There are already a number of Inuit announcer/operators and managers for both radio and television stations.

### Training and employment

Wage employment is dominated by the white population, almost exclusively on the employer side. Government, the natural-resource exploration and extraction industries and transportation are the predominant employers, and are likely to remain so. Employment ideas

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\* Pipes, cables, etc., raised and insulated to provide utilities to communities built on permafrost.



have spread north from Southern Canada with little change, except in oil-exploration, where crews are rotated between drill-sites and home-bases in the South. A happy innovation has been the introduction of this pattern into some Inuit settlements.

As the Eskimos become better trained and educated, they are qualifying for a greater variety of jobs. Many work as Government clerks and translators; others are in the employ of private companies. Occupations as diverse as miner, carpenter, tinsmith and storeman are now open to them. Among the jobs available to Eskimo women are interpreter, nursing assistant, waitress and airline stewardess. The Northern Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation now has Eskimo announcer/operators and managers on its staff. Some Inuit men have taken to the seafaring life and others have chosen to become aircraft pilots. The first Inuit minister of the Anglican Church was ordained in 1960, and there is already one Inuit doctor.

The Government gives a high priority to the provision of training and employment opportunities to Inuit that meet their special needs and aspirations. In 1972, a Special Staff Group recommended the establishment of a Committee on the Employment of Native Northerners, which is having some success in promoting native training and employment.

A Northern Careers Program has also been developed to provide money and other kinds of assistance to federal departments operating projects in the North to train Inuit, principally for middle management positions.

Government contracts are also used as a means of promoting native employment, by the insertion of special clauses requiring employers to use Inuit labour. Through Hire North, efforts are being made to train Eskimos and to provide an atmosphere in which they may learn about regular wage-earning during on-the-job training.

The search for oil, gas and minerals in the Arctic is providing employment for many Inuit in the petroleum and related industries. A recent example is the lead-zinc mining venture at Nanisivik, on Strathcona Sound, northern Baffin Island. A pilot project begun in the summer of 1974 by joint agreement between the Federal Government and the industry, this mine affords employment and other opportunities to Inuit residents of communities on northern Baffin Island. The use of rotational labour by Panarctic and Gulf Oil in their explorations has also increased the number of Inuit workers.

The principal problem remains the relative lack of education and

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skills. The dearth of opportunities in some settlements in contrast to the number of people available for employment means that some Inuit must complete their education in Southern Canada, where counselling units help solve the problems of adapting to the South and to the wage-earning economy, as well as providing vocational guidance.

### Education

The aim of the education program is to provide learning opportunities by means of a variety of projects that run the gamut from kindergarten to continuing and special educational courses for adults. Wherever possible, cultural factors are taken into account. More parental involvement is sought in the running of local schools.

A major concern has been the need for classrooms to accommodate the rapidly-increasing Inuit enrolment, which has increased by 38 per cent over the period 1969-1975. In 1974-75, there were 4,689 students registered, not including adult, special and vocational students.

In 1955, the then Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources launched a major program to build schools and pupil residences throughout the Territories to replace church schools and serve all children except those accommodated in the established school districts at Yellowknife and Hay River. Large schools and residences were built in the larger communities and day-schools were provided in most of the smaller places. Public assistance is not confined to elementary and secondary education. Inuit capable of special training may be sent to vocational, technical or other training-schools in the provinces. Further assistance is provided through apprenticeship training and job-placement. The N.W.T. government pays for attendance at recognized universities in Southern Canada.

The development of curricula to meet the special needs of northern pupils has presented a special problem. In the early years, the curricula were closely related to those of the provinces in order to maintain comparable standards, and to provide northern children with the kind and quality of education that would enable them to compete with provincial residents. During the past ten years, however, the emphasis in northern education has changed considerably, particularly since the N.W.T. government assumed full responsibility for education. The most significant changes have resulted from the recognition that the process of assimilation of native youngsters into a southern white Canadian culture, upon which most thinking was based (not only in education but in everything else), simply does not work. It has been realized that mere acquisition by the

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native northerner of a transplanted southern Canadian education is not the answer to the problems of transition. In recent years, new curricula have been developed that recognize the way of life, the language, history, heritage and culture of the native people. It is the policy of the territorial government to teach natives in their mother tongues in the primary grades. This program has just begun.

Problems have been encountered in the introduction of Inuit language instruction to northern schools, as there are few teachers with a knowledge of Inuktitut. Special teacher-training courses are provided, but, to bridge the gap in the meantime, the N.W.T. is employing an increasing number of classroom assistants. In 1969-70, there were only 48 in the Territories, compared to 123 in 1974-75. The schools are now using materials drawn from the northern cultures as well as from the South to form an educational program suited to the people and reflecting their values.

Concurrent with the expansion of academic programs, more emphasis has been placed on continuing and special education. Adult-education courses are now offered in more than 25 communities. An outstanding example is the Fort Smith Adult Vocational Training Centre, whose curriculum has developed from a single course in heavy-duty-equipment operation to instruction in more than 12 skills, ranging from nurse's assistant to telecommunications specialist.

A major object of the northern educational program is the production of educational material (film-strips, books, stories, etc.) in the Eskimo language, which requires much time and money.

The average Inuit child is staying longer in school and attaining a level of education far beyond what was possible for his predecessors. A critical problem that has resulted from the very success of the educational program is the fact that children now quickly surpass their parents in the comprehension of modern life. The education of adults, many of whom speak little or no English and have slight understanding of life outside their communities, is a pressing need. While the needs of children will continue to receive the main emphasis in the school-system, more attention will henceforth be given to the educational needs of their elders. The territorial government is promoting a concerted effort to include parents in academic up-grading and, through vocational and adult-education programs, to equip them to meet the situations they must face in the developing society of the North.

As northern settlements grow, education is becoming more and more decentralized. Communities are gradually gaining higher grade-



levels. Centralized education and hostel living, which were thought to be the answer, are gradually being replaced, since the students completing high school under this system were few. The home environment is now recognized as a better one not only for the student's mental stability but for training in his own culture.

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The first part of the report is a general statement of the purpose of the study. It is to determine the effect of the new curriculum on the students' learning. The second part is a description of the methods used in the study. The third part is a description of the results of the study. The fourth part is a discussion of the results and their implications.

The results of the study show that the new curriculum has a positive effect on the students' learning. The students who were taught with the new curriculum performed better than those who were taught with the old curriculum. This suggests that the new curriculum is more effective than the old curriculum.

The implications of the study are that the new curriculum should be used in all schools. This will ensure that all students have access to the most effective curriculum. The study also suggests that the new curriculum should be used in other subjects as well.

In conclusion, the study has shown that the new curriculum has a positive effect on the students' learning. This suggests that the new curriculum is more effective than the old curriculum. The implications of the study are that the new curriculum should be used in all schools. This will ensure that all students have access to the most effective curriculum.