AN INTERDISCIPLINARY EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE TO ACCOMPANY THE *UNIKKAUSIVUT: SHARING OUR STORIES* INITIATIVE

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AtuKatigennik Unikkausittinik
Sharing Our Stories | Transmettre nos histoires

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Ilinniaqtuliqiyikkut
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NFB ONF

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INTRODUCTION

In my people's language, the term "*unikkausivut*" refers to the telling and sharing of stories. For centuries, Inuit life and culture have been contained in the spoken word. Words are responsible for giving direction to the world: stories describe the actions and knowledge of ancestors, so that they can guide the path of future generations. When the story of a past person or place is told, the subject of that story becomes alive once more.

It was just a short time ago that Inuit stories began to fall silent. This silence corresponds to the rapid social changes brought about by Inuit moving from life on the land to living in settled communities. In the push for Inuit to become modern people, there have been few alternatives but to adapt and move onward. The rush toward newness has made it difficult to find the right words to reflect on the stories of our past and to measure the experience of change.

The emergence of films by and about Inuit has created a new visual language that allows us to continue sharing our culture's past and present. Film gives us a chance to look back on what life was like for our ancestors and to contemplate what life is like now in this modern society. If we were to step into the shoes of our grandmothers and grandfathers and look toward the future (which is now the present day), the scene would have been completely unimaginable. Our people have gone from living a life of survival in *tupiit* (tents) and *igluit* (snow houses) to being housed in modern heated homes with all the amenities of the South. Despite these changes, we have continually upheld the importance, and art, of telling stories about our experience.

The National Film Board's (NFB) *Unikkausivut: Sharing Our Stories* initiative has created an opportunity to showcase Inuit culture and the changes it has faced over the last 70 years. The *Unikkausivut* initiative is proof of the ways we Inuit continue to adapt to our new world. In Inuit culture, learning traditionally takes place by watching elders and family members and following the examples they set. I like to think that we are continuing this practice through film, with its ability to document and demonstrate our teachings to others. In the *Unikkausivut* film *How to Build an Igloo*, for example, many subtle lessons about customary practices and taboos are present for those who want to learn from them.

Our ancient art of storytelling has never relied on pen and paper: it is an oral tradition, passed on through memory from generation to generation. The use of Digital Storytelling is a means of capturing these stories and passing them on in a new medium of memory that is capable of reaching out through televisions or computer screens around the globe. Watching these films is a way for our people to remember memories and reminisce about times in their lives that were enjoyable. For those Inuit that have not lived the traditional way, it is a way to connect with our ancestors. Connecting to and understanding the decisions our people have made throughout history gives us the roots to understand who we are, and why we are here with the values and customs that we hold. We are still within arm's reach of our ancestors through watching the *Unikkausivut* collection, and still have a sacred connection to our descendants through listening to and watching these stories that the NFB has compiled. We should not look back to the life we could have lived if we were one of our forefathers, but cherish the life they endured and examine the life we can live for our people today by educating ourselves through film.

Perhaps most importantly, the *Unikkausivut* collection allows us to demonstrate that Inuit culture is still present, but evolving in the way that cultures naturally do. This film collection is important as a tool for understanding traditions that are lost or almost forgotten. It is just as important, however, as a way for us to educate the rest of the world about Inuit culture and ways of life that still thrive in the modern world. The *Unikkausivut* collection continues our traditions of learning through observation, and keeping our culture alive through the telling of stories about who we were, who we are, and who we want to be.

Pam Gross
Kitikmeot Heritage Society

ABOUT THE UNIKKAUSIVUT: *SHARING OUR STORIES* INITIATIVE

Inuit have an ancient tradition of passing down tales and legends from one generation to the next through the use of visual imagery and storytelling. The National Film Board of Canada (NFB) has sought to continue this tradition through film. Over the last 70 years, the NFB has developed and maintained the world's largest collection of films by and about Inuit. We continue to share over 100 of these documentaries and animated works with people throughout Canada and beyond. The NFB's collection of Arctic films continues to be enriched, with more than a dozen new films currently in production.

Unikkausivut: Sharing Our Stories is an Inuit audio-visual legacy initiative produced by the National Film Board of Canada in collaboration with the Inuit Relations Secretariat of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, and the Government of Nunavut, Department of Education, and with the support of many Inuit people and organizations, including Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

On DVD, *Unikkausivut: Sharing Our Stories* is available as a two-volume box set of three discs each, featuring 24 new or classic NFB films. Online, Canadians have access to more than 60 films at nfb.ca/Unikkausivut, with more titles added regularly. Films from the box set are available in English, French, and Inuktitut, versioned in the dialects of each of the four Inuit regions of Canada in which they were made.

The strong public interest generated by the launch of this initiative in 2011 was accompanied by numerous requests that the films be more widely distributed for educational use. The box set's recognized value as a culturally relevant pedagogical tool has led to the development of specific educational outreach components for the film material. A partnership with the Government of Nunavut has ensured that schools throughout the territory have complete access to the *Unikkausivut* box set and to both the *Netsilik Eskimos* and *Tuktu* series of NFB films versioned in the Netsilik and Innuinaqtun dialects, through the Department of Education learning online resources. The *Unikkausivut* box set has been distributed free of charge to Inuit communities across the North and in urban centres.

Films allow us to travel to places and times beyond our everyday experience. For millions of young people across Canada, the Arctic is a realm shaped by popular stereotypes, media sound bites and their own imaginations. By introducing the *Unikkausivut* box set and educational guide into Canadian classrooms, it is our hope that educators can begin to provide students with an inside perspective on traditions, histories, worldviews and stories as they historically existed, and continue to thrive, among Inuit of the Canadian Arctic. Over the last 100 years, the lives of Inuit people have moved from nomadic hunting and gathering to settlement in communities and 9-to-5 jobs. The chronology of films throughout this box set weaves together the intricate story of this transition through the voices and experiences of Inuit people, highlighting the ways in which their traditional culture, values and knowledge have persevered despite many challenges. The goal in drawing these films together is to create a more complete perspective of the Arctic, as told through the lives of Inuit people.

The *Unikkausivut* box set and educator's guide are intended not only to help non-Inuit students visualize themes of change and continuity in the Canadian Arctic, but also to help those who live in the North better understand the diversity in Inuit practices and narratives. These films provide all learners with means for celebrating the rich traditions, stories and environment that have sustained Inuit people for so long.

ABOUT THE EDUCATOR'S GUIDE

Working in close relationship with Inuit organizations and consultants to ensure Inuit knowledge and perspective is at the heart of this project, and to facilitate classroom learning, an educational guide has been designed to introduce instructors to background information about Inuit life, both past and present. This guide links specific films from the *Unikkausivut* film collection to key issues in the Arctic, giving instructors a template for engaging students in conversations and activities about the region and its people. The goal of this guide is not to deliver a specific lesson plan, but rather to provide a resource to help educators gain a sufficiently broad understanding of subject material that will enable them to guide their classrooms through the viewing of films and related discussions.

As an instructional tool, this educational guide targets two different age groups. The first portion of the guide is aimed at younger learners, between 8 and 12 years of age. This section introduces the idea of traditional knowledge, or "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit," and uses short video clips to help students understand the social and cultural values that guide Inuit communities in the Canadian Arctic. A series of brief classroom activities is provided to allow students to recognize the importance and relevance of these social values to their own lives.

The second portion of this guide provides a more in-depth analysis of Arctic people, history and events. It is recommended that the activities, discussion questions and films referred to in this section be directed toward students aged 13 and older. This age range has been targeted primarily because some films in the collection contain content not suitable for younger viewers. It is strongly suggested that educators review the film material prior to classroom screening in order to ensure its relevance and suitability to their classroom audience.

A glossary and two additional appendices have been added to this educational guide to supplement student knowledge of both the Arctic and the art of Digital Storytelling. Appendix 1 features an in-depth examination of Residential Schools in Canada, the North and the legacy of this institution. Appendix 2 provides a Digital Storytelling Workshop for students who wish to begin documenting their own lives and stories through film. A map of "Inuit Nunangat," the four Inuit regions of Canada, is also included for reference as a helpful visual tool.

While this educational guide provides an outline for classroom discussion and critical media analysis, the films may be used to explore a large variety of themes more relevant to the interests and learning level of the specific grades being addressed.

OVERVIEW OF SECTION 1: LEARNING TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE THROUGH FILM AND EIGHT IQ PRINCIPLES

The first section of the *Unikkausivut* Educator's Guide is intended for students aged 8 to 12, and showcases eight short films illustrating various Inuit legends. These legends were typically told to young children as a means of helping them realize the social responsibilities and obligations that would be required of them as functioning members of a larger community. Legends often introduce ideas of social responsibility by highlighting the repercussions of individuals failing to act in appropriate ways. Many of the films presented in this section do the same. The eight films in this section have each been linked to a corresponding social value as presented in the *Guiding Principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, a document designed by the Nunavut Government to help incorporate traditional Inuit culture into everyday life. A classroom activity will accompany each film to help students better understand the meaning of the social value referenced by the film.

OVERVIEW OF SECTION 2: ARCTIC PEOPLE, HISTORY AND ENVIRONMENT

The second section of the *Unikkausivut* Educator's Guide is intended for older students aged 13+, and provides a more in-depth and critical analysis of Inuit culture and life in the Canadian Arctic. The section is divided into four modules:

- Inuit History
- Inuit Culture
- Geography and Environmental Issues
- Changes and Challenges in the North

In the guide, each of these themes is explored within the following structure:

1. Exploration of the Theme
    - A brief introduction to the module theme and its relevance to Inuit life.
2. Learning Outcomes
    - This section provides key learning objectives for each module. While the modules can be used for different educational purposes, the suggested learning outcomes have been tailored to the specific contextual information provided by this guide and accompanying films.
3. Background and Contextual Information
    - This section provides a more in-depth overview of the specific module theme. It has been designed to deepen instructors' knowledge of subject material and create a base for understanding Inuit culture and environment that can be further built upon according to desired curriculum direction.
4. Inuit Perspectives
    - Inuit people may envision many of the subjects discussed in this guide's modules (such as culture, environment, climate and social change) in a very different way than people who live outside of Inuit culture and the Arctic. Traditional forms of knowledge and experiencing the impact and influence of these subjects first-hand shape perception of these themes differently. This section will briefly introduce some of the important ways in which themes are perceived according to Inuit perspectives.
5. Related Films
    - This section suggests particular works in the *Unikkausivut* film collection that best exemplify the material discussed in each module. The links between the selected films and module content are sufficiently evident and do not require explicit description of the connections in the guidebook. Instructors should feel free to move beyond our film suggestions and develop their own connections between film content and the subject matter they wish to discuss.
6. Guiding/Essential Questions
    - The questions delivered in this section can act as a starting point to initiate discussion and debate, to engage with the specified theme.
7. Media Literacy Approaches
    - Media strongly influences how we view the world around us by shaping our attitudes, behaviours and ideas. This section suggests questions designed to help students critically understand and analyze the nature, techniques and impacts of the messages being communicated through the *Unikkausivut* film collection.
8. Suggested Classroom Activities
    - For each module, specific activities are suggested to help guide classroom instruction and ensure that student learning objectives are achieved.
9. Suggested Extension (Out-of-Class) Activities
    - This section includes research and writing activities to extend classroom learning. These activities can be assigned to students as individual or group activities for completion outside of the classroom or in the community.
10. Suggested Additional Reading
    - This section recommends various non-technical books and Internet sites that might be used to further one's knowledge about the Arctic and develop more specific examples regarding the modules' subjects.

SECTION 1: LEARNING TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE THROUGH FILM AND EIGHT IQ PRINCIPLES

In Inuit societies, the knowledge and experience of elders and ancestors is highly valued. Today, we often refer to the lessons gained from history as "traditional knowledge" or "Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit" (which translates as "that which has long been known to Inuit"). Inuit culture never used writing as a means of recording information, and for centuries detailed knowledge about hunting, animals, humans and spirits has been passed down orally from generation to generation. Even though traditional knowledge stems from the past, it is not something that is fixed or unchangeable. Traditional knowledge is always in a process of adapting itself to new environments. Unlike many other cultures' understandings of knowledge as an abstract entity, Inuit do not isolate information about the world from the realm of practical experience. Traditional knowledge is something that is both known at an intellectual level, and something that needs to be actively incorporated into daily life to strengthen relationships between people and nature, to promote strong social values, and to provide people with the tools and guidance needed to support healthy and successful lives.

There are always challenges to keeping traditional ways of life alive in a changing and increasingly non-traditional world. While traditional knowledge has always had to adapt to new circumstances, it has had a difficult time adjusting to the recent rapid changes in the Arctic. Knowledge about animal habits and ice conditions that has sustained Inuit hunters for centuries must realign with the environmental impacts of climate change. Practices for keeping communities healthy and strong that were originally developed to support small, nomadic family groups must now manage social dynamics at the level of towns and cities. In 1998, the Government of Nunavut worked with Inuit elders to identify core Inuit values that could help to guide Inuit's transition into modern times. The resulting document, known as the *Guiding Principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, describes eight underlying themes that have always been important to Inuit culture. In designing this document, it was hoped that these eight traditional principles could be applied to new situations and problems to help create solutions that ensure that the foundations of Inuit culture remain intact.

As a means of introducing students to Inuit culture and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principles, we have created a series of activities related to films from the *Unikkausivut* collection. Each of the activities below draws students' attention to a different principle and creates a visual context for that principle through the screening of a film. It is suggested that students watch each of the suggested films, discuss how their content relates to the principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, and follow the activities to help them understand the teachings of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in the context of their own experience and lives. While the eight Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit principles stem from Inuit tradition, they are important social values for individuals from any cultural background to follow. [See Appendix 3: IQ Principles Visual Map.]

PRINCIPLE 1: INUUQATIGIITSIARNIQ – RESPECTING OTHERS, RELATIONSHIPS AND CARING FOR PEOPLE

This principle emphasizes that we should always respect the ideas and opinions of other people and treat our community in a way that we ourselves want to be treated.

NFB Film: *Lumaaq: An Eskimo Legend,* Co Hoedman, 1975, 7 min 55 s

This film demonstrates the breakdown of respect and caring in one Inuit family through the wicked actions of a mother toward her blind son. The moral of this story (like the film itself) is somewhat dark, and suggests that when we show cruelty and disrespect to others, these unkindnesses are often reflected back upon us.

Student Activity: Respect for relationships has a strong impact on our lives. Have students think of one example from the past week in which they showed respect for another individual and one example from the past week in which they did not show respect. How would things be different if they had acted in another manner? Have students write or verbally narrate a short story about both events and how the situation might have played out if they had chosen to approach the relationship differently.

PRINCIPLE 2. TUNNGANARNIQ – FOSTERING GOOD SPIRIT BY BEING OPEN, WELCOMING AND INCLUSIVE

This principle encourages us to respect people's differences and to not make fun of others because they are not like ourselves.

NFB Film: *The Owl Who Married a Goose: An Eskimo Legend*, Caroline Leaf, 1974, 7 min 38 s

In this film, the Owl and the Goose fall in love despite their many physical differences. When the Goose's babies hatch, the Owl must learn to cope with these differences as he tries to conform to the group's way of life. This story exemplifies the challenges involved in recognizing difference and trying to be someone who we are not.

Student Activity: Have students form small groups and discuss the idea of inclusion and how it impacts the act of people working together. Using examples from the film, have students discuss how it makes people feel when they are made aware of being different from others, and what we can do to make people feel more welcome and part of our community. Students should draw up a list of five examples from their own school of how differences in people's religion, culture, and physical abilities can be both welcomed and accommodated.

PRINCIPLE 3. PILIRIQATIGIINNIQ – WORKING TOGETHER FOR A COMMON CAUSE

This principle demonstrates the necessity of understanding other people's advice and opinions when problem solving. It insists that we should work toward solutions that are beneficial to the group rather than the individual.

NFB Film: *Nunavut Animation Lab: Lumaajuuq*, Alethea Arnaquq-Baril, 2010, 7 min 36 s

This film examines the dynamics of a family working both together and against one another. A boy, his sister and a loon join forces to break the curse of blindness set upon the boy by his mother. The boy then plots his revenge on the mother and sends her to the bottom of the sea. The story of Lumaajuuq highlights the dark cycle of revenge, which can only be broken by cooperation and forgiveness.

Student Activity: Inuit legends often have a strong moral associated with their stories. Have students get together in small groups to design a series of short skits that demonstrate either the benefits of working together as a team or the repercussions associated with working against other individuals. Each team should take roughly half an hour to write and practise the play before presenting it to the classroom. Following the presentation of the skits, have students discuss the process of group teamwork that was involved in the creation of their play.

PRINCIPLE 4. AVATIMIK KAMATTIARNIQ – RESPECT AND CARE FOR THE LAND, ANIMALS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

This principle advises us to care for the environment around us by keeping it clean and respecting the animals and other creatures and spirits that inhabit the land. It is only by respecting our environment that we can make sure it will continue to sustain our everyday lives.

NFB Film: *Nunavut Animation Lab: I Am But a Little Woman*, Gyu Oh, 2010, 4 min 39 s

This film references the intricate relationship between humans and nature through the traditional Inuit art of sewing. Over the course of the film, a wall hanging is created that bears the images of humans, animals and nature, and blurs the boundaries between their real and imagined lives.

Student Activity: Have the classroom create a wall hanging that represents students' relationship to the environment. Each student should create one figure for the wall hanging, and explain to the class why the particular natural image was chosen and how they feel it relates to their own life. Once each student has delivered a presentation on the figure they created, all the pieces can be arranged and attached to a larger background in a pattern determined in consensus by the classroom. Depending on the age and ability of students, this project can either be done as a sewing project with images cut out from various colours of felt and stitched or glued to a fabric backdrop, or it can be created on paper, with students colouring paper figures using pencil crayons or paints.

PRINCIPLE 5. PILIMMAKSARNIQ – DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLS THROUGH OBSERVATION, MENTORING, PRACTICE AND EFFORT

This principle encourages us to learn from the skills and success of others. When things don't work out the way we want them to, we are advised to try and try again.

NFB Film: *Nunavut Animation Lab: Qalupalik*, Ame Papatsie, 2010, 5 min 34 s

In the short film Qalupalik, there are many new experiences that Anguti has to endure because he did not listen to his parents and elders and braved the qalupalik. Anguti gains skills that end up teaching him valuable life lessons.

Student Activity: Have students divide into groups of two. Over the course of the class each student should take a turn teaching something that they know well to their partner. This might include a song, a card trick, a game, or a dance. When teaching these skills to their partner, students should describe how they learned the skill themselves. The classroom can stage a talent show following this activity in which each student demonstrates their newly acquired skill.

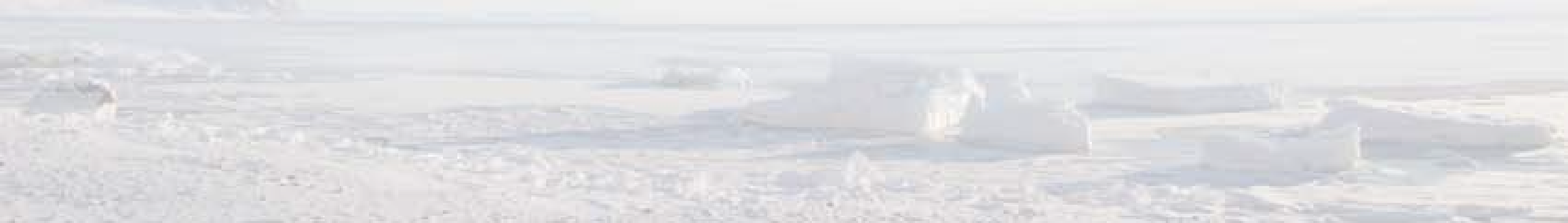
PRINCIPLE 6. QANUQTUURUNNARNIQ – BEING INNOVATIVE AND RESOURCEFUL

This principle encourages us to always be creative and resourceful in our lives and to look for solutions to our problems.

NFB Film: *The Owl and the Lemming: An Eskimo Legend*, Co Hoedeman, 1971, 5 min 59 s

In this short film, the Owl sets out to find supper for his family and comes across a sleeping Lemming. Despite being caught by the Owl, the Lemming refuses to submit to his fate and devises a cunning way to trick the Owl into letting him go. The lesson of this story is that flattery and inventiveness can get you out of many sticky situations.

Student Activity: Have each student create their own innovative way of retelling the story of the Owl and the Lemming without speaking or using written words. Students can draw comic books, act the story out, or find some other way of symbolizing the narrative and its lessons with whatever materials they can find in the classroom. This activity should encourage students to think outside of the box and to make use of their imaginations and personal talents.



PRINCIPLE 7. AAJIIQATIGIIGNIQ – DECISION-MAKING THROUGH DISCUSSION AND CONSENSUS

This principle stresses that we should always seek out and respect the opinions of others. We should always work inclusively to find solutions, solve problems and improve the way we do things.

NFB Film: *Nunavut Animation Lab: The Bear Facts*, Jonathan Wright, 2010, 3 min 58 s

This tongue-in-cheek story illustrates the arrival of Europeans to the Arctic. Blinded by the desire to "discover" an already inhabited land, the film's explorer fails to converse with local people and learn from the knowledge that already exists about how to live in the Arctic's extreme conditions.

Student Activity: In Inuit culture, humour is often used as a means of broaching uncomfortable topics of conversation. Follow this tactic by using this film's light approach to enter into a classroom discussion on the subject of cultural contact and colonialism in the Canadian Arctic. Divide the classroom into two groups: the ship crew of Martin Frobisher's first expedition to the Arctic (1576) and Inuit who lived there at that time. Have both groups spend an hour researching details about their group: what they ate, what language they spoke, how they dressed, what they believed about the world. Once research is complete, use the details learned to have students stage a humorous fictional encounter between the groups.

PRINCIPLE 8. PIJITSIRNIQ – SERVING AND PROVIDING FOR FAMILY AND/OR COMMUNITY

This principle encourages people to help those in need. By being a valued contributor to others in one's community, we can make life better for those around us, as well as ourselves.

NFB Film: *The Owl and the Raven: An Eskimo Legend, Co Hoedeman, 1973 (7 MIN)*

This film offers many examples of how Inuit value the acts of sharing and providing for family and close friends. In the bone game played by the Owl and the Raven, the Raven brings seals to the starving Owl's igloo. The Owl provides a gift of new boots to the Raven in thanks for his good painting. While these generous acts were considered ideal behaviour in traditional Inuit times, this film points out that generosity sometimes has its limits.

Student Activity: Have students consider how they can provide for their own families and communities. Have each student draw up a list of positive ways that they can be a valued contributor to those around them. What talents do they have that can be put to use? What people do they know who can use a helping hand? Students should set a goal of five specific ways that they can help their community over the next month, and write each of these actions down on a piece of paper that is handed in to their instructor. In one month's time, the list will be returned to the students for them to reflect on whether or not these acts have been accomplished.

SECTION 2: ARCTIC PEOPLE, HISTORY AND ENVIRONMENT

INUIT HISTORY

Exploration of the Theme

Inuit people possess a profound and extensive history in the North. Their ancestry can be traced back to the first populations to occupy the North American Arctic. Since that time, Inuit people have spread to the most remote corners of the Arctic, using limited natural resources to develop highly adapted and sophisticated ways of life. The course of Inuit history shifted dramatically with the arrival of European whalers and explorers. While these visits did not directly influence many Inuit until the 19th century, the last hundred years have seen a profound and often detrimental impact on their physical health, traditional lifestyles, and social wellness. With Inuit people beginning to regain their traditional independence through land claim negotiations and political awareness, this trend is gradually being reversed.

Learning Outcomes

In this module, students will explore:

- the depth of Inuit presence in the Arctic;
- the different views that Inuit and archaeologists hold about the past;
- change brought about in Inuit populations through contact with outside cultures.

Background and Contextual Information

Inuit often speak of their deepest origins as belonging to a mythical time in which the Arctic was home to giants and fantastic creatures. The distinction between animals and humans did not exist back then, and the two groups were able to communicate freely and swap physical bodies. To this day, Inuit maintain this strong connection to the natural world.

For archaeologists, the story of Inuit people begins on the northern coasts of Alaska. Starting roughly 8,000 years ago, small groups from Asia migrated to North America through the Bering Strait to settle fishing and hunting communities along the Northwestern coast. When northern Alaska became free of glaciers approximately 4,500 years ago, further migration into the area occurred. This movement brought individuals into a new environment, where the seas froze into solid ice during the winters. Novel adaptations and technologies had to be created in order to cope with the cold climate. Inuit were required to hunt large sea mammals for food. It is these traits that continue to be the hallmark of Inuit culture.

The earliest populations to enter the Arctic, known by Inuit as *sivullirmiut*, or "the first people," gradually moved eastward from Alaska to Greenland through successive waves of migration. Among these early ancestors were the Tuniit, known to archaeologists as the Dorset culture, who occupied the Canadian Arctic beginning roughly 2,500 years ago. Inuit legend describes the Tuniit as a race of very strong, yet shy, people who hunted with brute strength and delicate chipped-stone technologies. They lived in small houses built from large boulders, and crafted exquisite ivory and antler carvings of animals and people. The Tuniit were either displaced or assimilated by the next incoming group of Inuit—known to archaeologists as the Thule people—who spread eastward from Alaska around 1250 AD. The people of the Thule culture represent the final migration out of Alaska, and are thus the closest direct ancestors of contemporary Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit. As Thule people spread into more diverse and marginal regions of the Arctic, they were forced to abandon many of their Alaskan traditions to adapt to the specific environmental conditions and animal populations present in the areas in which they settled. Today, these different groups still maintain unique identities.

Although Vikings and early whaling ships had been venturing into the Arctic since roughly 1000 AD, the world of Inuit and Europeans saw its first historically recorded collision in 1576, with the arrival of the British explorer Martin Frobisher. Frobisher's quest for the discovery of a navigable northwest passage to Asia continued to grip the European imagination for the next 300 years, with numerous expeditions being sent to "discover" and map the Arctic islands. European interest in the Arctic brought both advantages and disadvantages for Inuit. Newly imported materials, such as metal, fabric and guns, allowed Inuit to assume a more economically diverse, and often efficient, lifestyle. The influx of visitors, however, also brought disease and a desire to see Inuit conform to European religion and ways of living.

By the late 1800s, northern anthropologists such as Franz Boas were speculating that Inuit culture was doomed to be replaced by that of the incoming European society. Demonstrating their strong skills of adaptation, however, Inuit continued to find a balance between traditional living and adopting the most beneficial parts of European culture. The creation of fur-trading initiatives by the Hudson's Bay Company during the 1920s helped Inuit to maintain relative independence by exchanging animal hides for material goods. Even this act, however, had the adverse effect of encouraging Inuit to further abandon their traditional hunting grounds to concentrate on harvesting sellable fox skins. The removal of northern children to distant residential schools—which prohibited their culture and the speaking of traditional languages—by the Canadian government from the 1930s onward served to further distance Inuit from their traditional culture and history. The last residential school in Canada closed in 1996.

During the years following the Second World War, the Arctic saw an influx of southerners, and Inuit quickly realized that they were rapidly becoming strangers in their own land. In 1971, a group of young Inuit leaders started Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), a group that could bring together the voices of all Inuit people to better represent their common interests (see itk.ca). This organization started the process for the creation of an autonomous Inuit territory through land claims negotiation, a dream that was realized with the birth of Nunavut in 1999. The boundaries for the new territory were outlined during a vast Inuit-managed research project, which collected information about the traditional occupation sites, hunting grounds and land use practices of Inuit people. The detailed historic material generated by this land claim project spurred a sense of pride and ownership among Inuit people. This has carried over into current initiatives to reunite Inuit youth with their history as hunters and occupants of the land.

Inuit Perspectives

When speaking about the past, Inuit do not often employ the terms of prehistory and history used by archaeologists to separate past times from the modern world. The past is instead perceived as an extension of the present, part of a greater cycle in which old events and stories can be spoken back into existence through the oral tradition. The passing down of human names by Inuit is also perceived to keep an individual alive inside the body of a younger generation.

Related Films

- *Nunavut Animation Lab: The Bear Facts*,
  Jonathan Wright, 2010, 3 min 58 s
- *How to Build an Igloo*, Douglas Wilkinson, 1949, 10 min 27 s
- *The Annanacks*, René Bonnière, 1964, 29 min 12 s
- *The Last Days of Okak*,
  Anne Budgell and Nigel Markham, 1985, 23 min 48 s
- *I, Nuligak: An Inuvialuit History of First Contact*,
  Patrick Reed, Tom Radford and Peter Raymont, 2005, 69 min 44 s

Guiding/Essential Questions

- Inuit elders often speak of the past with a mixture of nostalgia and regret. Life was often difficult for Inuit prior to the introduction of southern amenities, with starvation and death by accident or illness as ever-present threats. Yet people were also entirely independent and self-reliant in the management of their lives. With reference to the movies *How to Build an Igloo*, *The Last Days of Okak*, and *The Annanaks*, discuss what Inuit culture gained and lost by transitioning into a southern lifestyle of sedentary living and wage economy. How did Inuit people adapt to this transition, and what are ways in which they continue to incorporate traditional activities into the new lifestyle?
- How do we know what happened in the past? Discuss the idea of official history as a story that is produced by a dominant and often colonial culture. Can multiple versions of history co-exist? Explore how indigenous groups and archaeologists might work together to offer a new perspective of how life took place for Inuit in the past.

Media Literacy Approaches

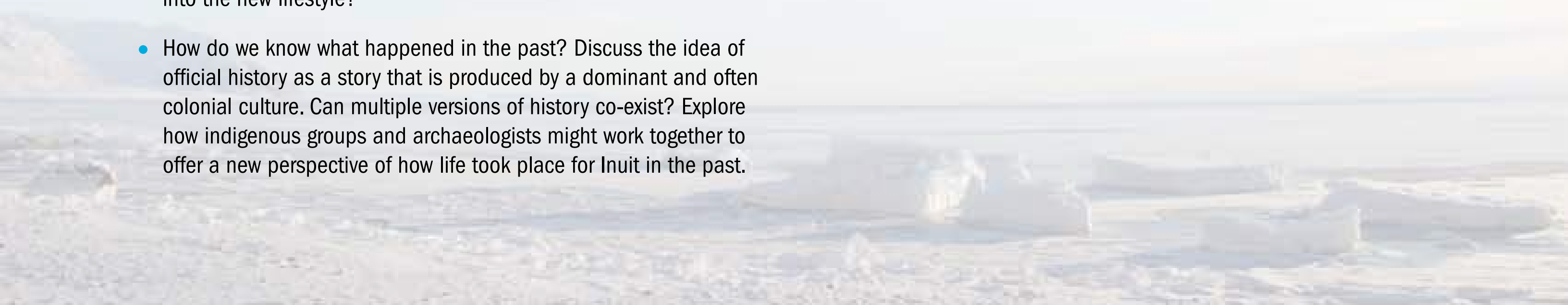
- There are often many sides to a story. Have students consider the role of authorship in each of the related films viewed about European-Inuit contact. Students should research whether the films were created by an Inuit or non-Inuit film crew. How do they think this perspective affects the nature of the story being told? How might the story be different if told from a different perspective?
- What messages do the various related films send about traditional Inuit life? Students should pay close attention to discrepancies between the images being shown and the words being spoken by the narrators.

Suggested Classroom Activities

- Inuit people gain knowledge about their history by learning stories handed down through generations. How do archaeologists develop the stories that they tell about the past? As a class, use the Internet to navigate either one of two websites designed in Nunavut to explain Inuit history and the role of archaeology in deciphering clues from the past. Web addresses: taloyoaknunavut.ca and avataq.qc.ca
- After watching *The Annanacks* and *How to Build an Igloo*, discuss the various ways that Inuit people used local resources to survive. As a class, compile a list of resources present in your own region and speculate on how these could be used to engage a different way of life.

Suggested Extension (Out-of-Class) Activities

- Using information gained through classroom discussions and the suggested films, have students write a short fictional essay detailing a day in the life of an Inuk youth at a point in history of their choosing (e.g., pre-European contact, involvement with whaling ships, trading-post era, residential schools, etc.). Have them describe events that occurred during that period, in addition to what a daily routine would have looked like through the eyes of a boy or girl their own age.
- Prepare photographic images of historic Inuit tools and have each student select one artefact to be researched. Students should prepare a short description of the tool, including information on its function, the time period it came from, the material it was built out of, and any symbolic purpose it might have had within that society. The Canadian Heritage website inuitcontact.ca provides a wide cross-section of historical photos and tool descriptions that can help with this activity.



Suggested Additional Content

- Dorothy Harley Eber. 2008. *Encounters on the Passage: Inuit meet the explorers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Robert McGhee. 2004. *The Last Imaginary Place: A human history of the Arctic world*. Toronto. Key Porter Books: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami website. Inuit Historical Perspectives. itk.ca/about-inuit
- Avataq Cultural Institute (Nunavik) website. Nunavimmiut. avataq.qc.ca/en/Nunavimmiuts

INUIT CULTURE

Exploration of the Theme

Patterns of human behaviour and belief—also known as culture—are directly shaped by the physical and social worlds we occupy. Inuit culture can therefore be understood as the outcome of both the Arctic environment and the population's deep historic affiliation with the area. The songs, dances and artwork produced by Inuit people reflect their profound relationship with nature as well as the memories and knowledge passed along from distant generations.

While both Inuit and non-Inuit are concerned with the disappearance of cultural traditions in the Arctic, it must be recognized that culture is a creative and flexible force, capable of changing to meet new conditions. A modern Inuit carver, for example, can examine a block of soapstone imported from Brazil and still see the shapes and stories of northern spirits and animals trapped inside. This module explores various dimensions of Inuit culture, focusing on how deeply rooted traditions of art, language and knowledge have allowed Inuit to adapt and thrive in the face of environmental hardship as well as social challenges that Inuit people have encountered since European contact.

Learning Outcomes

In this module, students will gain an appreciation for the richness and diversity of Inuit culture. Students will come to understand:

- cultural tradition as something that varies by region, but that also has overarching similarities among all Inuit groups;
- the relationship between Inuit culture and the natural environment;
- oral tradition and storytelling as important tools for perpetuating, promoting and educating about Inuit culture.

Background and Contextual Information

Inuit (sing. *inuk*) is an Inuktitut-language term that translates as "the people," and is commonly used in reference to indigenous populations stretching from the Chukchi Peninsula of Russia, across Alaska and Canada to Greenland. The term (and its regional variants) was traditionally used by Arctic people to self-define as a collective group, separate from the animals upon which they fed, and distinct from the supernatural spirits that roamed the air and sea. Despite being dispersed across a wide geographic area, Inuit remain united through cultural similarities and often share remarkably similar legends, language and skills for living on the land. This is due to both shared ancestry and strong networks of communication. Even prior to the arrival of European explorers, tool designs and engaging stories could sweep across the Arctic in a matter of years, travelling up to 5,000 kilometres through networks of social gathering and trade.

Culture has always been paramount to the survival of Inuit people. Since their earliest origins, Inuit developed and honed a rich way of life that ultimately allowed them to thrive in a landscape renowned for its extreme weather and scarcity of resources. While specific regional traditions varied, cultural practices were commonly interwoven with a strong awareness of both the natural environment and the precarious balance that humans occupied therein. Alaskan groups focused on bowhead whale hunting, for example, and developed unique cultures in which art, stories and the practice of avoiding social taboos helped navigate the dangerous pursuit of the animals and celebrated their successful capture.

The spirit world has traditionally loomed large in the minds and social practices of Inuit, with everyday occurrences ultimately attributed to surrounding supernatural forces. When animal herds disappeared or prolonged bad weather set in, communities would seek out the precise cause of the misfortune through the aid of a shaman. A shaman was an individual gifted with the ability to make contact and negotiate with the spirit world. Being skilful illusionists, shamans would conduct elaborate performances during which they were seen to physically wrestle with spirits, turn into animals, and channel frightening, otherworldly voices. A shaman would often determine that misfortune had been caused by an individual's failure to follow specific rituals or respect taboos designed to maintain balance in the social and spiritual realms.

Despite Inuit populations having undergone dramatic changes through recent contact with outside influences, much of their culture continues to be rooted in traditional relationships to the natural environment. While very few people still live off the land year-round, Inuit identity continues to reside in acts of hunting, travel, and navigation. Many women still transmit the knowledge and art of sewing—formerly essential to survival—to younger generations. Arctic sports continue to be based on traditional games designed to build hunters' strength and skills out on the land. Storytelling still takes place through community drum dances, during which performers recount and revitalize memories of the past. While the context in which Inuit culture is practised has changed dramatically, many of the traditions that have sustained Inuit people for hundreds of years continue to live on.

Inuit culture remains deeply interwoven with indigenous language. Inuit possess a series of closely related—though not always mutually intelligible—dialects, ranging from Alaskan Inupiatun to Kalaalisut, the official language of Greenland. In the Canadian Arctic, the broad term of Inuktitut is used to describe the variety of regional variants represented across the Inuvialuit Settlement (Northwest Territories), Nunavut, Nunavik (northern Quebec), and Nunatsiavut (Newfoundland-Labrador). Having had no historical form of written language, Inuit people transmit their culture and knowledge primarily through oral history and storytelling. Elders teach young people about the physical and spiritual world through practical demonstrations and stories. Young children are encouraged to listen attentively and watch their elders execute the activities essential to everyday life. Serving as educational tools as well as a form of entertainment, stories about Inuit history and the land are recited with consistency and attention to detail. The characters and rich imagery of these tales continue to be a strong source of inspiration for Inuit artists, who weave their narratives into prints, soapstone sculptures, and tapestries. While intergenerational education through storytelling continues to this day, many Inuit have assimilated new media such as documentary film and the Internet to help record and transmit their stories about the past.

Inuit Perspectives

Inuit people remain very proud of their culture. This is particularly evident through the numerous initiatives set in place to ensure that local traditions and language remain protected and valued within the culture. Residential schooling and the settling of nomadic populations by the Canadian government during the 1950s removed entire generations of young Inuit from the contexts in which their culture and language were traditionally learned. The development of land claim settlements during the 1970s was accompanied by a resurgence of Inuit interest in documenting and revitalizing their traditional culture. The political goal of these land claims was to create designated autonomous regions that could be self-governed by Inuit people according to their own societal values and ways of life. Inuit of Nunavik were the first to accomplish this with the settlement of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975. The creation of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region occurred almost a decade later in 1984. The biggest land claim was settled in 1999, when the Canadian territory of Nunavut (meaning “Our Land” in Inuktitut) was officially named an Inuit homeland, and separated from the landmass of the Northwest Territories. The territory of Nunavut has since instituted a new political system governed by principles of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (traditional and modern Inuit knowledge). Nunatsiavut became an autonomous region in 2005. Culture and language revival is among the highest priorities for all the land claims settlement regions.

Related Films

- *Pictures Out of My Life*, Bozenna Heczko, 1973,13 min 9 s
- *The Living Stone*, John Feeney, 1958, 34 min 14 s
- *Nunavut Animation Lab: Lumaajuuq*, Alethea Arnaquq-Baril, 2010, 7 min 36 s
- *Canada Vignettes: June in Povungnituk – Quebec Arctic*, Alanis Obomsawin, 1980, 1 min
- *Stalking Seal on the Spring Ice (Part 1 and 2)*, Quentin Brown, 1967, 24 min 31 s
- *Northern Games*, Ken Buck, 1981, 25 min 40 s

Guiding/Essential Questions

- Inuit culture is strongly based on traditional relationships to the natural world. Many of these relationships have ceased to exist, or exist in vastly changed ways. Why is it important that these cultural practices are continued and revitalized in modern times?
- What are some of the critical differences between written and oral traditions? Have students consider how stories change when they are recorded and transmitted in different ways. What advantages and disadvantages do each of these forms have? How does filmmaking bridge these forms of communication?

Media Literacy Approaches

- Inuit stories have been told through primarily oral traditions for thousands of years. Have students watch the ancient legend of *Lumaajuuq*. Ask them to describe how the presence of visual images changes or enhances the oral story.
- The film *The Living Stone* features many naturalistic scenes from the everyday life of Inuit people. Have students watch the film and look for ways that the making of the film may have influenced the actions and behaviour of Inuit being filmed. How are Inuit in the film being represented? Consider the representation of daily life in the film as a starting point to your analysis of the film.

Suggested Classroom Activities

- Hold a class discussion surrounding the relationship between Inuit culture and the Arctic environment. To assist this discussion, have students look at various examples of contemporary Inuit art. Ask them to describe how these pieces reflect the artist’s relationship with both natural and social environments. What sources of inspiration are used for the art pieces? The film *Pictures Out of My Life* can be viewed as an introduction to this assignment.
- Northern games are an important way for young people to develop specific physical skills that are required in a hunting/land-based lifestyle. Have an Arctic Games competition within the classroom, with a brief introduction to the history and reason behind each sport. Students from Aqsarniit School in Iqaluit have developed a website explaining how to play many of the games, which can be found at: athropolis.com. The University of Waterloo has compiled a more comprehensive overview of the Arctic Games and Inuit history. It can be found at the following site: gamesmuseum.uwaterloo.ca.

Suggested Extension (Out-of-Class) Activities

- Have students create a piece of art reflecting their own natural and social environment. Have them view the movies *The Living Stone* and *Pictures Out of My Life* and pay attention to the process through which stories are recorded through art. Students should take some time to develop a song, sculpture, or painting, and give class presentations about both the art piece and the story it represents.
- Traditional knowledge is a way of knowing the world through personal experience and learned values rather than the universal laws of science. Have students explore their own traditional knowledge about their environment by writing an urban legend about the community/town/city in which they live. Link this activity to the legends of the narwhal explored in the film *Lumaajuq*.

Suggested Further Reading

- Inuit Women's Association of Canada. 1990. *The Inuit Way: A guide to Inuit culture*. Ottawa. Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada.
- John Bennett and Susan Rowley (editors). 2004. *Uqalurait: An oral history of Nunavut*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Inuit Culture Online Resource website. Heritage Canada. icor.ottawainuitchildrens.com

ARCTIC GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT

Exploration of the Theme

The Arctic environment is represented by a range of ecosystems and biological habitats. While diverse, the Arctic's physical environment is often characterized by the presence of sea ice, tundra landscape, permafrost (sub-surface soil that is frozen throughout the entire year), and seasonality dominated by cold weather and the prolonged presence and absence of sunlight.

Despite the Arctic's southern reputation as a barren land, it hosts a wide assortment of plants and animals, most of which have adapted to thrive under the unique conditions of northern climate and terrain. These species provide Inuit populations with a source of food and material resources, and have sustained human occupation in the Arctic for thousands of years. In recent times, rapid changes in Arctic climate have begun to alter northern environments at a dramatic rate. These changes threaten not only the plants and animals of the Arctic, but also Inuit traditions and ways of life that rely on their presence.

Learning Outcomes

In this module, students will gain an appreciation for the important links that connect Inuit people to their natural environment. Students will gain an understanding of:

- various definitions of the Arctic according to its geographical and biological features;
- the biological and behavioural adaptations of various plants, insects and animals throughout the North;
- the nature of environmental issues brought about through climate change and pollution of the environment;
- the impact of changes in the environment on human populations living in the Arctic.

Background and Contextual Information

The Arctic can be defined according to various social, political and scientific conventions. Many people rely on a biological and geographical description of the region as being represented by all polar landmass north of the tree line. This region is characterized by its inability to produce large plants, and tundra or low-lying vegetation prevails. The Arctic boundary is also frequently defined as any landmass above the latitude of 66 degrees. This is the latitude at which the sun does not set or rise for at least one day during every summer and winter season.

Arctic environments are populated by a variety of different flora and fauna. These organisms have become highly adapted to the Arctic's extreme weather and natural surroundings. A good example of this adaptation is the polar bear, which evolved an estimated 150,000 years ago from an ancestral species of brown bear. To better adjust to Arctic conditions, the polar bear developed white fur (allowing it to be better camouflaged when hunting), its paws grew bigger and wider for better traction on snow, and its canine teeth became longer to accommodate a heavy meat diet. In recent years, the polar bear has started to evolve again, breeding with northerly migrating brown bears to produce a new hybrid species.

One of the greatest environmental characteristics to impact both animals and plants in the Arctic is seasonality. The Arctic is characterized by long, cold winters, during which the sun can disappear for months at a time, and temperatures can plummet to between -40 and -50 degrees Celsius. Organisms are generally faced with two basic lifestyles given these conditions: to hibernate throughout the winter, living off of food sources amassed during warmer months, or to develop thick, insulating fat layers and continue to hunt and graze throughout the winter. Regardless of which adaptive technique is chosen, the brief summer months are often a time of celebration and heavy food consumption. Throughout July and August, the Arctic tundra becomes a sheet of brightly coloured flowers, as plants absorb the 24-hour sunlight and attempt to pollinate as quickly and efficiently as possible. The joys of summer are equally appreciated among humans. Having spent the colder months housed in igloos and hunting seals on the sea ice, Inuit traditionally used summer as a time to return to the land. The large extended families that lived together throughout the winter would break into smaller groups to roam the tundra in search of caribou, edible plants and berries, and good lakes for fishing. Most Inuit continue to consider the summer as a time for camping and enjoying the finer pleasures of life. When the days become shorter, and the leaves of the tundra plants begin to turn yellow and red, the whole of the natural world recommences its preparations for another long winter.

For as far back as most Inuit people can remember, Arctic life has been ordered according to a regular seasonal cycle. The contemporary issue of climate change is therefore one of the primary concerns facing inhabitants of the Arctic. In recent years, average temperatures throughout the Arctic have increased, resulting in some animals seeking out new migration patterns, and others leaving areas entirely due to the loss of the habitats upon which their hunting and living patterns depend. Many scientists blame these changes on toxic substances released by humans throughout the world. These chemicals and gases tend to collect in northern latitudes and result in a combination of ozone depletion, higher ultraviolet radiation and seasonal warming. Many scientists are concerned that this warming trend is leading to a "snowball effect," in which rapidly thawing glaciers and permafrost release more carbon dioxide into the air, raising temperatures exponentially higher.

It is not only animals and the physical terrain that are impacted by changing climate patterns, but also the human population. Inuit consistently observe that the world around them is changing, and that many of the traditions handed down to them from their ancestors are becoming difficult to practise in their new environment. Changing patterns of sea ice freezing and thawing, for example, have made Inuit question much of their ancestral traditional knowledge relating to safe travel on the ice. Many Inuit are also worried that their traditional relationships to the animals of the Arctic have begun to alter. Shifting caribou migration patterns have made their herds more difficult to hunt. Inuit are similarly concerned about their traditional diets. Animals at the top of the food chain, such as bears and aquatic mammals, can be harmful if hunted and eaten due to the high concentrations of chemical poisons— known as persistent bio-accumulative toxins, or PTBs —in their bodies.

Inuit Perspectives

Local management of the Arctic environment was one of the key issues behind the creation of all four Inuit land claims settlement regions. Increased oil and mineral development in these areas during the 1970s prompted Inuit to develop a united political voice to defend the landscapes they relied upon for hunting and trapping. A strong relationship to the environment continues to be a core principle advocated by these regions' governing political systems.

Despite being founded on environmental issues, Inuit regions are increasingly active in the development of Arctic oil and mineral mining. While mining is recognized to have far-reaching impacts on the landscape, it also represents an opportunity to bring new jobs and financial income into the Arctic. The challenge for many Inuit organizations is to find a way of doing business with the mining industry that can successfully balance negative environmental impacts with greater social and economic benefits to northern people.

Related Films

- *Eskimo Summer*, Laura Boulton, 1944, 15 min 31 s
- *Stalking Seal on the Spring Ice (Parts 1 and 2)*, Quentin Brown, 1967, 24 min 31 s

Guiding/Essential Questions

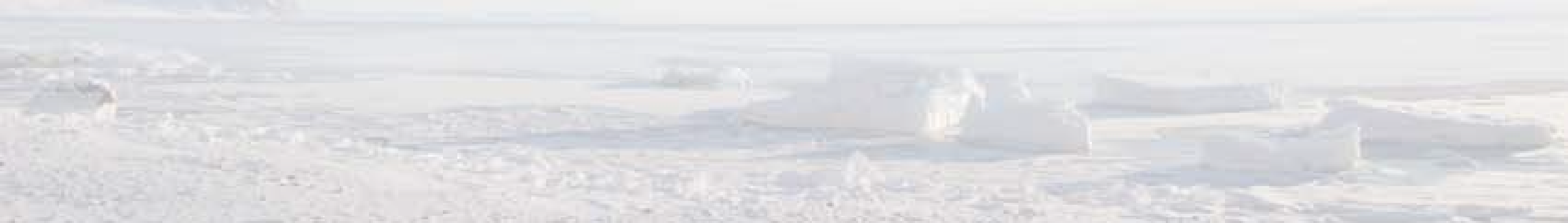
- Inuit have always relied on the use of the natural environment for survival. In modern times, however, a few Inuit hunting practices, especially for seal, have become controversial. In your opinion, should Inuit be allowed to continue the hunting practices that have sustained their culture for centuries, or should hunting be regulated according to more global standards? In the latter case, who should decide which, and how many, animals are suitable to be hunted?
- In this module, several examples were given of ways in which traditional knowledge is becoming questioned by Inuit due to changing environmental conditions. Discuss the impact that these and other changes might have on Inuit culture. What is the impact when knowledge that has been passed down through centuries is no longer applicable to the world we live in? Encourage students to come up with examples belonging to their own cultures' traditions of knowledge.

Media Literacy

- The *Stalking Seal* film series depicts many ways in which Inuit interact with the natural environment. Watching these films, one will notice that there is no musical soundtrack or narrators describing the proceeding of events. How does the film's audio affect our awareness of what is happening in the narrative?
- Compare the soundtrack from the *Stalking Seal* films to that of *Eskimo Summer*. How does the addition of a spoken narrative to *Eskimo Summer* either contribute to, or detract from, the events being portrayed. Have students pay close attention to the version of the Arctic told by this movie's non-Inuit narrator. Would the message be similar or different if narrated by Inuit people being filmed?

Suggested Classroom Activities

- Many of the pollutants currently affecting the Arctic's weather and environmental patterns are produced outside of the Arctic by industrialized and developing countries. Should these countries be responsible for helping to manage and find solutions for the current climate problems in the Arctic? Hold a classroom debate on the ethics of global environmentalism. How do students' consumption habits impact Arctic climates? Encourage students to research this further. Are the effects of Arctic climate change dramatic enough to have a direct influence on the lives of students far away?
- When living in large cities and urban centres, people often assume that they are no longer part of the natural environment. Using examples from *Eskimo Summer* or *Stalking Seal*, discuss ways in which Inuit activities are tied to natural phenomena such as seasons, weather, and animal patterns. Students should then gather in groups to consider the ways in which their own lives are governed by similar environmental characteristics. The results can be delivered as presentations to the class.



Suggested Extension (Out-of-Class) Activities

- Have students choose one specific insect, plant or animal that lives in the Arctic region. Students should research the organism and write a short essay explaining its particular method of adapting to the Arctic environment. Students should also consider how changes to the Arctic climate might affect this organism's ability to survive.
- Have students develop a short fictional piece of writing describing the process of hunting through the eyes of an Inuit man or woman. Students' research for this piece of writing should include the study of Inuit hunting strategies (either in the past or present), the behavioural characteristics of the animal being hunted, and the materials used from the animal by Inuit once it was caught. This activity will ideally accompany the watching of the *Stalking Seal* films.

Suggested Further Reading

- E.C. Pielou. 1994. *A Naturalist's Guide to the Arctic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Burt Page. 1991. *Barrenland Beauties: Showy plants of the Arctic coast*. Yellowknife: Outcrop.
- Beatrice Collignon. 2006. *Knowing Places: The Inuinnait, landscapes, and the environment*. Edmonton: CCI Press.
- Students on Ice: an award-winning organization offering unique educational expeditions to the Antarctic and the Arctic, with a mandate to provide students, educators and scientists from around the world with inspiring educational opportunities. studentsonice.com
- Arctic Net: a Network of Centres of Excellence of Canada that brings together scientists and managers in the natural, human health and social sciences with their partners from Inuit organizations, northern communities, federal and provincial agencies and the private sector. The objective of ArcticNet is to study the impacts of climate change and modernization in the coastal Canadian Arctic. arcticnet.ulaval.ca
- Canadian Polar Commission: has responsibility for monitoring, promoting, and disseminating knowledge of the polar regions; contributing to public awareness of the importance of polar science to Canada; enhancing Canada's international profile as a circumpolar nation; and recommending polar science policy direction to government. polarcom.gc.ca/eng

CHANGES AND CHALLENGES IN THE NORTH

Exploration of the Theme

While Inuit people continue to thrive in the Arctic, their traditional cultures and languages are often in a more precarious situation. Many Inuit people feel that their culture has come to a crossroads between past and modern ways. As of 2011, the Nunavut Bureau of Statistics reported that 33 percent of Nunavut's population was under 14 years of age. Similar statistics have been reported across the other Inuit regions. In many Inuit communities, this new generation is more fluent in the English language and global culture than the traditional skills and dialects of their Inuit descendants. Many Arctic communities are in a position of revitalizing and consciously trying to maintain aspects of their cultural ancestry. In order to understand the challenges faced by Inuit communities, it is important for students to understand the history of events that influenced and shaped their current lives.

Learning Outcomes

In this module, students will gain an appreciation for the ways in which Inuit culture has changed since European contact, and some of the challenges resulting from these changes. Students will come to understand:

- that Inuit hold multiple views on the nature of Inuit-European contact and the results it has had on Inuit culture;
- that contemporary challenges in the Arctic have resulted from various (and often combined) geographical, social and historical factors;
- that the Territory of Nunavut's emphasis is on creating new solutions from traditional knowledge.

Background and Contextual Information

Geographic location represents one of the most obvious contemporary challenges in the modern Arctic. Northern communities are physically removed from the rest of the world: food must be flown in regularly, resulting in high prices and by extension poor-quality nutrition among Inuit populations; travel between communities is similarly expensive; and local employers are unable to access reserves of skilled labour that are available in the South. Community isolation is also perceived to be a contributing factor to the Arctic's high statistics on suicide and health issues. Under such conditions, northern communities have to work very hard to manage and maintain healthy and thriving environments.

Prior to Inuit-European contact, life in northern latitudes presented much different challenges for the generations of Inuit who have occupied the Arctic for millennia. While meat and supplies could sometimes be plentiful, Inuit were always reliant on the elements for survival. When the supernatural spirits, weather and animals did not cooperate with Inuit people, famine could occur as a result.

Many Inuit traditions began to change around the years 1850–1900 AD, when Europeans ventured into the Arctic in increasingly large numbers for the purposes of exploration, whaling and the development of fur-trapping industries. Many Inuit took jobs as sailors, guides and seamstresses on whaling ships, and others began to alter their seasonal hunting rounds to trap foxes for exchange at trading posts. In many cases, this was a very prosperous venture for Inuit. Participation in the wage economy allowed them to purchase materials not available in the Arctic, such as cloth, sugar and metal. Inuit were able to advantageously incorporate many of these new tools into their traditional ways of living on the land.

Over time, the balance between Inuit and European traditions became more difficult to maintain. Many incoming groups desired that Inuit begin to follow new paths for living. Religious missionaries headed into the Arctic, seeking to convert Inuit to various faiths and encouraging them to abandon their shamanistic practices. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police established posts throughout the North to ensure that Inuit followed the same laws that governed life in the South. There are many interesting court cases from the early 1900s that document how Inuit carrying out their own culture's judicial laws were tried and imprisoned by the RCMP for breaking Canadian rules.

By the 1930s, the Canadian government had involved itself directly in maintaining the welfare of Inuit people. Citing their over-dependency on trading posts and the threat of starvation, the government began imposing more rules and regulations on how Inuit should live. Unfortunately, many of the welfare decisions made were inspired by southern people, who possessed little experience with Inuit culture or livelihood. These decisions were often designed to bring about benefits for southern groups rather than Inuit themselves. An extreme example of this is the 1953 government relocation of several Inuit communities to High Arctic areas over 2,000 kilometres north of their traditional hunting grounds. Despite the government justifying the relocation as an attempt to save Inuit communities from starvation, a group of relocated Inuit fought, and won, a court case during the 1980s proving the government had used these populations to secure sovereignty rights over unoccupied portions of the Arctic. In 2010, the Government issued a formal apology to the people of Nunavik who were affected by relocation.

In the 1950s, the Arctic was claimed by yet another southern group. The United States Army, responding to the threat of Cold War attack, established the DEW Line—a series of long-range radar bases that stretched from Alaska to Greenland. This radar system greatly changed the Arctic: Inuit were hired in full-time positions to help build and manage the stations; small towns were built around the stations to manage the rise in population; schools, hospitals and churches were constructed to help service the towns. Gradually, some Inuit people began to abandon traditional nomadic ways to live full-time in community settlements.

One of the greatest challenges to Inuit people came with the formation of residential schools. Many children returned from these schools traumatized. No longer able to employ traditional skills, or to communicate with their families, these individuals—and the generations of children that followed—grew even more distanced from Inuit traditions.

[See Appendix 1: Residential Schools in Northern Canada at the end of the document for a more in-depth treatment of this subject.]

With the settlement of land claims throughout the Arctic, many Inuit have begun to regain their knowledge and desire for the traditional ways of their ancestors. Local languages are once again being taught in community schools, and the revitalization of practices such as drum dancing, singing, carving, sewing, kayak building, and Arctic sports has gained momentum.

Inuit Perspectives

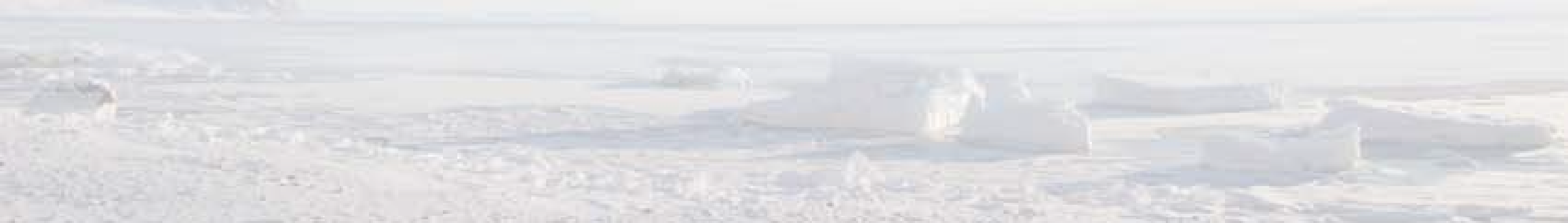
Many Inuit people struggle with the challenge of being fluent in knowledge of both traditional Inuit culture and modern global life. This ideal balance is something actively promoted by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and is seen as the desired route forward for Inuit people. As Inuit frequently point out, their people cannot, and do not want to, go back in time. The Government of Nunavut's guiding policy of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (which translates roughly as "that which has always been known to Inuit") stresses the solution of contemporary social and political problems through the application of age-old Inuit values. A list and explanation of these values is available at gov.nu.ca/hr/site/beliefsystem.htm.

Related Films

- *The Annanacks*, René Bonnière, 1964, 29 min 12 s
- *Labrador North*, Roger Hart, 1973, 37 min 30 s
- *Between Two Worlds*, Barry Greenwald, 1990, 57 min 50 s
- *Martha of the North*, Marquise Lepage, 2008, 83 min
- *If the Weather Permits*, Elisapie Isaac, 2003, 27 min 51 s
- Iqqaumavara.com

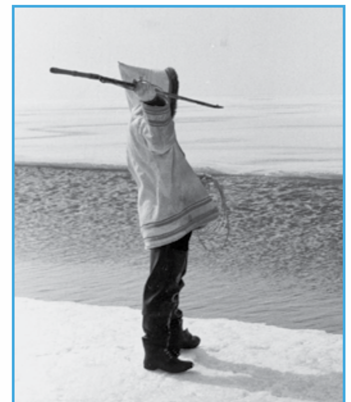
Guiding/Essential Questions

- Should traditional knowledge be set aside for new knowledge? In modern times, digital technology and urban living have created entirely new ways of interacting with the world. How, in such a situation, does traditional knowledge continue to benefit people? Should knowledge from the past remain in the past? Have students consider these questions alongside examples of traditional knowledge passed down to them from their own culture or ancestors.
- As a classroom, discuss the idea of local representation in terms of decision-making. From examples in this module, we can see that dramatic consequences often arise when one group makes decisions for another group that they know little about. Discuss how decisions are currently made in our own society. Use this conversation to consider how the settlement of land claims and the creation of Nunavut and indigenous forms of government has brought a sense of local agency back to northern decision-making.



Media Literacy Approaches

- How does the film *If the Weather Permits* compare the past and present of Inuit people's lives? What film techniques and settings are used to accentuate this comparison?
- How are the subjects of religion and economy talked about in the film *Labrador North*? Have the class pay close attention to both the people being interviewed about these subjects, and their comments.



Suggested Activities

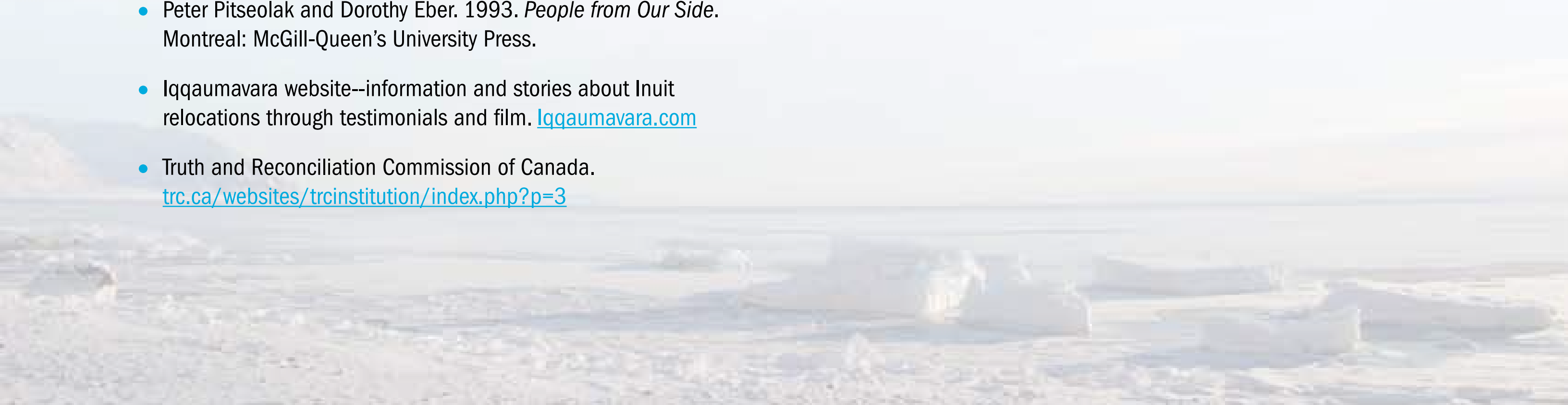
- The encounter between Inuit people and Europeans produced significant changes to traditional Inuit life. Many Inuit feel these changes have been both good and bad. As a classroom, watch the film *The Annanacks*, and recreate the meeting held to decide whether Inuit should continue to pursue their local traditional activities, or should instead form a co-operative to enter into a large-scale trading economy. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each choice? When each student casts their vote, have them explain the reasons behind their decision.

Suggested Extended Activities

- In class, have students come up with a list of contemporary social concerns (e.g. employment, education, poverty, crime, health care, poor nutrition, depression, suicide, etc.). Students should choose one topic and, using the Internet and literature sources, determine: 1) if the issue was/is a concern in the Canadian Arctic; 2) how the issue is currently addressed in the Canadian Arctic; and 3) how the concern was addressed in traditional Inuit society. Results can be written out as an essay, or delivered as classroom presentations.
- Have students research another indigenous culture that has gone through the challenges of colonialism and cultural assimilation. Examples may be drawn from anywhere around the world. Students should produce a short essay on the history of this indigenous group's encounters with colonial culture, and how they have managed to integrate their traditional practices with those of the modern world. A direct comparison should be made to Inuit examples provided throughout this module and its films.

Suggested Further Reading

- Gillian Robinson (editor). 2008. *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen: A Sense of Memory and High-Definition Inuit Storytelling*. Montreal: Friesens.
- Peter Pitseolak and Dorothy Eber. 1993. *People from Our Side*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Iqqaumavara website--information and stories about Inuit relocations through testimonials and film. Iqqaumavara.com
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=3



GLOSSARY

Anthropology – the study of human beings and their ancestors through time, in relation to behaviour, environment, society, belief systems and culture.

Archaeology – the scientific study of material remains, such as artifacts, architecture, and cultural landscapes, of past human life and activities.

Avatimik Kamattiarniq – is an Inuktitut phrase for "environmental stewardship," stressing the important relationship Inuit have with their environment and with the world in which they live.

Canadian Land Claim Negotiations – Land claims deal with the ongoing treaty-making initiatives in Canada. These claims arise in Canada where Aboriginal land rights have not been settled by past treaties or through legal means. Treaties are negotiated between the Aboriginal group, Canada and the province or territory.

Indigenous Peoples of Canada – In Canada, the Indigenous People are the First Nations, Inuit and Métis. These groups have historical ties to groups that existed in Canada prior to colonization.

Inuinnaqtun – Recognized as one of the official languages of Nunavut, used primarily in the communities of Cambridge Bay and Kugluktuk. It is written using the Latin script, whereas Inuktitut uses syllabic characters.

Inuit – In Inuktitut means "the people." Inuit is a plural noun; the singular is "Inuk." Inuit is a broad term used to define the indigenous peoples inhabiting the Arctic regions of Greenland, Canada, and the United States.

Inuit Nunangat – Refers to the 4 Inuit Regions of the Canadian Inuit: Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut. Appendix 4 of this Educator's Guide is a map of Inuit Nunangat.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit – An Inuktitut phrase for "that which has long been known to Inuit." In 1998, the Government of Nunavut worked with Inuit elders to identify eight core Inuit values that could help to guide Inuit traditions into modern times.

Inuktitut – is recognized as an official language in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories. It is also a broad term used to describe the variety of regional dialects represented across the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut.

Inuvialuit Settlement Region – One of the four Inuit regions of Canada, the homeland of the Inuvialuit people of Canada's Western Arctic. Designated by the Canadian Government in 1984.

Netsilik Inuit – also called Netsilingmiut, are an Inuit group who live predominantly in the Canadian Arctic, north of Hudson Bay in the Territory of Nunavut. Netsilik Inuit traditionally relied heavily on seal as their main form of subsistence, hence the name Netsilik Inuit, meaning "people of the seal."

Netsilik Eskimos – The National Film Board of Canada produced a film series entitled *Netsilik Eskimos* that was shot from 1963—1965. These films reveal the reality of traditional Inuit life before the European acculturation. The Netsilik Inuit of the Pelly Bay region in the Canadian Arctic had long lived apart from other people and had depended entirely on the land and their own ingenuity to sustain life through the rigours of the Arctic year.

Nunatsiavut – One the four Inuit Territories of Canada, covering the northern area of Labrador. The Government of Nunatsiavut was created in 2005. In Inuttut, means "our beautiful land."

Nunavik – One of the four Inuit Territories of Canada, the northern third of the province of Quebec, Canada. In Inuktitut Nunatsiavut means "great land."

Nunavut – One of the four Inuit Territories of Canada, and is Inuktitut for "our land". it is the largest and newest territory of Canada, and separated officially from the Northwest Territories in 1999.

Oral Tradition – is the verbal transmission of cultural history from one generation to another. These messages, testimonies or stories take the form of folktales, ballads, songs, or chants, and make it possible for a culture to spread knowledge without a system of writing.

Qanuqtuurungnarniq – An Inuktitut phrase for "being resourceful to solve problems," and demonstrating adaptability and flexibility in response to a rapidly changing world.

Residential Schools – Residential schools were government-funded, and most often church-run, schools set up to eliminate parental involvement in the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual development of Aboriginal children. Over 150,000 First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children were placed in residential schools against their parents' will. Many were taken far away from their homes and families, forbidden to speak their language and practise their own culture.

Shaman – is a person who traditionally has access to the world of spirits, and practises divination and healing.

Tuktu – The National Film Board of Canada produced a film series entitled *Tuktu* which was shot from 1967–1968. This series centres on the reminiscences of *Tuktu*, a fictional elder, recalling the traditional Inuit ways of his childhood. The *Tuktu* series was compiled from footage of the Netsilik Inuit of Pelly Bay.

Tuniit (or Dorset Culture) – The Dorset peoples appeared in Alaska around 2,500 years ago, and quickly spread across the western Arctic, Nunavut, and down the coasts of Greenland and Labrador. Until about 1,000 years ago, the Tuniit were the only occupants of most of Arctic Canada.

Thule Culture – The Thule are the ancestors of all modern Inuit, and spread eastward from Alaska around 1250 AD. They replaced people of the earlier Tuniit (Dorset culture) that had previously inhabited the region.

Unikkausivut –Inuktitut for "sharing our stories." In 2011 the National Film Board of Canada, in collaboration with the Inuit Relations Secretariat of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, the Government of Nunavut (Department of Education), and with the support of Inuit organizations, launched the *Unikkausivut: Sharing Our Stories* initiative to raise awareness of Inuit culture through the NFB collection and its partners. The initiative includes both a box set of 24 films that represent all four Canadian Inuit regions (Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut and Inuvialuit) and a film selection online and accessible for free at nfb.ca/unikkausivut.

Vikings – also known as Norsemen, came from Denmark, Norway and Sweden. They were explorers, warriors, merchants, and pirates who settled in parts of Europe, Asia and the North Atlantic islands between the 8th and 12th centuries.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE HISTORY, IMPACT AND LEGACY OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

This summary of the history and legacy of residential schools in Canada is an adaptation and abridgment of material found in the *100 Years of Loss Teacher's Guide* published by the Legacy of Hope Foundation, as well as material from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. It is used with permission from the Legacy of Hope Foundation, and the Departments of Education for Northwest Territories & Nunavut.

THE CANADIAN CONTEXT OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Before Residential Schools

Aboriginal peoples have always had their own languages, histories, cultures, spirituality, technologies, and values. A mixture of teachings, ceremonies, and daily activities facilitated learning for Aboriginal children and youth. Children were taught how to live correctly, and how to contribute to the community's physical survival. From an early age, children contributed to the life and survival of the community. The Aboriginal education system was intertwined tightly with both spiritual beliefs and daily life.

Treaties and Colonization

In the period preceding the development of residential schools in Canada, Aboriginal peoples made up the vast majority of residents in the lands of the North-West Territories (including northern Quebec and Ontario, all of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, southern Alberta, and a portion of the current Northwest Territories and Nunavut). From the beginning of the 19th century onward, these lands were attractive to Canadian settlers and federal policymakers, who were looking to create a large domestic market for eastern Canadian industry, raise grain for export, and provide a route for a railway to the Pacific. However, there was a legal requirement that the Crown first deal with the Aboriginal title to the land. First Nations leaders entered into the treaty-making process for the purpose of establishing a relationship of respect that included an ongoing set of mutual obligations including land-sharing based on kinship and cooperation, and education. The government's policies and practice focused increasingly on assimilation, which sought to remove any First Nations legal interest in the land, while frequently reducing and ignoring the government's own treaty obligations.

The Rise of the Residential School System

In 1844, the Bagot Commission produced one of the earliest official documents to recommend education as a means of assimilating the Indian population. The Commission proposed implementing a system of farm-based boarding schools situated far from parental influence.

The *Nicholas Flood Davin Report* of 1879 noted that "the industrial school is the principal feature of the policy known as 'aggressive civilization'." A product of his time, Davin disclosed in his report the assumptions of his era, that "Indian culture" was a contradiction in terms, Indians were uncivilized, and the aim of education must be to destroy the Indian in the child.

In 1883, Sir John A. Macdonald, who was both Canada's Prime Minister and Minister of Indian Affairs, moved a measure through his cabinet authorizing the creation of three residential schools for Aboriginal children in the Canadian West. In announcing the plan, Public Works Minister Hector Langevin told the House of Commons, "In order to educate the children properly we must separate them from their families. Some people may say that this is hard, but if we want to civilize them we must do that." Prior to 1883, there was a series of individual church-led initiatives to which the federal government provided grants. Macdonald's plan marked a break from this practice and the beginning of Canada's official residential school system, then called "industrial schools." These schools were expected to prepare older students for assimilation into Euro-Canadian society by training them in a range of trades. In addition to these schools, the federal government and the churches also operated day schools on reserves across Canada. None of the schools offered high-school education.

The Growing "Problem"

Over the next 50 years, the residential school system grew dramatically. By 1931 the government was funding eighty schools with a total enrolment of about 17,000 students.

In 1920, Duncan Campbell Scott, the bureaucrat in charge of Canada's Indian Policy, revised the *Indian Act* to make attendance at residential school mandatory for all Aboriginal children from age 7–15. Scott summed up the government's position when he said, "I want to get rid of the Indian problem. [...] Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department."

Controlling costs became a primary concern for the federal government. By 1892, Ottawa was so concerned about expenditures that it switched to a per-capita funding system under which churches were paid a set amount per student. With that money, school administrators were expected to pay for maintenance, salaries, and expenses. This system also provided churches with an incentive to compete with one another in recruitment campaigns, and to enroll the maximum allowable number of students, even if they were in poor health or suffering from infectious diseases. The churches came to rely increasingly on student labour through what was known as the "half-day system," where older students spent half the school day working. This guaranteed most of them would receive an inferior education.

To "Civilize" and Christianize

Government and church officials often said the role of the residential school was to civilize and Christianize Aboriginal children. When put into practice these ambitions translated into an assault on Aboriginal culture, language, spiritual beliefs, and practices. Residential schools were seen as preferable to on-reserve day schools because they separated children from their parents, who were certain to oppose and resist such a radical cultural transformation.

From 1883 onward, the Canadian government was a major partner in the residential school system, with the churches maintaining responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the schools. Most 19th-century missionaries believed their efforts to convert Aboriginal people to Christianity were part of a worldwide struggle for the salvation of souls.

The two most prominent missionary organizations involved with residential schools in Canada in the 19th century were the Roman Catholic Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England (the Anglican Church). The number of schools rose and fell throughout the system's history, but the Roman Catholic Church operated most of the schools, up to 60 percent of them at any one time. The Anglican Church operated about 25 percent of the schools, the United Church operated about 15 percent, and the Presbyterian Church ran only 2 or 3 percent of the schools.

Mistreatment and Intergenerational Impacts

Failure to send children to residential school could result in the punishment of the parents, including imprisonment. Many Aboriginal children were taken or forcibly removed from their homes, and separated from their families by long distances. Others who attended residential schools near their communities were often prohibited from seeing their families outside of occasional visits.

Broad occurrences of disease, hunger, and overcrowding were noted by government officials as early as 1897. In 1907, Indian Affairs' chief medical officer, Dr. P. H. Bryce, reported a death toll among the schools' children ranging from 15–24 percent and rising to 42 percent in Aboriginal homes where sick children were sometimes sent to die. In some individual institutions, Bryce found death rates that were significantly higher.

Though some students have spoken of their positive experiences of residential schools and of receiving an adequate education, the quality of education in many of these schools was low in comparison to non-Aboriginal schools. In 1930, for example, only three of every 100 Aboriginal students managed to advance past grade six, and few found themselves prepared for life after school, on the reservation or off.

As late as 1950, according to an Indian Affairs study, over 40 percent of the teaching staff had no professional training. This is not to say that experiences were all negative, or that the staff were all bad. Many good and dedicated people worked within the system.

Because Aboriginal children were separated from their parents for long periods of time, they were prevented from discovering and learning parenting skills. The removal of children from their homes also prevented the transmission of language and culture.

The adoption by some former residential school students of many of the abusive behaviours they learned during their time at school has also occurred and has caused intergenerational trauma—the cycle of abuse and trauma from one generation to the next. Research on intergenerational transmission of trauma makes it clear that individuals who have suffered the effects of traumatic stress pass it on to those close to them and generate vulnerability in their children. The children in turn experience their own trauma.

Métis Experiences

Prior to the 1800s, few opportunities for formal European-based education were available for Métis children. Treaty provisions for education did not include these children, who were considered "halfbreeds." It wasn't until the Northwest Half-breed Claims Royal Commission of 1885 that the federal government addressed the issue of Métis education. The Catholic Church, already a strong presence in Métis society, began instructing Métis children in the Red River area of Manitoba in the 1800s. Attendance at residential school, where the use of Aboriginal languages was prohibited, resulted in the erosion of an integral part of Métis culture. Residential schools profoundly affected Métis communities, a fact often overlooked in the telling of the history of residential schools in Canada.

Closing the System

The residential school system, as currently defined by the federal government, reached a maximum of 132 schools that operated across Canada between 1831 and 1996. This definition is disputed and does not represent survivors who attended provincially administered schools, as well as hostels and day schools. By the 1940s, the failure of the residential school system was apparent.

The federal government decided to phase out residential schooling, and transfer First Nations education to the provinces. Church involvement in the system was reduced dramatically in 1969, when the federal government took over the operation of most of the residential schools in the South. Over the next decade, the government closed most of the schools.

Throughout the 1970s, at the request of the National Indian Brotherhood, the federal government undertook a process that saw the eventual transfer of education management to Aboriginal peoples. The last federally administered residential school closed in 1996.

THE NORTHERN CONTEXT OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Later Introduction of Residential Schools

The Canadian government's policy of assimilating Aboriginal peoples was not applied in a uniform manner. In the North, as long as there was no demand for Aboriginal land, the federal policy was to delay taking on the financial obligations that came with treaties. The expectation was that Aboriginal peoples would continue to trap, trade, and live off the land. The residential schooling experience in the North can be divided into two periods: the *missionary period*, which ended in the mid-1950s, and the *modern period*, which was initiated by the federal government, also in the 1950s.

Missionary Period

During the missionary period, residential schooling was limited to the Yukon and the Mackenzie Valley in the Northwest Territories, the shore of James Bay in Quebec, and Labrador. Catholic missionary schools opened in Fort Providence in 1867, Fort Resolution in 1903, Fort Smith in 1915, and Fort Simpson in 1918. No residential schools were established in the eastern regions of present-day Nunavut during this period. Education was central to the ongoing contest between the Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries for Aboriginal converts in the Northwest Territories. Curriculum was left largely in the hands of the churches, and usually was limited to religious instruction, coupled with an introduction to reading and arithmetic.

In 1913, federal inspector H. B. Bury worried that students left the schools poorly equipped for life either in white society or in their home communities. Parents and grandparents complained they had little control over students who had received little training in how to live on the land. Many of the students became ashamed of their home communities.

At this time, enrolment was low. In a region with 2,000 school-aged children, there were only 59 students at Sacred Heart School in Fort Providence in 1918. For most students, schooling lasted only four or five years.

Modern Period

In 1948, most Aboriginal children in the North were not attending school regularly. In the NWT, 200 of the 300 students in residential schools were in the first or second grade. The creation of the department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1953 marked the beginning of the end of the period of direct missionary control over education in the North. At the time, there was a very uneven patchwork of educational service. The federal government's goal was to provide every school-aged child in the North with the opportunity to go to school by 1968. The decision by Northern Affairs to expand the residential school system in the north so dramatically was taken a decade after Indian Affairs officials had begun to wind down the system in southern Canada. Residential school expansion in the North went hand-in-hand with intensified resource development and speculation, and an enhanced military presence.

The expansion of residential schooling in the North was undertaken with virtually no consultation with Aboriginal peoples. Government officials had not initially intended to replicate the church-run residential school system in the North. Church opposition, however, coupled with the belief that residential schools would be cheaper, led them to abandon plans to rely solely on government-run community schools.

From 1954 to 1964, the federal government opened several large day schools, with residential facilities, in the Northwest Territories:

- Chesterfield Inlet – Sir Joseph Bernier School and Turquetil Hall (Catholic) opened in 1954.
- Yellowknife – Sir John Franklin School and Akaitcho Hall (non-denominational) opened in 1958.
- Inuvik – Grollier Hall (Catholic) and Stringer Hall (Anglican) opened in 1959.
- Fort Simpson – Lapointe Hall (Catholic) and Bompas Hall (Anglican) opened in 1960.
- In addition, the federal government opened Churchill Vocational Centre (non-denominational), a training school for Inuit in Churchill, Manitoba, in 1964.

Most of the students who attended these schools were housed in new government-built residences. These residences were usually managed by the Anglican and Catholic churches. There were often two residences, or two wings within one residence—one Anglican and one Catholic—in each community.

Other Hostels

Following a brief period of experimentation with tent hostels in 1951, the Coppermine Tent Hostel opened in 1955 in what is now Kugluktuk, Nunavut. The students lived in wood-framed field tents, and attended a federally funded day school in Coppermine. The hostel operated five months a year, and housed 20 to 30 students. In 1959 the hostel closed, and most students were transferred to Inuvik.

A series of smaller residences, usually referred to as "hostels," was established near settlements in the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec. At the hostels, the children lived with Inuit adults, who were often family members. Not all these hostels operated every year, and most were closed by the end of the 1960s.

Impacts on Families and Communities

From 1956 to 1963, there was a major increase in the number of students attending both residential and day schools. In many communities, the arrival of a government-chartered airplane or boat was the prelude to a traumatic scene in which parents bid farewell to their children, who were then taken away to school.

Unlike the missionaries, many of whom had learned to speak Aboriginal languages, most of the new teachers came from the South, spoke no Aboriginal languages, and usually had no more than one or two days of orientation for living in the North. Few stayed for more than two years. Like the teachers, the curriculum came from the South with most schools using the Alberta, Manitoba, or Ontario curricula. For many students, the resulting education was difficult, irrelevant, and frustrating.

The students often attended schools that were thousands of kilometres from their homes. It was not uncommon for Inuit children from northern Quebec to travel for over a week by train and plane to get to school in Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories. Often, neither the parents nor the children knew where they were going.

By the 1990s, former students had begun to speak out about the abuse they had experienced at a number of the residential schools. Former employees of Coudert Hall in the Yukon, Lower Post in northern British Columbia, and Grollier Hall in the Northwest Territories were convicted of a variety of offences, including indecent assault. A 1994 territorial government report concluded that students at Turquetil Hall in Chesterfield Inlet had been subjected to serious sexual and physical abuse. Due in large measure to the passage of time, no charges were ever laid.

Outcomes of Federal Residential Schools

Overall, the federal system never met its goals. As late as 1967, 20 percent of the Aboriginal population was without educational opportunity. Students were being educated and trained for jobs that often did not exist when they returned home. In the later 1960s, the federal government transferred most of the schools, the residences, and responsibility for their operation to the territorial governments. As northern peoples gained control over their governments, support for residential schooling declined, and for local schooling increased.

In the eastern Arctic (now Nunavut), most of the hostels had closed by the end of the 1960s. The exceptions were in Cambridge Bay, Rankin Inlet, and Frobisher Bay (now called Iqaluit). The Gordon Robertson Education Centre (now Inuksuk High School) opened in 1971 and had a capacity of 200 students. Ukkivik Hostel remained in operation, housing students from smaller communities where grades 10, 11, or 12 were not offered, until 1996.

While there were a number of successful schools, particularly Grandin College in Fort Smith, overall, the federal government's record in running residential schools in Northern Canada suggests it had learned little from its failures in the South.

While the system was late in coming to the North, its impact was significant, and continues to the present. A far higher percentage of the Aboriginal population in Northern Canada attended residential schools than was the case in the rest of Canada. According to the 2001 Statistics Canada Aboriginal Peoples Survey, over 50 percent of Aboriginal peoples 45 years of age and older in Yukon and the Northwest Territories attended a residential school. In Nunavut 40 percent of those 55 and older attended residential school as did over 50 percent of those aged 45 to 54.

SEEKING RECONCILIATION

Speaking Out

Public understanding of the experiences of residential schools has increased significantly since the early 1990s, when former students began to speak out about physical and sexual abuse. Throughout the 1990s, these reports multiplied, resulting in criminal charges against the churches and federal government. Many Aboriginal communities as well as Canadian individuals and groups began acknowledging the link between social crises in Aboriginal communities, residential schools, and the legacy of intergenerational trauma. The 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples report confirmed this link.

Aboriginal Healing Foundation

On January 7, 1998, the federal government of Canada issued a Statement of Reconciliation and unveiled a new initiative called *Gathering Strength—Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*. This plan featured a fund to support healing initiatives and on March 31, 1998, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) was created. It was given 10 years to disburse this $350-million fund beginning March 31, 1999, and ending March 31, 2009. The AHF has supported a wide range of community-based initiatives that address the intergenerational legacy of physical and sexual abuse in Canada's Indian residential school system.

Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement

Facing the largest class-action lawsuit in Canadian history from former students seeking compensation for themselves and their families, the Government of Canada negotiated the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement* (IRSSA). Implemented in 2007, the Settlement Agreement included:

- The Common Experience Payment (CEP) to all surviving former students of federally administered residential schools.
- The Independent Assessment Process (IAP) to address compensation for physical and sexual abuse.
- The establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).
- Healing initiatives.
- A fund for commemoration projects.

The Government Apology

Tied to the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement* was the federal government apology. In June 2008, the Government of Canada apologized for its role in the residential school system. By saying "we are sorry," Prime Minister Stephen Harper acknowledged the Canadian government's role in isolating Aboriginal children from their homes, families, and cultures. Harper called residential schools a sad chapter in Canadian history and indicated that the policies that supported and protected the system were harmful and wrong.

The apology signalled to all Canadians that this history could no longer be denied or ignored, but rather needed to become part of a new dialogue on seeking reconciliation with the Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

For the thousands of survivors watching from across Canada, the government's apology was a historic occasion, though responses were mixed. The Aboriginal leaders who heard the apology from the floor of the House of Commons called it a "positive step forward... even though the pain and scars are still there."

Most believe there is still much to be done. "The full story of the residential school system's impact on our people has yet to be told," said Grand Chief Edward John of the First Nations Summit, an umbrella group of BC First Nations.

Abuse survivor Charlie Thompson watched the apology from the House gallery and said he felt relieved to hear the Prime Minister acknowledge the horrible legacy. "Today I feel relief. I feel good. For me, this is a historical day."

Truth and Reconciliation Commission

As part of the IRSSA, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was established in 2008 and given a mandate to:

- tell Canadians about the history of Indian Residential Schools and the impacts it had on Aboriginal children who were sent to the schools by the Canadian government; and
- guide a process of reconciliation between and within Aboriginal families, communities, churches, governments and Canadians.

The Commission is tasked with examining records held by those who operated and funded the schools, testimony from officials of the institutions who operated the schools, and experiences reported by survivors, their families, communities and anyone personally affected by the residential school experience and its subsequent impacts.

The Commission views reconciliation as an ongoing individual and collective process to renew relationships based on mutual understanding and respect. At the time of the writing of this teaching and learning document, the TRC is in the second half of their five-year mandate. During this mandate, the TRC is expected to:

- Prepare a complete historical record on the policies and operations of residential schools.
- Record to the fullest extent possible, the experiences of the children who attended residential schools, and what former employees and anyone else impacted by the schools can recall from their experiences.
- Complete a public report including recommendations to the parties of the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement*.
- Host national events in regions across Canada to facilitate truth gathering, and to promote awareness and public education about the residential schools legacy and its impacts.
- Support a commemoration initiative that will fund initiatives that pay tribute to survivors.
- Support community events designed by communities to meet their unique needs.
- Establish a national research centre that will be a lasting resource about the Indian Residential Schools legacy.
- Foster a process of truth sharing and healing between Aboriginal peoples and Canadians that will encourage reconciliation and renewed relationships based on mutual understanding and respect.

Church Apologies

By 2008, most of the church denominations responsible for the operation of the residential schools in Canada had publicly apologized for their role in the neglect, abuse, and suffering experienced by the children placed in their care.

Most of these organizations apologized through their national offices, except for the Catholic Church, which left it up to individual dioceses to make apologies.

- United Church of Canada (1986)
- Oblate Missionaries of Mary Immaculate (Roman Catholic) (1991)
- Anglican Church (1993)
- Presbyterian Church (1994)
- Government of Canada (2008)
- Roman Catholic Church (2009)

Recognizing the Positive Experiences

If measured on a scale, the negative aspects of residential school would most often surely tip towards the negative, but without acknowledging and honouring the positive stories students are deprived of the full picture.

Healing Movement

Much progress has been made in the healing movement. This progress is the result of the hard work, dedication, and commitment of thousands of individuals in hundreds of communities. Today, the residential schools have all been closed and much has been done to try to repair the damages caused to generations of Aboriginal peoples. Many churches and educational institutions are today trying to do a better job and to be partners with Aboriginal peoples in this process. Though it will be many years before the healing is complete, it is important that all Canadians know what happened and ensure that this era will never be repeated.

The Importance of Awareness

By promoting awareness about the ongoing impacts of residential schools and by working to ensure that all Canadians are made aware of this history, the conditionsfor healing and reconciliation for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples are put in place.

In 2000, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation established the Legacy of Hope Foundation, a national charity whose mandate is to educate and raise awareness about residential schools and to continue to support the ongoing healing of survivors.

Suggested Further Reading and Resources

- Aboriginal Healing Foundation, ahf.ca
- Assembly of First Nations, afn.ca
- Dyck, Noel. *Differing Visions: Administering Indian Residential Schooling in Prince Albert*, 1867–1967. Hubbards: Fernwood Publishing, 1997.
- Furniss, Elizabeth. *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School*. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995.
- Glavin, Terry, and former students of St. Mary's. *Amongst God's Own: The Enduring Legacy of St. Mary's Mission*. Mission, BC: Longhouse Publishing, 2002.
- Graham, Elizabeth. *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools*. Waterloo, ON: Heffle Publishing, 1997.
- Grant, Agnes. *Finding My Talk: How Fourteen Canadian Native Women Reclaimed Their Lives after Residential School*. Markham, ON: Fifth House Books, 2004.
- Haig-Brown. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988.
- Jack, Agnes. *Behind Closed Doors*: *Stories from the Kamloops Indian Residential School*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2006.
- Joe, Rita, with Lynn Henry. *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet*. Charlottetown, PE: Ragweed Press, 1996.
- Johnston, Basil H. *Indian School Days*. Toronto, ON: Key Porter Books, 1988.
- Kennedy, Dan. *Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief*. Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart, 1972.
- Knockwood, Isabelle. *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, N.S*. Hubbards, NS: Roseway Publishing, 1994.
- Lawrence, Mary. *My People, Myself*. Halfmoon Bay, BC: Caitlin Press, 1996.
- Legacy of Hope Foundation, legacyofhope.ca
- Moran, Bridget. *Stoney Creek Woman: The Story of Mary John*. Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission, trc.ca
- Where are the Children?, wherearethechildren.ca
- Willis, Jane. Geniesh: *An Indian Girlhood*. Toronto, ON: New Press, 1973.

Related Films:

- *We Were Children* (Educator's Guide found at nfb.ca/guides)
- *Healing at Lac Ste. Anne*
- *Off to School*

APPENDIX 2 : UNIKKAUSIVUT DIGITAL STORYTELLING WORKSHOP

Recommended age group: 10+
Duration: 4.5 hrs. (including a 1-hr. lunch)
Participants per workshop: Maximum 30 students

Rooted in the practice of media literacy, this dynamic student workshop is a perfect complement to any *Unikkausivut* classroom screening and discussion with students aged 10+. By having your students engage with the films, issues and their own personal experiences in a reflective, creative and active way, they will be going beyond the deconstruction of the media and representation within, and will begin to implement what they have learned using real-world media production skills. The workshop focuses on **Digital Storytelling**, a multimedia project using photographs, text, narration and sound clips. (More info can be found about the medium, together with many examples, at storycenter.org.)

Students are encouraged to work alone or in teams to create short films that present their chosen subject matter in a linear form, including an introduction, middle, and end. In addition, this workshop looks at our consumption of social media platforms to better understand how we can produce and distribute a digital story responsibly, using engaging and accessible tools. Students are encouraged to create stories that relate to issues that have been raised in any of the *Unikkausivut* films and discussions. This workshop concludes with a screening/projection of students' digital stories, followed by a group discussion.

Workshop Timeline

- Introduction to Digital Storytelling .... 10 MIN
- Screening/Discussion .... 20 MIN
- iMovie/Movie Maker Tutorial .... 15 MIN
- Photography & Storyboarding .... 30 MIN
- Lunch .... 60 MIN
- Production & Post-Production .... 115 MIN
- Final Screening & Discussion .... 20 MIN

Workshop Materials

- 10 computers, either PC or Mac
- 5 microphones
- 5 digital cameras
- Digital story storyboard and narration script templates

Curriculum Links and Workshop Outcomes

- Arts and Technology
- Language Arts
- Media Literacy/Visual Literacy
- Civic Engagement/Human Rights
- Environment/Social Issues
- Career Studies
- Cultural Studies
- Health and Wellness
- Personal Development
- Film Studies

Learning Outcomes

- Learn about the NFB and its films
- Understand the relationship between the interactive documentary and a digital story
- Explore media/visual literacy and media responsibility
- Storytelling through images and text and application of video production skills
- Alternative means of expression and building a message
- Working in a team and collaborating on a creative project

Introduction to Digital Storytelling (10 MIN)

Does anyone know what a digital story is? Who can tell me what digital means?

Engage students in a discussion that has the following idea as the result:

- Something that is digital is still an object, but we cannot hold the digital object in our hands the same way we can a pencil. It is still something we can share through the use of technology, like digital cameras (that hold the digital image), but they are shared and used differently.
- So, if something is digital, it means that you can share it with lots of people using a computer, and you don't have an actual "physical object" that you can hold.

Now, who can tell me what a story is?

Engage students in a discussion that has the following idea as the result:

- A story is a tale or a narrative that has a beginning, middle and end.
- A narrative shapes how the story is told, which is often from the point of view of one person. That's part of what makes a digital story personal, because it is told from your own point of view.

So, if we think about these two ideas together, we have a digital story. What do you think a digital story could mean?

Engage students in a discussion that has the following idea as the result:

- You could say a digital story is a narrative or tale with a beginning, middle and end that you can't hold like a book but you can share with lots of people on a computer.

So let's review:

- **a digital story can be something personal;**
- **uses pictures and/or video;**
- **can have narration, text and sound;**
- **can be shared with people using a computer and the Internet.**

Screening and Discussion / Media Responsibility (20 MIN)

This section will feature two screenings: the first will be a screening of an NFB interactive doc, and the second will be an example of a digital story. Think about it as a mix between a video game and a documentary. We have picked one of these interactive sites that we're going to explore as a group right now.

For the NFB interactive doc, please choose between the list below, found on nfb.ca/interactive:

- *Highrise* (English)
- *God's Lake Narrows* (English)
- *Welcome to Pine Point* (English)
- *Ying Jia, dépanneur de la Petite Patrie* (English and French)
- *Qui Nous Sommes* (French)
- *Habiter – Au-delà de ma chambre* (French)

Lead students through a discussion on why you screened this. How does it relate to the definition you came up with for a digital story?

Discuss the format, what makes them digital stories or not, how each story differs, and compare characteristics.

Now move onto the five key questions of Media Literacy:

1. **Who created this message?**
2. **What techniques are used to attract my attention?**
3. **How might different people understand this message differently from me?**
4. **What lifestyles, values and points of view are represented in, or omitted from, this message?**
5. **Why was this message sent?**

Suggested follow-up questions for discussion:

- What do you think is the director's intent with this digital story?
- If this story were told more "traditionally" (as a film in a cinema, a stage play, etc.), would it still be received in the same way?
- Do you have a preferred way of viewing digital material (computer screen, iPad, cellphone, TV screen)? Why is this?
- Is there a difference if you view something on a cellphone vs. in a movie theatre? How does the way we "receive" information affect our viewing experience?

Are you a digital storyteller already? Do you use social networks or social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, YouTube, Instagram or Vine? You may not know it, but you could very well be! When you upload a video you created on YouTube, for example, you are participating in 1) documenting an idea, story, message or moment; and 2) broadcasting it into the world through the internet.

Documenting your digital story is quite empowering. Think about it: until the 1990s, making a film was very costly, so not a lot of people could have access. Now, it is very easy to post your story online. Through your posts, you are broadcasting and connecting with millions of people via the Internet and social media—something that was also not possible years ago. But with this great ability there are also many new responsibilities to assume.

You may not know it, but the Internet is an actual archive. Everything we put on the Web is actually stored in a physical place for people to explore at any time. Do you realize what that means? When you post a photo online, it stays online forever—even if you delete it, since it can never be fully deleted.

Discuss this thought with suggested questions:

- What do you think about your posts staying online "forever"?
- What do you think it means to act responsibly when it comes to social media?
- When you tag someone in a photo on Facebook, do you think about asking their permission before tagging them?
- Why should we be conscious of this?

Now screen one of the following digital stories and follow up with a discussion: Rigolet Storytelling and Digital Media Lab:

youtube.com/watch?v=bRk5aInjbIw

youtube.com/watch?v=iq5iShgctS8

Ask students to identify:

- What are the differences between this digital story and the interactive documentary we watched?
- What is the message behind the story?
- What did you notice about the sound?
- What did you notice about the text?
- What did you notice about the photographs?

Now it's your turn to tell your story. We challenge you to create an engaging and responsible digital story to share with the world or with a small, private circle of family and friends. Remember, the choice is always yours! The main message of a digital story can be personal, or it can be broad. But remember: when creating a digital story (or any story for that matter), the creator needs to be conscious of keeping the audience interested in a way that supports the story.

iMovie/Movie Maker Tutorial (15 MIN)

Open iMovie (for Mac) or Movie Maker (for PC) and outline the features for the group. *Both of these basic video editing programs are free of charge*. Highlight how to create a file, upload photos, add text, music and voice narration—with mic, transitions, titles. (YouTube or Lynda.com are fantastic sites for video editing tutorials you can use if you are unfamiliar with these programs.)

Hand out storyboard sheets at this time to reinforce project requirements.

Photography & Storyboarding (30 MIN)

It is now the students' turn to create a digital story.

Remind them:

1. Stories will be short—approximately 2–5 minutes. Final product should have no more than:
   - 10–20 still photographs that they will take themselves;
   - 3 different sound sources (voice, sound effects, soundtrack).
2. What is the INTENTION of your story? What is the main idea you are trying to get across?
3. The ability to access tools and technologies online will not, in itself, create an effective story. We have to be able to take these tools and use them to help us communicate the overall intention of our stories. It's a good idea to think about this for a bit. You have your tools and your photos—but as you prepare to make your film, ask yourself: WHAT exactly am I trying to say? Then, use the tools to help you say it. *It's not about the technology*, it's about the message.

Prep students before they work:

- Outline the importance of proper and concise brainstorming in pre-production;
- Explain that students will not have access to computers until they have completed their storyboard and gotten it approved by a facilitator.

Lunch (60 MIN)

Production & Post-Production (115 MIN)

During this time, students will take photos necessary for their digital story, import said photos, and begin weaving their digital stories together using their laptops and iMovie/Movie Maker programs. Facilitators will assist groups if need be, but the idea is that all groups have complete control and can work autonomously.

If some groups finish ahead of time, you can encourage them to explore the interactive sites and compare the way they have told their stories to the way the interactive projects have.

Final Screening & Discussion (20 MIN)

Final screening of digital stories as a group: visit each computer together to screen each digital story, or transfer each movie file to a USB key, which you can then project from one computer that is attached to a projector and speakers.

Post-Workshop

Create a YouTube channel for your class, and upload final digital stories if students give permission. Work with other educators to organize a student film festival at your school! Students can put together the promotional and marketing needs, list of required equipment, invitations, and arrange guest speakers in order to put on a successful film event celebrating their own work.

Digital Storytelling Storyboard

Theme:
What topic would you like to discuss in your digital story today? Why?

Intent:
What is the message you are trying to convey?

Synopsis:
What is the beginning, middle and end of your story? Explain how you are going to tell this story.
What kinds of pictures, music and text would like you like to include in your digital story?

Script*

Adding narration allows your audience to hear your story while they watch your pictures and text and listen to your music.

**Optional: if you prefer, you can use text only*.

Use the space below to write a script, and then you're ready to record your narration!

APPENDIX 3: IQ PRINCIPLES VISUAL MAP

ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᓚᖅᑯᓯᖏᑕ ᑐᙵᕕᖏᑦ
Hivulliurutit Uppiriyauyut
GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF INUIT QAUJIMAJATUQANGIT

1
ᐃᓅᖃᑎᒌᑦᓯᐊᕐᓂᖅ: ᐃᒃᐱᒍᓱᑦᓯᐊᕐᓂᖅ ᐃᓚᒌᑦᓯᐊᕐᓂᕐᓗ
Inuuqatigiitsiarniq: **ihumagittiarilugin atlat, inuuqatigiiqniit munagittiarluginlu inuit**
respecting others, relationships and caring for people

2
ᑐᙵᓇᕐᓂᖅ: ᒪᑐᐃᙵᓂᖅ, ᐃᓚᐅᑎᑦᓯᓂᖅ, ᐃᓚᖁᓇᓐᖏᓐᓂᖅ
Tunnganarniq: **inutqiqtittiyuq, tunngahuktittipluni ilaupkaiplunilu**
fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive

3
ᐱᔨᑦᓯᕐᓂᖅ: ᐃᓚᑦᑎᓐᓂᒃ, ᐃᓅᖃᑎᑦᑎᓐᓄᓪᓗ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᓄᓇᖅᑲᑎᑦᑎᓐᓂᒃ ᐱᔨᑦᓯᕈᑎᖃᕐᓗᓂ
Pijitsirniq: **kivgaqtuiyuq hailihimapkaiyuq ilaminun nunalaaminunluniit**
serving and providing for family and/or community

4
ᐋᔩᖃᑎᒌᓐᓂᖅ: ᐃᓱᒪᓕᐅᖃᑎᒌᑦᓗᓂ, ᐅᖃᖃᑎᒌᓐᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᖏᖃᑎᒌᓐᓂᒃᑯᑦ
Aajiiqatigiinniq: **ihumaliurutinik talvuuna, uqaqatinikkun tamarmiiqnikkunlu**
decision making through discussion and consensus

5
ᐱᓕᒻᒪᒃᓴᕐᓂᖅ: ᐊᔪᖏᓐᓃᖅᓴᓂᖅ ᓱᓇᓕᓚᓗᓂ, ᐱᓇᓱᓐᓂᒃᑯᑦ, ᐆᑦᑐᕋᕐᓂᒃᑯᑦ
Pilimmaksarniq/Pijariuqsarniq: **pivallialiuqniit ayuirhaqnini ayuirhaqnikkun, ukturnikkun hulinikkunlu**
development of skills through practice, effort and action

6
ᐱᓕᕆᖃᑎᒌᓐᓂᖅ: ᐃᑲᔪᖅᑎᒌᓐᓂᖅ- ᐃᓗᑑᔾᔨᖏᓪᓗᓂ ᐱᓕᕆᔭᕆᐊᓗᓐᓂᒃ ᐃᖅᑲᓇᐃᔭᖃᑎᖃᕐᓗᓂ
Piliriqatigiinniq/Ikajuqtigiinniq: **havakatigiikniq atauhiqmun huliyumayauyumun**
working together for a common cause

7
ᖃᓄᖅᑑᕐᓂᖅ: ᐃᓱᒪᑦᓴᖅᓯᐅᕐᓂᖅ ᐋᖅᑭᐊᓪᓚᒥᒃ ᐋᖅᑭᓯᓇᓱᓪᓗᓂ
Qanuqtuurniq: **atlakuurutinikkun ihumatulunilu**
being innovative and resourceful in seeking solutions

8
ᐊᕙᑎᒥᒃ ᑲᒪᑦᓯᐊᕐᓂᖅ: ᐃᑉᐱᒍᓱᑦᓯᐊᕐᓂᖅ, ᑲᒪᑦᓯᐊᕐᓂᕐᓗ ᓄᓇᒥᒃ, ᓂᕐᔪᑎᓂᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᕙᑎᑦᑎᓐᓂᒃ
Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq: **ihumagittiarlugu munagittiarlugulu nuna, hugatjat avatilu**
respect and care for the land, animals and the environment

made in nunavut

Nunavut

APPENDIX 4: MAP OF INUIT NUNANGAT