



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Voire référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

NOTICE

AVIS

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

Government Policies on Education for the Native
Peoples of Siberia and the Canadian Northwest Territories
1900-1990: A Historical Examination

by

Mary Ann Van Meenen

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
July, 1994

© Copyright by Mary Ann Van Meenen, 1994



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA TO REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA DE REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-315-98950-5

Canada

Name Mary Ann Van Meenen

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

History 0335

SUBJECT TERM

0335

SUBJECT CODE

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
 Art History 0377
 Cinema 0900
 Dance 0378
 Fine Arts 0357
 Information Science 0723
 Journalism 0391
 Library Science 0399
 Mass Communications 0708
 Music 0413
 Speech Communication 0459
 Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
 Administration 0514
 Adult and Continuing 0516
 Agricultural 0517
 Art 0273
 Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
 Business 0688
 Community College 0275
 Curriculum and Instruction 0727
 Early Childhood 0518
 Elementary 0524
 Finance 0277
 Guidance and Counseling 0519
 Health 0680
 Higher 0745
 History of 0520
 Home Economics 0278
 Industrial 0521
 Language and Literature 0279
 Mathematics 0280
 Music 0522
 Philosophy of 0998
 Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
 Reading 0535
 Religious 0527
 Sciences 0714
 Secondary 0533
 Social Sciences 0534
 Sociology of 0340
 Special 0529
 Teacher Training 0530
 Technology 0710
 Tests and Measurements 0288
 Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language
 General 0679
 Ancient 0289
 Linguistics 0290
 Modern 0291
 Literature
 General 0401
 Classical 0294
 Comparative 0295
 Medieval 0297
 Modern 0298
 African 0316
 American 0591
 Asian 0305
 Canadian (English) 0352
 Canadian (French) 0355
 English 0593
 Germanic 0311
 Latin American 0312
 Middle Eastern 0315
 Romance 0313
 Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
 Religion
 General 0318
 Biblical Studies 0321
 Clergy 0319
 History of 0320
 Philosophy of 0322
 Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
 Anthropology
 Archaeology 0324
 Cultural 0326
 Physical 0327
 Business Administration
 General 0310
 Accounting 0272
 Banking 0770
 Management 0454
 Marketing 0338
 Canadian Studies 0385
 Economics
 General 0501
 Agricultural 0503
 Commerce-Business 0505
 Finance 0508
 History 0509
 Labor 0510
 Theory 0511
 Folklore 0358
 Geography 0366
 Gerontology 0351
 History
 General 0578

Ancient 0579
 Medieval 0581
 Modern 0582
 Black 0328
 African 0331
 Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
 Canadian 0334
 European 0335
 Latin American 0336
 Middle Eastern 0333
 United States 0337
 History of Science 0585
 Law 0398
 Political Science
 General 0615
 International Law and Relations 0616
 Public Administration 0617
 Recreation 0814
 Social Work 0452
 Sociology
 General 0626
 Criminology and Penology 0627
 Demography 0938
 Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
 Individual and Family Studies 0628
 Industrial and Labor Relations 0629
 Public and Social Welfare 0630
 Social Structure and Development 0700
 Theory and Methods 0344
 Transportation 0709
 Urban and Regional Planning 0999
 Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture
 General 0473
 Agronomy 0285
 Animal Culture and Nutrition 0475
 Animal Pathology 0476
 Food Science and Technology 0359
 Forestry and Wildlife 0478
 Plant Culture 0479
 Plant Pathology 0480
 Plant Physiology 0817
 Range Management 0777
 Wood Technology 0746
 Biology
 General 0306
 Anatomy 0287
 Biostatistics 0308
 Botany 0309
 Cell 0379
 Ecology 0329
 Entomology 0353
 Genetics 0369
 Limnology 0793
 Microbiology 0410
 Molecular 0307
 Neuroscience 0317
 Oceanography 0416
 Physiology 0433
 Radiation 0821
 Veterinary Science 0778
 Zoology 0472
 Biophysics
 General 0786
 Medical 0760
 EARTH SCIENCES
 Biogeochemistry 0425
 Geochemistry 0996

Geodesy 0370
 Geology 0372
 Geophysics 0373
 Hydrology 0388
 Mineralogy 0411
 Paleobotany 0345
 Paleocology 0426
 Paleontology 0418
 Paleozoology 0985
 Palynology 0427
 Physical Geography 0368
 Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
 Health Sciences
 General 0566
 Audiology 0300
 Chemotherapy 0992
 Dentistry 0567
 Education 0350
 Hospital Management 0769
 Human Development 0758
 Immunology 0982
 Medicine and Surgery 0564
 Mental Health 0347
 Nursing 0569
 Nutrition 0570
 Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
 Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
 Ophthalmology 0381
 Pathology 0571
 Pharmacology 0419
 Pharmacy 0572
 Physical Therapy 0382
 Public Health 0573
 Radiology 0574
 Recreation 0575

Speech Pathology 0460
 Toxicology 0383
 Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences
 Chemistry
 General 0485
 Agricultural 0749
 Analytical 0486
 Biochemistry 0487
 Inorganic 0488
 Nuclear 0738
 Organic 0490
 Pharmaceutical 0491
 Physical 0494
 Polymer 0495
 Radiation 0754
 Mathematics 0405
 Physics
 General 0605
 Acoustics 0986
 Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
 Atmospheric Science 0608
 Atomic 0748
 Electronics and Electricity 0607
 Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
 Fluid and Plasma 0759
 Molecular 0609
 Nuclear 0610
 Optics 0752
 Radiation 0756
 Solid State 0611
 Statistics 0463
 Applied Sciences
 Applied Mechanics 0346
 Computer Science 0984

Engineering
 General 0537
 Aerospace 0538
 Agricultural 0539
 Automotive 0540
 Biomedical 0541
 Chemical 0542
 Civil 0543
 Electronics and Electrical 0544
 Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
 Hydraulic 0545
 Industrial 0546
 Marine 0547
 Materials Science 0794
 Mechanical 0548
 Metallurgy 0743
 Mining
 Nuclear 0551
 Packaging 0549
 Petroleum 0765
 Sanitary and Municipal System Science 0554
 0790
 Geotechnology 0428
 Operations Research 0796
 Plastics Technology 0795
 Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
 Behavioral 0384
 Clinical 0622
 Developmental 0620
 Experimental 0623
 Industrial 0624
 Personality 0625
 Psychological 0989
 Psychobiology 0349
 Psychometrics 0632
 Social 0451



DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "Government Policies on Education for The Native Peoples of Siberia and the Canadian Northwest Territories, 1900-1990"

by Mary Ann Van Meenen
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dated September 6, 1994

External Examiner _____
Research Supervisor _____
Examining Committee _____



DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DATE: 15 September 1994

AUTHOR: MARY ANN VAN MEENAN

TITLE: GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON EDUCATION FOR THE NATIVE PEOPLES
OF SIBERIA AND THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
1900-1990: A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION

DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL: DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DEGREE: Ph.D. CONVOCATION: 16 OCTOBER YEAR: 1994

Permission is herewith granted to Dalhousie University to circulate and to have copied for non-commercial purposes, at its discretion, the above title upon the request of individuals or institutions.



Signature of Author

THE AUTHOR RESERVES OTHER PUBLICATION RIGHTS, AND NEITHER THE THESIS NOR EXTENSIVE EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHOR'S WRITTEN PERMISSION.

THE AUTHOR ATTESTS THAT PERMISSION HAS BEEN OBTAINED FOR THE USE OF ANY COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL APPEARING IN THIS THESIS (OTHER THAN BRIEF EXCERPTS REQUIRING ONLY PROPER ACKNOWLEDGEMENT IN SCHOLARLY WRITING) AND THAT ALL SUCH USE IS CLEARLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	iv
Abstract	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Russian/Soviet Educational Policy: 1900-1945	17
Chapter 2: Canadian Educational Policy: 1900-1960	79
Chapter 3: Russian Educational Policy: 1946-1980	143
Chapter 4: Canadian Educational Policy: 1961-1980	221
Chapter 5: Soviet and Canadian Education Policy: 1981-1990	271
Conclusion	300
Bibliography	305

ABSTRACT

Educational systems for the northern native peoples of the Soviet Union and Canada were created when the respective governments independently decided to develop the regions occupied by these peoples. Efforts were made too build modern school systems but within the context of government interests and objectives which either partially or totally took precedence over those of the native peoples. This thesis provides a historical tracing of government policies, their implementation, the results and common problems which affords the opportunity to juxtapose two different approaches. The focus is on the Chukchi and Eskimos of northeastern Siberia and the Inuit of the Northwest Territories. The position is adopted that, however well intentioned government policies were toward their northern native peoples, the interests of these peoples were subordinated to the objectives of their governments. It concludes that while an educational system that accomodates the native peoples has been put in place in both countries, this system has not addressed and does not address their needs, that is, one based upon their heritage and culture and provides for their social and economic self-sufficiency. It is also suggested that this will not occur until the northern native peoples take a more active role in the development of their educational systems.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the many people who assisted me in the preparation of this thesis. Dr. Norman Pereira Dalhousie University, my supervisor, for his advice, intellectual rigour, encouragement, friendship, support. Dr. Elizabeth Haigh, St. Mary's University, a friend and teacher whose editing skills contributed significantly to the readability of the final text. Dr. Alan Wood, Lancaster University, for the time and care he took in reviewing the thesis. I would also like to thank Professor John Barnstead, Dalhousie University, for his patience and advice. Dr. David Jones for providing me with unfettered access to his extensive holdings at the Russian Research Centre of Nova Scotia, in Halifax. Jacqueline Cleary for her proofreading skills. Mrs. Elsie Whetstone for her support and assistance. Mr. F. J. Neville, a former senior administrator in the Canadian North, for the many hours spent in discussing and describing the Canadian government's northern policy. The staff of the National Archives of Canada and the National Library for their long-term help in the research. Larry Cooper for his patience in preparing the maps. And my undying gratitude to John.

INTRODUCTION

Until the twentieth century, the native peoples of the northeastern regions of Siberia and the Arctic regions of the Canadian Northwest Territories (NWT) lived in geo-political isolation. Russian and Canadian government attitudes toward these peoples were based upon policies of non-interference. Consequently, the native peoples continued centuries-old traditions and customs without significant exposure to external values or beliefs. This changed when their respective governments recognized the economic and strategic significance of the areas inhabited by these peoples.

Motivated by issues of sovereignty and the desire to develop the natural resources, both governments formulated policies to extend their influence into the Arctic regions. This included plans to minimize the impact of the ensuing encroachment upon the indigenous populations by having them participate in the planned development. Education appeared to be the most expedient and efficient means of preparing the native peoples for the impending changes. Accordingly, both governments focussed on the creation of educational infrastructures in the north, albeit from different ideological perspectives and more than twenty years apart. Both governments, in implementing the respective educational systems had to contend with the different groups of native

peoples, their environments, cultures, and historic relationships with European culture.

There were 26 distinct native groups inhabiting specific areas of Siberia (see map page 3).¹ Eighteen occupied the Far North: the Nentsy² (Samoyed), Khanty (Ostiaki), Mansi (Voguls), Evenki (Tungus proper), Saami (Lapps), Koriaki, Sel'kupy (Ostiak Samoyeds), Chukchi, Eskimosy, Chuvantsy, Eveny (Lamut), Iukagiry, Entsy (Enisei), Dolgany, Itel'meny (Kamchadals), Kety (Enisei Ostiaki), Aleuty, and Nganasany (Tavghi). Seven inhabited the Far East: the Nivkhi (Giliaks), Oroki, Orochi, Nanai, Negidal'tsy, Udege (Ude), and Ul'chi.³

¹The terms in parentheses identify the alternate name of the group preceding it. For a discussion of these groups see M. A. Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," [Small Peoples of the North in the Epoch of Socialism] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4 (1947): 128; Poul Thoe Nielson, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," *Folk* (1972/73): 205-213.

²The Library of Congress system of transliteration is used throughout this thesis with some modifications.

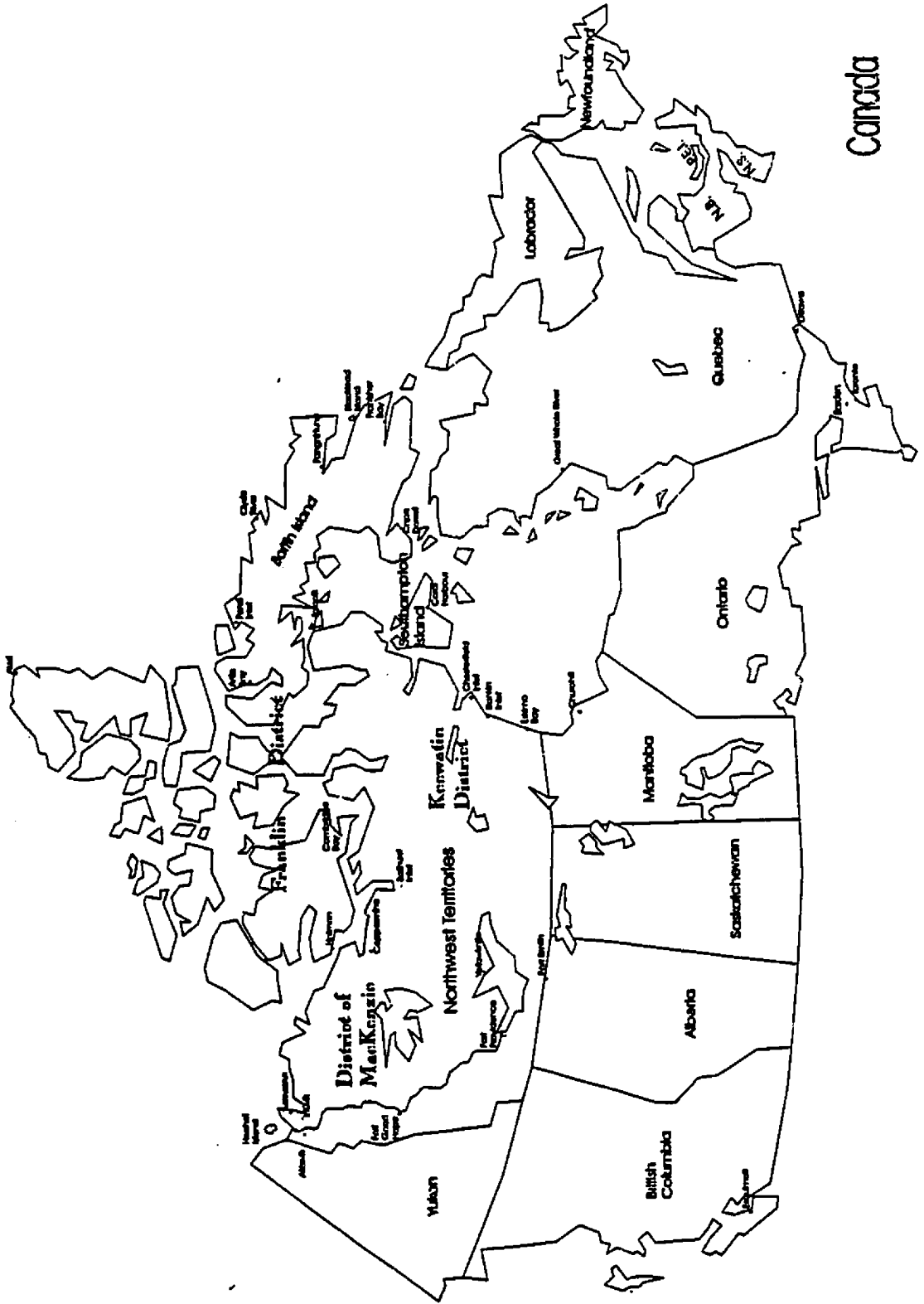
³Geographically, this study is limited to the areas inhabited by these peoples. For a short discussion of these areas see Terence Armstrong, "Who are the "Northern Peoples" of the USSR?" in *Consequences of Economic Change in Circumpolar Regions* eds. Ludger Muller-Wille, Pertti J. Pelto, Linna Muller-Wille and Regna Darnell [Papers of the Symposium on Unexpected Consequences of Economic Change in Circumpolar Regions at the 34th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Amsterdam, March 21-22, 1975] (Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, 1978): 21-26.

The Tofalary inhabited the Sayan Mountains.⁴ These ethnic groups shared some common characteristics. They inhabited the taiga and tundra, were small in number, and were involved in subsistence economies which included hunting, reindeer herding, trapping, fishing, and in some areas, sea animal hunting.⁵ In 1925, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Council of People's Commissars [Sovnarkom] issued a decree that designated these 26 groups as the Small Peoples of the North [Malye narody severa].⁶

⁴I. S. Gurvich, "The Northern Native Groups in the USSR," *Inuktitut* 68 (Fall, 1988): 33.

⁵I. S. Gurvich, "Printsipy leninskoi natsional'noi politiki i primeneniye ikh na krainem severe," [The Principles of Leninist Nationality Policies and Their Application in the Far North] In *Osushchestvleniye leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971): 10.

⁶A. I. Pika and B. B. Prokhorov, "Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov," [Big Problems of Small Peoples] *Kommunist* 16 (November, 1988): 76.



Canada

In the NWT, there were three native groups: Inuit,⁷ Indian and Metis. Historically, the Canadian government recognized the Inuit as a distinct group for the purposes of administration and legislation.

The northern coasts of mainland Siberia and the NWT lie in geographical opposition separated by the Arctic Ocean. The majority of the Chukchi and Eskimosy of Siberia and the Inuit of the NWT live in a polar climate above the Arctic Circle.

The extreme temperature variations of the Arctic determined the culture and traditions of these people and played a role in the timing of their first contact with Europeans.

The Chukchi and Eskimosy occupied the extreme northeastern part of Siberia. The Chukchi were divided into two groups: the nomadic reindeer-herders who occupied inland areas and the sedentary sea animal hunters who lived along the coast. The Eskimosy had a lifestyle comparable to the sedentary Chukchi and for all practical purposes were distinguishable only by language differences.

The Inuit of the NWT, like the Chukchi, were divided into the nomadic inland group who followed caribou migrations and the more sedentary coastal dwellers who lived by hunting and

⁷"Inuit" is a self-designated term of the aboriginal peoples of Arctic Canada. The word "Eskimo" is only used to ensure the accuracy of a quotation or citation.

fishing along the Arctic Coast.

The first recorded contact between the Chukchi and Russians occurred in the first half of the seventeenth century. By the end of the 1600s permanent military posts had been established in the area to collect the fur tax [yasak].⁸ Chukchi ambivalence about the Russian presence and their outright refusal to pay taxes precipitated a series of skirmishes that ended with the closure of the last outpost in 1764.⁹

In 1822, Tsar Alexander I issued the "Statute on the Administration of Native Peoples" [*Ustav ob upravlenii inorodtsami*].¹⁰ This document, also referred to as the Native Code of 1822, included the Eskimosy and Chukchi in the group of peoples "who were not completely dependent on the government who were governed and tried according to their own customs and rituals and who paid tribute according to their

⁸V. G. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. VII) [reprint of 1904-1909 ed.] (New York: AMS Press, 1975), 680.

⁹James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 81, 146-49.

¹⁰For further reading see Mark Raeff, *Siberia and the Reforms of 1822* (Seattle: Washington University Press, 1956).

own will, both as to quantity and as to quality."¹¹ For all practical purposes, this policy remained in force until the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917.¹²

The majority of the nomadic Chukchi had little contact with Russians until the end of the nineteenth century. The coastal Chukchi and Eskimosy, however, had regular contact with whalers and traders primarily from the United States and Russia. The Chukchi adopted Russian chimneys on their roofs, Russian proverbs and stories into their culture, and used Russian tools but incorporated little else. In effect, the Chukchi and Eskimosy maintained their traditional lifestyles.¹³

The first European intrusions into areas occupied by the Canadian Inuit also occurred in the seventeenth century with the advent of British explorers. This contact was of short duration and was limited to small-scale trade relations. In 1763 the King of England issued a Royal Proclamation which

¹¹As cited in V. V. Antropova and V. G. Kuznetsova, "The Chukchi," in *The Peoples of Siberia*, eds. M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov [trans] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964): 804.

¹²I. S. Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de L'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," *Inter Nord* 11 (December, 1970): 113; V. I. Boiko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa*. [Socio-Economic Development of the Nationalities of the North] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1988), 31.

¹³Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, 732.

stated that

...the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting Grounds.¹⁴

Though this document made no specific reference to northern Canada or the Inuit, it has been interpreted to include all Canadian native peoples.¹⁵

Contact increased with the advent of American and European whalers, but only for a small group who lived in the vicinity. The whalers hired some Inuit to work, introduced them to rifles, tea and other commodities and in many cases used Inuit women as surrogate wives.¹⁶ Trading posts, which significantly altered the Inuit lifestyles, were not introduced into the Arctic regions of Canada until the first

¹⁴Inuit Committee on National Issues, *Brief to the Joint Senate and House of Commons Committee on the Constitution* (December 1, 1980) Appendix I "Excerpt from The Royal Proclamation October 7, 1763," 1.

¹⁵Gerald Schmitz, *Aboriginal Rights and Land Claims* (Ottawa: Political and Social Affairs Division, Research Branch, Library of Parliament, February 9, 1982), 2.

¹⁶Anne Keenleyside, "Euro-American Whaling in the Canadian Arctic: Its Effects on Eskimo Health," *Arctic Anthropology* 27:1 (1990): 4; William R. Morrison, *Under the Flag: Canadian Sovereignty and the Native People in Northern Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1984), 62.

decade of the twentieth century.

In the mid nineteenth century, Russian and American missionaries began to establish schools in northeastern Siberia. As early as 1848, missionaries had created an ABC book for the Eskimos in order to facilitate their learning religious texts.¹⁷ In 1858, a school was set up in Chukotka but closed only months later. The reason given by the missionaries operating the school was that shortages of food prevented the children from learning.¹⁸ No other discussions for re-establishment of schools in Chukotka occurred until 1910.¹⁹

The situation in Canada was slightly different. Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries were in fierce competition to save souls. In the western Arctic, the Grey Nuns opened the first school at Fort Providence in 1867 and the Anglicans followed suit. By 1887 approximately 44 day schools and five

¹⁷I. F. Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa," [Development of Printing in the Languages of Northern Peoples] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 119.

¹⁸V. G. Balitskii, *Ot patriarkhal'no-obshchinnogo stroia k sotsializmu* [From Patriarchal-Communal Level To Socialism] (Moscow: Mysli, 1969), 143-144.

¹⁹I. S. Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei*. [An Outline of the History and Ethnography of the Chukchi] (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 257.

boarding schools that had been created for the Indian population also provided education to a limited number of Inuit children.²⁰ The first facility that provided education specifically for the Inuit in the western Arctic was a day school opened in 1898 at Herschel Island. The first mission school for the Inuit in the eastern Arctic was established in northern Quebec, followed by another at Blacklead Island in the NWT in 1894.²¹ The missionaries at Blacklead Island ministered to approximately 500 Inuit.²² The Canadian government played no role in these endeavours. The two governments neither interfered in traditional lifestyles nor rendered assistance in times of epidemics or famine.²³ This

²⁰Joseph F. Krauter and Morris Davis, *Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups* (Toronto: Methuen Publishing Company, 1978), 29; Keith J. Crowe, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada* [Revised Edition] (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 167.

²¹Richard Finnie, *Canada Moves North* (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1944), 52.

²²A. P. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands, 1903-1904* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 9.

²³Though the Canadian and Tsarist governments made no attempts to assist these native peoples, there were instances when such help was needed. For example, there were famines in northeastern Siberia in 55 of the years from 1817 to 1917. Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North: Soviet Ethnography and Nationality Policy* (Stockholm: Uppsala, 1985), 38. Mortality rates among the northern native people was estimated at 10 percent annually up to the Revolution. A. S. Kiseleva, "Ocherednye zadachi sovetov na krainem severe," [Foremost Tasks of the Soviets in the Far North] *Sovetskii*

non-interference policy also left the respective native peoples unprotected from both the "benefits" and problems associated with their exposure to European culture. Most importantly, this meant that when each government decided to develop educational systems, for all practical purposes, it had to start at ground zero.

The educational systems that were established had been designed by government officials and reflected their values and objectives. Consequently, the native peoples existed within social frameworks in which government interests often appeared to take precedence. In response, the native peoples continued to struggle for social parity, but with little influence on how they were governed.

Considerable research has been devoted to the educational systems of the native peoples of Siberia and the NWT. Generally, studies have taken one of two approaches. Firstly, education has been incorporated into a general history or ethnography of the native peoples of Siberia or the NWT.²⁴

Sever 4 (1932): 13. In Canada, contact with whalers led to a decline in the Inuit population as a result of exposure to tuberculosis, smallpox, influenza, and measles. Keenleyside, "Euro-American Whaling in the Canadian Arctic: Its Effects on Eskimo Health," 13.

²⁴For the native peoples of Siberia, such works include but are not limited to I. S. Gurchikov, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period* [Ethnic Development of the Peoples of the North in the Soviet Period] (Moscow: Nauka, 1987); V. I. Boiko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie*

Secondly, studies have been limited to articles which deal with specific components or issues within the system.²⁵ Specific works on the Chukchi normally deal with the general concepts of history, culture, and economy of which education forms a part.²⁶

narodnostei severa [Socio-Economic Development of the Peoples of the North] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1988); and James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). The most recent work on the subject is that of Yuri Slezkine entitled *Russia and the Small Peoples of the North: Arctic Mirrors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). This book was published too late to be cited in this thesis. For the Canadian Inuit these works include Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada* (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964) and Richard Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit 1900-67* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1985).

²⁵For the Siberian native peoples, this includes such works as I. F. Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na yazykakh narodov severa." [Development of Printing in the Languages of Northern Peoples] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971): 117-140 and Poul Thoe Nielson, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," *Folk* (1972/73): 205-253. For the Canadian Inuit these works include Jack Cram, "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools," *McGill Journal of Education: An Inuit Teacher-Training Program* 20:2 (Spring, 1985): 113-131 and Robert Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education: If not Reindeer Herding, How About Small Appliance Repair?" *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 7:1 (1983): 85-116.

²⁶These works include I. S. Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei* [An Outline of the History and Ethnography of the Chukchi] (Moscow: Nauka, 1965); V. V. Leont'ev, *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970* [The

This work presents an original approach to the study of education policies directed at the native peoples of Siberia and the NWT. It provides a history of the considerations that prompted the Soviet and Canadian governments to establish educational systems for their northern native peoples, outlines the strategies used to implement their objectives, and traces developments to 1990. Although mention is made of other groups, this thesis focusses upon the Chukchi and Eskimosy of northeastern Siberia, and upon the Inuit of the Canadian NWT. The conclusions for the Canadian segment are based on sources found in the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa which include the records of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Northern Affairs Programme, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In the case of the Chukchi and Eskimosy, all conclusions are based on published sources. For the 1920s and 1930s, extensive use has been made of the accounts of Soviet ethnographers whose first-hand knowledge was published in several journals including *Soviet North* [Sovetskii sever] and *Northern Asia* [Severnaia Aziia]. The journal *Soviet Ethnography* [Sovetskaia etnografiia] contains similiar studies for the later period, and includes the works of such ethnographers as I. S. Gurvich

Economy and Culture of the Peoples of Chukotka, 1958-1970] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1973) and A. I. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987).

and I. S. Vdovin. Finally, in an attempt to ensure greater impartiality, numerous post-*glasnost* works form the foundation of the Siberian portion of this thesis.

In presenting this history of educational policies, the emphasis is on the actual policy decisions, the methods of implementation, and their effect upon the northern native peoples. This is a limited focus ensures greater clarity in the presentation and a framework for further discussion. The compromise is the loss of the broader context in which these policies were developed and the ideological reasons that served as the catalyst for these policies.²⁷ In the Canadian portion, this relates to such factors as the federal government's relations with and policies toward the Indian and Metis.²⁸ In the Soviet Union, a discussion in the broader context would need to examine the policy development in

²⁷For the Siberian portion, the most recent work is Yuri Slezkine, *Russia and the Small Peoples of the North: Arctic Mirrors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). Similarly, for the Canadian portion see J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada A Post-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²⁸For further reading see Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1992) and J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada Revised Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

relation to some or all former Soviet national groups.²⁹

Subsequent examinations of educational policies, particularly in the modern context could include a discussion on the education theory as optimum curriculum development and language immersion programmes, and their impact upon minority groups and aboriginal peoples.³⁰

The decision, exclude these considerations in the current work is motivated principally by the limits of time and sources: only the more circumscribed focus could be realized under the circumstances.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first four, the Soviet and Canadian portions are separated because active government involvement in the development of the respective educational systems occurred more than twenty years apart. It is only in the last chapter, which covers the period from 1980 to 1990, that both systems had reached the same level of development that the discussion is integrated.

²⁹For further reading see Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger, *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990).

³⁰For further reading on bilingualism and bilingual education see Christina Bratt Paulson, *International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988). For further reading on the ongoing debate over the development of curricula both for mainstream societies and ethnic groups see *Journal of Curriculum Studies*.

CHAPTER ONE

Russian/Soviet Educational Policies: 1900 to 1945

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the educational system in Russia was inadequate to meet the needs of the population. This was primarily because of the official attitude toward education. The All-Russian Union of Teachers in 1905 summarized the Tsarist position as follows:

The government deliberately hinders the spread of education among the people, it consciously supports illiteracy as its mainstay. Out of a two billion [ruble] budget it allocates less than a hundredth for public education, and the major part of that trifling sum goes to parochial schools. By supporting parochial schools the government strives to hinder the spread of public education and subjugate education and teaching to its own mercenary motives...¹

This reactionary policy toward public education was reflected in enrolment figures. As late as 1910-1911, approximately 3.85 percent of children throughout the Empire attended elementary and secondary schools. The following table provides a comparison of enrolment figures for Russia

¹As cited in Jaan Pennar, Ivan I. Bakalo and George Z. F. Bereday, *Modernization and Diversity in Soviet Education* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 12.

with other major nations during the same period.²

Children in Elementary Schools 1910/1991					
Country	Russia	U.S.	England	Germany	Spain
Percent	3.85	19	17	17	12

The corresponding figure in the less developed country of Portugal was 4.4 percent.³

In Russia, by 1914-1915 there had been some improvement. About 20 percent of children between ages eight and seventeen attended schools in the Tsarist empire.⁴ Literacy rates reflected this situation. In 1913, an estimated 27 percent of the Russian population over the age of nine were considered literate as compared with 24 percent who were literate in any language in 1897.⁵ Repeated demands for improvements in the educational system resulted in increased budget allocations for *zemstvo* schools and widespread construction, especially of

²Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967: An Essay," *Slavic Review* 27:3 (September, 1968): 414.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Pennar, Bakalo and Bereday, *Modernization and Diversity in Soviet Education*, 4; Bilinsky, "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR," 413. A concern exists regarding the reliability of Soviet statistics. Wherever possible, multiple sources have been cited in the corresponding footnote.

primary schools, and a concomitant rise in literacy during the last years of the Tsarist regime.

The general apathy of the regime toward popular education was even more pronounced in Siberia, especially with regard to the native populations. In the early 1900s, there were an estimated 6000 schools in Siberia, which with rare exceptions, served only the Russian population. According to the census of 1897 literacy rates among Russians in Siberia averaged 19.2 percent for men and 5.1 percent for women.⁶

The origins of formal education for the native peoples of Siberia can be traced to the end of the nineteenth century when missionaries began opening schools in the more developed regions. These schools were small, underfunded, and served only about one percent of school age children. The instruction concentrated on religious teachings but also included some study of basic counting, grammar, and guidance on personal hygiene. The elementary level of instruction, combined with the fact that the missionaries and students seldom shared a common language meant that students rarely

⁶L. P. Potapov, "Historical-Ethnographic Survey of the Russian Population of Siberia in the Pre-Revolutionary Period," in *The Peoples of Siberia* eds. M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov [trans.] (Chicago: University of Chicago, Press 1964), 194.

advanced beyond basic levels.⁷ As an illustration, in the northern Ob' region of western Siberia, there were 17 primary schools by 1914. Fifteen of these schools had only a one-year curriculum and, of the 585 pupils who attended, only 15 were from the native population.⁸ The first schools for the Chukchi and Eskimos were opened in 1916 at Uelen and Chaplino respectively.⁹ A year later the number of schools had increased to three with a total enrolment of 38 students, most of them Russians. At that time, there were six people considered literate from the adult population of Chukotka.¹⁰ Some areas occupied by native peoples had few schools though churches and taverns abounded. For example, in 1912, the area inhabited by the Khanty-Mansi had 100 taverns, 80 churches and

⁷I. S. Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period* [Ethnic Development of the Peoples of the North in the Soviet Period] (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), 155.

⁸T. A. Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic: An Historical, Economic and Political Study of the Soviet Advance into the Arctic* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938), 300.

⁹I. S. Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de L'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," [trans.] *Inter Nord* 11 (December 1970): 113.

¹⁰V. G. Balitskii, *Ot patriarkhal'no-obshchinnogo stroia k sotsializmu* [From Patriarchal-Communal System To Socialism] (Moscow: Mysl', 1969), 144.

35 primary schools.¹¹

The signal for change among Siberian native peoples occurred with the Bolshevik rise to power in October, 1917. The process began formally on 15 November with the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" which proclaimed the "free development of national minorities and ethnic groups populating Russian territory" as one of its guiding principles.¹² A month later, the first of a series of decrees specifically dealing with education was promulgated. The Council of the People's Commissars [Sovnarkom] issued a decree transferring all ecclesiastical education to the People's Commissariat of Education [Narkompros]. By decree, in

¹¹N. I. Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," [Leninist Nationality Policy and the Education of the Peoples of the North] *Letopis' severa* 8 (1977): 37. According to Boitsova, prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, Chukotka had four small parish schools but the student body did not include any representatives of the Chukchi. A. F. Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," [School(s) of the Peoples of the Far North] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies Among the Peoples of the Far North of the USSR] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 155.

¹²D. K. Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," [Peoples of the Far North after the Great October Socialist Revolution] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 1 (1938): 15. In 1917, there were over 100 nationalities in Russia. According to the 1926 census, there were 190 ethnic units and about 150 languages. Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North: Soviet Ethnography and Nationality Policy* (Stockholm: Uppsala, 1985), 33.

February 1918 this organization assumed control of all other educational institutions. This was followed in May 1918 with the introduction of compulsory co-education which prohibited discrimination on the basis of gender.¹³

The Bolsheviks discussed and laid extensive groundwork for the development of Siberia. However, government activity was severely limited because of the civil war and foreign intervention which began early in 1918. This pre-empted the introduction of most initiatives, especially in those areas of Siberia in which the anti-Bolshevik forces controlled the territory. For example, Chukotka was proclaimed Soviet territory on December 16, 1919, but it was not until 1923 that the government was firmly established in the region.¹⁴ Even then, this area was so remote and isolated that by 1929 almost 40 percent of the indigenous communities were still considered "in the eyes of the Communist Party, 'unorganized' - that is, not subordinated to the Soviet Russian administration..."¹⁵

¹³Pennar, Bakalo and Bereday, *Modernization and Diversity in Soviet Education*, 33.

¹⁴V. V. Antropova and V. G. Kuznetsova, "The Chukchi," in *The Peoples of Siberia* eds. M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov [trans.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 825; Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de L'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 113.

¹⁵James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 335.

From the outset, the primary objective of the Soviet Government was the consolidation of power through economic stability and the spread of socialism. Development of Siberia was an integral component of the strategy but its native population -- considered by Bolshevik standards to be culturally, economically, and politically backward -- posed a problem. As early as 1921, during the 10th Party Congress, the cultural-educational gap between non-Russian nationalities and central Russia had been recognized as a problem.¹⁶ At this congress, the Party assumed responsibility for the advancement of these peoples and decided to help them "... to establish and develop a wide net of courses and schools, of both general educational and specialized character, in the vernacular."¹⁷

¹⁶As cited in Poul Thoe Nielson, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," *Folk* 14-15 (1972/73): 222; Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 38.

¹⁷As cited in Nielson, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," 222; I. F. Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa," [Development of Printing in the Languages of Northern Peoples] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoï natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 118. An essential principle contained in the policy on the treatment of nationalities was that the tactics should be specific to the peoples and should not mirror methods used in the central part of the country. "The less developed the peoples were, the slower, more cautious and more systematic the transition to socialism..." Kuoljok, *The*

The underlying motivation was to eliminate illiteracy among ethnic groups so they could be politicized because, as Lenin stated:

An illiterate person is outside politics, he has first to be taught his ABC. Without this there can be no politics, without this there are only rumours, gossip, fairy tales, superstitions, but no politics.¹⁸

A debate ensued as to the optimum method of dealing with the Siberian native peoples in view of government objectives. The argument centred on whether the native peoples should be isolated from or included in the planned development. V. G. Bogoras, a distinguished ethnographer, was concerned that increased contact with civilization would produce disastrous consequences for the native peoples. His proposal, supported by other specialists, was to create reservations for the native peoples which would completely isolate them from outside influences, particularly settlers. The People's Commissariat of Nationalities (*Narkomnats*) disagreed.¹⁹ This agency argued that it was the responsibility of the state to

Revolution in the North, 35.

¹⁸V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* 33 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966), 78.

¹⁹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 15.

protect the rights of the native peoples and to help raise their cultural level. This position reflected official policy that the "correct" education would both integrate the native peoples into socialism and provide them with the necessary training to participate in the impending development of their homelands. Accordingly, the government initiated plans to establish a school system throughout Siberia.

The People's Commissariat of Nationalities was responsible for the creation and implementation of policies for the north. In 1921 a special conference of representatives of non-Russians including the northern native peoples was held in Omsk to examine their special needs.²⁰ In the following year, a special sub-department was established within the People's Commissariat of Nationalities for the "protection and direction" of northern peoples.²¹ However, with the extensive plans for northern sovietization came the recognition that the unique conditions existing among the native peoples of Siberia would require innovative measures.²²

²⁰P. N. Naumov, "Priobshchenie malykh narodov Ob'skogo severa k sotsialisticheskoi kul'ture," [The Joining of the Small Peoples of the Ob' North to Socialist Culture] *Voprosy istorii* 1 (1974): 32.

²¹Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 114.

²²A. E. Skachko, "Desiat' let raboty komiteta severa," [Ten Years of Work of the Committee of the North] *Sovetskii*

To address their particular needs, in April 1923 representatives of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities suggested the creation of a committee for the north. The Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR agreed and on June 20, 1924 established the Committee of Assistance to the Small Peoples of the North [*Komitet sodeistviia malykh narodnostiam severa*] commonly known as the Committee of the North [*Komitet severa*].²³ It was mandated to make thorough studies of the life and needs of the Siberian native peoples and to institute programmes, including education, to help them advance in accordance with Soviet expectations.²⁴

On February 23, 1925, a resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee established local committees to help identify the needs of the northern native peoples and to

sever 2 (1934): 11.

²³*Ibid.* In the same year *Narkomnats* was abolished.

²⁴Terence Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples: USSR," in *The Arctic Frontier* ed. R. St. J. Macdonald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 67; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 264-65. To this mandate may be added: "to further the implementation of the Leninist Nationality Policy and to create the best conditions for the peoples of the north." A. E. Skachko, "K voprosu prakticheskogo provedeniia leninskoi natsional'noi politiki," [On the Question of the Practical Realization of the Leninist Nationality Policy] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1931): 11.

ensure that decisions conformed with state policy.²⁵ This marked the beginning of the establishment of a formal educational system in Siberia.²⁶

One of the fundamental tasks of the Committee of the North was to deal with the linguistic diversity of Siberia. Central to this issue was the decree promulgated in 1918 by the People's Commissariat for Education which stated that "all nationalities living in the R.S.F.S.R. had the right of education in their own language."²⁷ This lofty ideal proved to be impractical, however, because the native languages had no written forms and there were no native people who were qualified to teach. Teachers could be recruited from elsewhere but they were not familiar with the native languages.²⁸ This situation was exacerbated by the fact that

²⁵Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 38.

²⁶Ia. Al'kor (Koshkin), "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severa," [Problems of Cultural Construction in the Far North] *Sovetskii sever* 2 (1934): 22.

²⁷As cited in Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 263; Nielsen, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian People," 221. This right was reaffirmed in Article 13 of the 1924 constitution. I. P. Tsamerian and S. L. Ronin, *Equality of Rights Between Races and Nationalities in the USSR* (Paris: UNESCO, 1962), 28.

²⁸A. V. Lunacharskii, "Zadachi Narkomprosa na krainem severe," *Severnaia Aziia* 3 (1927): 19.

few of the native peoples had any knowledge of Russian.²⁹ In 1926-27, 11 percent of the Chukchi and 1.6 percent of the Eskimos were able to converse in Russian.³⁰

Literacy levels in Russian were even lower. According to official statistics from 1908, literacy among non-Russians in Siberia was about one percent.³¹ The 1926-27 census placed literacy rates for the entire aboriginal population at below four percent for nomads and at ten percent for the settled population.³² In Chukotka, only 77 of 12,331 Chukchi and 128 of 1,292 Eskimos were considered literate.³³ It should be

²⁹*Ibid.*; S. S. Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," *Polar Record* 19:119 (1978): 131.

³⁰*Ibid.*, By the beginning of the 20th century and up to the 1920s, American whaling ships and traders' contact with the Asiatic Eskimos had led to the expansion of the English language especially among adult males. Thus, bilingualism from contact with Chukchi and even trilingualism with the Americans was not uncommon among the Eskimos. I. I. Krupnik and M. A. Chlenov, "Dinamika etnolingvisticheskoi situatsii u Aziatskikh Eskimosov," [Dynamics of the Ethnolinguistic Situation Among Asiatic Eskimos] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 2 (1979): 26.

³¹Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 37.

³²P. Terletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," [Cultural Bases of the Committee of the North] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1935): 39.

³³K. Luks, "Problema pis'mennosti u tuzemnykh narodnostei severa," [The Problem of Written Languages Among the Native Peoples of the North] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1930): 43.

noted that there were no literate people among the Chukchi reindeer-herders.³⁴

Literacy was determined by the ability of people to sign their names and to read by syllables.³⁵ This was a minimum basic requirement that did not imply the ability to read and write. Therefore, functional literacy levels would be even lower than those cited. In effect, using contemporary standards, the native population of Siberia was virtually 100 percent illiterate as of 1926-27.

There was no viable alternative but to recruit teachers from other areas, mostly Russians, for northern schools. As an interim measure, in some cases, bilingual assistants from among the native population were recruited to assist teachers by serving as interpreters in the classroom.³⁶ Consequently, one of the first requirements was to eliminate the language barrier between teachers and students: a factor that seriously disrupted the educational process until the 1930s.³⁷

³⁴A. I. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987), 214.

³⁵Chuner Taksami, "'Izmenenie sotsial'nogo sostava malykh narodov dal'nego vostoka," [Changes in the Social Composition of the Small Peoples of the Far East] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 2 (March-April, 1970): 71.

³⁶Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 139.

³⁷Steven P. Dunn and Ethel Dunn, "Transformation of Economy and Culture in the Soviet North," *Arctic*

Nevertheless, a school system with instruction in the Russian language was initiated. The curriculum was based upon that of Russian schools but adapted to the dominant sector of the local economy: reindeer-herding, hunting, or fishing, that is, the school year followed the economic cycle or requirements of the local population.³⁸ Initially, in many schools, the first year lessons were carried out in the form of play. It was not until the second year that lessons in Russian were formally introduced.³⁹

In 1926 a special syllabus was issued which recommended that references used in classes should be familiar to the students.⁴⁰ The first ABC book or primer, written by V. Bogoras and S. Stebnitskii, and the first reading text, *Our North* [*Nash sever*] written by N. Leonov and P. Ostrovskii,

Anthropology 1:2 (1963): 21. Up to this time (1932), for example, when the written language was introduced in the Nentsy Okrug, all school instruction had been conducted in the Russian language even though few of the Nentsy understood it. I. I. Vyucheiskii, "Bor'ba za likvidatsiiu negramotnosti v Nenetskom Okruge severnogo kraia," [Struggle for the Liquidation of Illiteracy in the Nentsy Okrug of the Northern Region] *Sovetskii sever* 2 (1933): 75.

³⁸Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 61; M. A. Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," [Small Peoples of the North in the Epoch of Socialism] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4 (1947): 138.

³⁹Balitskii, *Ot patriarkhal'no-obshchinnogo stroia k sotsializmu*, 153.

⁴⁰Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 61.

were issued in 1927-1928.⁴¹ Both were in Russian but designed for use in northern schools, that is, they were based on local geography, ethnography, and economy but also contained information on the revolution and the Soviet regime.⁴² The objective was to facilitate the students' learning of Russian. Nevertheless, there was a shortage of textbooks which prompted teachers to create and use their own material.⁴³

During this period, the administration of the northern peoples underwent a significant change. Previously, the administration had been based on a tribal system since it was readily accepted and understood by the native peoples.⁴⁴ By the late 1920s, however, the system was no longer satisfactory. It was controlled by the most influential people and it divided native peoples of the same ethnic group into different administrative regions. This, in turn,

⁴¹M. A. Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*, (Moscow: Nauka, 1955), 276. See also Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 146.

⁴²V. Uvachan, "Perekhod malykh narodov severa ot rodovogo stroia k razvitomu sotsializmu," [Transition of the Small Peoples of the North from Patrimonial Level to the Development of Socialism] *Letopisi severa* 8 (1977): 29; Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*, 276.

⁴³Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 138.

⁴⁴Walter Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East* (Archeon Books 1969), 67.

inhibited economic progress and the development of national culture.⁴⁵ To correct this situation, the formation of national districts was initiated in 1930. The basic idea was

to have territorial administrative units, down to quite small dimensions and numbers, named after the dominant minority people of the region, and in which that people would have certain administrative rights and duties.⁴⁶

By the end of 1932, nine national districts [*okrug*], 82 national regions [*raion*] and 462 local soviets had been established among the northern native peoples.⁴⁷ The organization of the Chukchi national district provided the opportunity for both the Chukchi and Eskimos to participate in government activities.⁴⁸ In 1932, native peoples comprised from 33 to 97 percent of the members of the executive committees at the regional and district level.⁴⁹ While these changes were being implemented, work had begun on the creation of written forms for the northern languages. In keeping with Lenin's idea that concepts, foreign to an ethnic group, were

⁴⁵Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 78-79.

⁴⁶Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 68.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸Charles Campbell Hughes, "Under Four Flags: Recent Culture Change Among the Eskimos," *Current Anthropology* 6:1 (February, 1965): 45.

⁴⁹Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 68.

more readily accepted if they were introduced via the native language, the creation and introduction of alphabets were deemed essential. This would ensure that the northern native peoples had the same opportunities for "normal development" as the government intended for the other peoples of the USSR.⁵⁰ The initial process began in 1922, but at that time progress remained limited to a consensus that the peculiarities of the languages must be addressed.⁵¹

The first concrete step was undertaken in 1926 with the founding of the Northern Faculty of the Leningrad Oriental Institute. It was at this institute that the study of northern languages was initiated.⁵² The preliminary work was entrusted to a special commission that included representatives from the Commissariat for Education and the Academy of Sciences.⁵³ However, it was only in 1930 when the Northern Faculty was reorganized into an independent

⁵⁰Lunacharskii, "Zadachi Narkomprosa na krainem severe," 21.

⁵¹I. S. Vdovin, "Malye narodnosti severa na sotsialisticheskom put' razvitiia za 50 let sovetskoi vlasti," [Small Peoples of the North on the Socialist Path of Development After 50 Years of Soviet Power] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 5 (September-October, 1967): 80.

⁵²Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe," 23.

⁵³Vdovin, "Politique legislative economique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 120.

institution -- the Institute of the Peoples of the North [*Institut narodov severa*]⁵⁴ -- that significant progress was made.⁵⁵ The scientific research division of this Institute invited all available linguists, as well as students from the northern nationalities, to assist in developing the alphabets.⁵⁶ By 1931 a preliminary draft for a single alphabet for the northern languages had been prepared and approved.⁵⁷

In January 1932, the first All-Russian Conference on the Creation of Written Languages for the Peoples of the North was held in Leningrad through the Institute of the Peoples of the North. The introduction of written forms for fourteen

⁵⁴In 1930 a Research Branch was organized at the Institute. In that decade, it was an important center for the study of languages, history, ethnography as well as the problems of the northern nationalities. L. V. Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," in *Education in the North Selected Papers of the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations and Related Articles* ed. Frank Darnell (Arctic Institute of North America and the University of Alaska, 1972), 284.

⁵⁵Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severa," 23; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 296.

⁵⁶Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 296.

⁵⁷E. Orlova, "K voprosu sozdaniia pis'mennosti u narodov severa," [On the Question of the Creation of Written Languages Among the Peoples of the North] *Sovetskii sever* 4 (1932): 104; Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 137; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 296.

northern languages was suggested.⁵⁸ This conference also worked out plans for publication of the first book for the native peoples.⁵⁹ The majority of new alphabets, based on Latin characters, were ready by 1932.⁶⁰ To ensure their dissemination, the Presidium of the All Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) organized the New Alphabet Committee [*Komitet novogo alfavita*] in May, 1932. This led to the establishment of a network of local committees in the national areas in the fall of 1932 which were administered by local senior officials.⁶¹ In Chukotka, the committee was led by the president of the regional executive committee. The

⁵⁸Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe," 23; Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa," 125; Gurvich stated that 13 written languages were produced and that the number had increased to sixteen by 1933. Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 23. Boitsova states that plans were made to produce 16 languages. Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 144.

⁵⁹Orlova, "K voprosu sozdaniia pis'mennosti u narodov severa," 104.

⁶⁰E. Koutaissoff, "Literacy and the Place of Russian in the Non-Slav Republics of the USSR," *Soviet Studies* 3:2 (October, 1951): 121.

⁶¹Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe," 24; Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 144; Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 137; L. M. Zak and M. I. Isaev, "Problemy pis'mennosti narodov SSSR v kul'turnoi revoliutsii," [Problems of Written Languages for the Peoples of the USSR in the Cultural Revolution] *Voprosy istorii* (1966): 11.

members included the secretary of the district Komsomol who was a representative of the Chukchi and the president of the district integral cooperative who was an Eskimos.⁶²

During this period, the creation and publication of primers, textbooks and literature were undertaken. Significantly, the native peoples took part in this process.⁶³ In 1932, the ethnographers, V. Bogoras and I. Vdovin, assisted by two Chukchi students, authored the first ABC book in the Chukchi language entitled *Red Reading and Writing* [*Krasnaia gramota*].⁶⁴ An ABC book in the Eskimosy language followed soon after.⁶⁵ To ensure the circulation of the ABC book and the introduction of the new alphabet, brigades of students from the Herzen Institute in Leningrad were sent to Chukotka. In addition, a five month course was developed to help prepare the teachers to use the alphabet.⁶⁶

⁶²Krushanova, *Istoria i kul'tura Chukchei*, 215.

⁶³Gurvich, "Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR." [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North of the USSR] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 1 (January-February, 1970): 23.

⁶⁴Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 214.

⁶⁵Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de L'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 120.

⁶⁶Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 214-15.

At the same time, an ABC book, *Soviet North* [*Sovetskii sever*], was published as the standard for all schools of the northern native peoples. This book was designed to help students from the native populations cope with the complexities of the Russian language. Concurrently, northern schools increased the time devoted to Russian language study -- up to 7 hours a week.⁶⁷ In addition, the first publication of standardized materials for use in the instruction of the Russian language in northern national schools began, including textbooks for study of the native languages and arithmetic in the first grade.⁶⁸

Another initiative was the publication of newspapers in three northern native languages. In Chukotka, two special newspapers, *Soviet Chukotka* and *Soviet Uelen* were issued for people with low literacy levels. From 1935, *Soviet Uelen* included a supplement in the Chukchi language.⁶⁹

The initiatives taken up to this point may give the impression that the Soviet Government was committed to enhancing the ability of the native peoples to appreciate and

⁶⁷Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 139-140.

⁶⁸Ia. Al'kor (Koshkin), "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe," [Tasks of Cultural Construction in the Far North] *Sovetskii sever* 3 (1934): 49; Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 146.

⁶⁹Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 223.

develop their culture. However, this did not reflect the reality of the situation. The process of creating written forms for the northern languages and the native people's participation had one clearly defined objective. The process, one of a series, was intended to provide them with an effective means of making the transition from isolated and under-developed groups into peoples better able to integrate into Soviet society.⁷⁰

The Tenth and Twelfth Party Congresses, in 1921 and 1923, respectively, addressed the need to conduct accelerated programmes to train the native peoples. They adopted the position that to overcome the "economic and cultural backwardness," native peoples who were already literate and had an intimate knowledge of the northern languages and cultures should be prepared to assume roles in all professions, including education.⁷¹ Accordingly, special programmes were initiated to train Russians and selected members of the native populations for service in the north.

The formal training of teachers commenced in 1925. It began with 19 northern peoples, representing 11

⁷⁰V. K. Gardanov, B. O. Dolgikh and T. A. Zhdanko, "Osnovnye napravleniia etnicheskikh protsessov u narodov SSSR," [Basic Direction of Ethnic Processes Among the Peoples of the USSR] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4 (1961): 25.

⁷¹Chuner Taksami, "Izmenenie sotsial'nogo sostava malykh narodov dal'nego vostoka," 71.

nationalities, attending a preparatory workers' faculty [Rabfak] at Leningrad University.⁷² Only one knew Russian grammar, the others read only by syllables or by spelling out words.⁷³ In 1926 the training of northern peoples was transferred to the special northern faculty of the Leningrad Oriental Institute and, in that year, 74 people from among the native populations were enrolled.⁷⁴ In 1927 the northern faculty was divided into northern and eastern sections. It included experienced professors, teachers, ethnographers and linguists who were northern specialists. In the following year, there were 250 students enrolled.⁷⁵ In 1928 in Leningrad a collection of small articles entitled *Taiga and Tundra* was written by northern native students. These articles provided commentary relating to such northern issues as socialist

⁷²Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 283; Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 245. Sergeev states there were 26 students. Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 139. Zelenin, places the number at 25 Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 18.

⁷³Chuner M. Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," [Preparation of Specialists from Among the Peoples of the North] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR* ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 172-73.

⁷⁴Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 283; Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 18-19.

⁷⁵Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 63.

construction, remnants of pre-revolutionary culture, the inadequacies in economic and cultural programmes, as well as ethnographic essays about the conditions of the native peoples.⁷⁶

The expansion of the school system into areas of economics and culture, as well as the growing requirement for specialists knowledgeable about local conditions led to the creation of a facility that concentrated on the training of people for northern service. As a result, the Presidium of the VTsIK SSSR created the Northern Peoples Institute [*Institut narodov severa*] in Leningrad on January 1, 1930. This new facility drew its faculty from the Oriental Institute.⁷⁷ It had three departments of practical specialization: politics, pedagogy and economy.⁷⁸ Its objectives were to provide elementary, secondary and higher education, as well as teacher training to selected students. Upon completion of their studies, its students were expected to return to their homelands to serve "in different

⁷⁶Belenkin, "Razvitie pechaty na iazykakh narodov severa," 120. There was also a collection of stories written by northern students from the Leningrad Oriental Institute which were published in *About Our Lives* [*O nashei zhizni*].

⁷⁷Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 18-19.

⁷⁸Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 18; Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 63.

specialities necessary for the successful development of a socialist economy and culture."⁷⁹ In its first year, it had 202 students, including 195 from 19 northern nationalities.⁸⁰ By 1932 enrolment had almost doubled to 402.⁸¹ During the 1931-37 period, an estimated 206 specialists from among the northern native peoples graduated from this institute.⁸²

Some of these graduates continued their studies at the Research Association which had been organized at the Institute in 1930.⁸³ This was the first centre designed specifically to conduct scientific studies of northern languages, history and ethnography.⁸⁴

⁷⁹Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 73; Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 284.

⁸⁰Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 18; Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 72.

⁸¹Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 18-19.

⁸²Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 144. By 1933, 394 students had matriculated from the Institute of Peoples of the North. Of these, 65 percent were either members of the Communist Party or of the Komsomol, though not all of these graduates were northern native peoples.

⁸³The creation of written forms for northern languages was conducted at this Association. Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 284.

⁸⁴Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 284.

The Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad also trained people for work in the north.⁸⁵ In the 1930s, it had a basic five-year training course which included study of native languages, ethnography, and geography of the north.⁸⁶ By 1933 it had 82 graduates, including representatives of the native populations, who had been trained to teach the northern native people in their respective languages.⁸⁷ In addition, eight other teacher training schools were established bringing the total to more than 20 institutions involved in educating an estimated 1300 northern native people.⁸⁸

Upon returning to the north, these students played a role in administering all aspects of political, cultural and social life including serving in soviets, as party officials, administrators, medical personnel, and teachers.⁸⁹ Most

⁸⁵Vdovin, "Malye narodnosti severa na sotsialisticheskome puti razvitiia za 50 let sovetskoi vlasti," 88; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 299-300.

⁸⁶Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 285.

⁸⁷Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 300. At that time there were 45 students from the native peoples studying there. Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," 174.

⁸⁸Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 253-54; Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," 174.

⁸⁹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 157; Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 73.

important to this discussion was their part in establishing the school system. They set up schools and worked as administrative staff on local boards of education. Others became specialists in the languages, culture and ethnography of the native people.⁹⁰

One of the more notable Chukchi graduates was a reindeer herder named Tyvlianto. In 1926 he set out for the three-month journey to Leningrad. There he attended the "Tent of Miracles," the name that the northern native people used to describe the Institute of the Peoples of the North. Although, initially he was unable to speak a word of Russian, Tyvlianto was educated in science, art, and politics. After graduation, he returned to the Chukotka peninsula where he became the president of the regional executive committee and, on December 12, 1938, the first deputy elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from Chukotka.⁹¹

Notwithstanding the obvious successes of this programme, there were a number of difficulties in the early stages. One of the most disruptive factors was the language barrier, both between students and teachers, and among students of different

⁹⁰Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 285.

⁹¹Raymond Arthur Davies and Andrew J. Steiger, *Soviet Asia* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1943), 24-25; Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 214.

nationalities. A preparatory class was organized to help students acclimatize to their new environment. Furthermore, many of the students were living in urban areas for the first time and fell prey to various illnesses, including tuberculosis.⁹²

On balance, the process of educating the northern peoples for professions can be deemed, at least from the government's perspective, to have been a success. As already noted, many of the graduates returned to the north to help build the society envisioned by the Soviet government and, in doing so some realized notable achievements. Significantly, they had been educated in the doctrines of Marxist-Leninism. As a result, many identified more with the Soviet regime than with their own national group and carried these ideas back to their local communities.⁹³

There is evidence that the influence and popularity of the Communist Party were growing in the north. In the mid 1920s, there were virtually no Communists in the north, but by 1934, there were 3,500 Party members of whom 1,200 were native

⁹²Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," 176.

⁹³Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 77; Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 37.

peoples. In addition, there were 4,200 members of the Communist Youth Organization [*Komsomol*].⁹⁴

The teacher training programmes and the creation of alphabets were essential in the establishment of a comprehensive educational system. The creation of the physical infrastructure - the schools - posed another challenge. Although a few schools were opened in the more accessible areas for settled populations as early as 1922-1923, systematic school construction was initiated only in 1924.⁹⁵ The discussion of school construction was ongoing; for example, primary schools were on the agenda at the second plenary session of the Committee of the North, in May 1925.⁹⁶ In that year twenty schools were opened, the first group in a systematic plan to provide school facilities throughout the north.⁹⁷ By 1927 there were 56 schools and by 1930 the number had increased to 123. These provided facilities for about 20

⁹⁴Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 85. By 1935 there were six Komsomol organizations in Chukotka with 72 members. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 223.

⁹⁵Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 156.

⁹⁶Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 265.

⁹⁷Naumov, "Priobshchenie malykh narodov Obskogo severa k sotsialisticheskoi kul'ture," 38.

percent of school-age children,⁹⁸ though in the industrial areas the range was from 9 to 69 percent.⁹⁹ In Chukotka, work began on the organization of the first schools in October 1923 and by 1925, four were in operation.¹⁰⁰ By 1927, Chukotka had seven schools and, while this number increased to 11 in 1930, there were only 300 children from the native population in attendance.¹⁰¹ These figures do not include the nomadic children who did not attend schools in significant numbers until 1932.¹⁰²

By 1930, the national districts which established the geographical areas for the native peoples were being defined.

⁹⁸A. Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," in *Education in the North* [Selected Papers of the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations and Related Articles] ed. Frank Darnell (Arctic Institute of North America and the University of Alaska, 1972), 64; "Sed'moi rasshirenyi plenum komiteta severa," [Seventh Extended Plenum of the Committee of the North] *Sovetskaia Aziia* 3-4 (1930): 336; According to Al'kor there were 132 schools of which 62 were boarding schools. Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severa," 22; Sergeev places the number of schools in 1929-30 at 131. Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 137.

⁹⁹Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 137.

¹⁰⁰Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 214.

¹⁰¹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 156. According to Krushanova in Chukotka in 1930, there were 13 schools with 338 children. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 216.

¹⁰²N. Komov, "Rabota v Chukotskoi shkole," [Work in a Chukotka School] *Soverskii Sever* 1 (1933): 72.

This made administration more efficient and effective and, in theory, served as a preparatory step for collectivization. An important component of the collectivization process was mechanization which created a need for an educated work force. Ideally, the native peoples were to form a substantial portion of this labour force. The basic elements needed for an educational infrastructure in the North, to create this work force, were either under development or in place.

The 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party in 1930 adopted a resolution to introduce universal compulsory primary education.¹⁰³ Its introduction was slated for 1931 but in some regions it was delayed for up to two years. For the northern native people, it was to occur no later than 1934.¹⁰⁴

This legislation facilitated the process of collectivization. Traditionally, the nomadic peoples used their children as a source of labour. The alleged efficiencies of collectivization eliminated the need for children to work. However, it also meant that parents who worked in the collectives could no longer supervise their children. The compulsory education legislation, intended or not, was a most opportune solution. This legislation was not

¹⁰³Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 40.

¹⁰⁴Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*, 379.

only the first step in a long-term strategy for developing an educated populace, but also provided the impetus for parents to send their children to school.

Compulsory education was introduced in 1931, which, in turn, launched an extensive school building programme throughout the north.¹⁰⁵ As a result by 1933-34, there were 37 schools in Chukotka.¹⁰⁶ The number of schools throughout the north had increased to 296 and the children attending to 55 percent.¹⁰⁷ During the same period, there was a concomitant rise in literacy levels. In 1926, 6.7 percent of native people in the Soviet Arctic were literate in Russian; in 1934 it had risen to 24.9.¹⁰⁸ In 1934 literacy in Chukotka was

¹⁰⁵Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 40.

¹⁰⁶E. Orlova, "Desiat' let sotsial'no-kul'turnogo stroitel'stvo na severe DVK," [Ten Years of Socio-Cultural Construction in the North DVK] *Sovetskii sever* 3-4 (1935): 51. In 1934, in Chukotka there were 30 schools according to A. E. Skachko, "Osvoenie severnykh raionov dal'nevostochnogo kraia," [The Opening up of the Northern Districts of the Far Eastern Region] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1934): 93.

¹⁰⁷Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 40. According to Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 304, in 1933-34 there were 338 schools with 10,713 children of which 60 percent were from the native population; in 1934, 60.5 percent of children were attending schools. Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe," 23.

¹⁰⁸Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 304; Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 132; Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na

estimated at 17 percent.¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that these statistics for 1934 reflect the increase in literacy rates primarily in the settled populations. Illiteracy among the nomadic population and those living in the most remote areas essentially remained unchanged.¹¹⁰

In addressing the educational requirements of the native peoples, the special living conditions of the nomads, principally reindeer herders, posed additional challenges. Schools had been built in areas which served the largest percentage of the fixed population. Since the nomadic peoples rarely stayed in one place for an extended period and traversed extensive geographic areas, for all practical purposes, the schools were inaccessible to them. Thus, the number of children of nomadic parents attending schools was insignificant.¹¹¹ This was an important consideration since the majority of the northern peoples lived as nomads. According to the 1926-27 census, about 54.4 percent of the northern native

krainem severa," 23; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 304. According to Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 144, at the beginning of 1934, general literacy of the small peoples had been raised to 30 percent.

¹⁰⁹Orlova, "Desiat' let sotsial'no-kul'turnogo stroitel'stvo na severa DVK," 51.

¹¹⁰Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 139.

¹¹¹Al'kor, "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe," 26.

peoples lived a nomadic lifestyle. Among the Chukchi the figure was approximately 71 percent.¹¹²

To provide formal education for the children of nomadic peoples residential schools and mobile schools were created.

The government, from the outset, recognized that the use of residential schools would cause a dislocation between the children and their parents, and the possible loss by the children of their cultural identity.¹¹³ Nevertheless, the core of the educational system was made up of residential schools with the mobile schools serving in a supplementary capacity.¹¹⁴ The latter were organized to conform to the local conditions and to serve as many children as possible.¹¹⁵ They began functioning in the 1930s and, in most cases, were simply teachers who travelled with one nomadic group for a period of time and then joined with another travelling in the opposite geographical direction.¹¹⁶ In 1934 the function of the mobile

¹¹²Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 126.

¹¹³Lunacharskii, "Zadachi Narkomprosa na krainem severe," 18.

¹¹⁴By 1930 70 residential schools had been set up to serve the native peoples. Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*, 271.

¹¹⁵As cited in Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, Appendix XXXI, "Statute on the Nomad Schools of the Peoples of the North of March 27, 1934," 487.

¹¹⁶Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 60; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, Appendix XXXI, 487.

schools was further defined by statute "to promote educational propaganda among the population and to prepare pupils for entry into residential schools."¹¹⁷ These schools were usually small, most accomodating from five to twenty pupils and having only one or two teachers. However, mobile schools, as a rule, had only limited success principally because of low attendance levels.¹¹⁸

Low attendance levels were not limited to mobile schools; in fact, there were vast discrepancies throughout the north. Claims were made that some national areas had attained levels of 100 percent of school age children by 1934.¹¹⁹ However, attendance varied across regions depending on the number of schools available and the willingness of parents to ensure their children's participation especially in residential schools.¹²⁰ The nomadic peoples were reluctant to send their children to residential schools because prolonged separation from home denied their children the opportunity of

¹¹⁷Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, Appendix XXXI, 487.

¹¹⁸Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 216.

¹¹⁹Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 144.

¹²⁰Lunacharskii, "Zadachi Narkomprosa na krainem severe," 19.

learning traditional occupations.¹²¹ In some cases, schools were open for two years before the appearance of the first children.¹²²

Low attendance was a particularly acute problem in the more remote areas such as Chukotka where the majority of families followed a nomadic lifestyle. The attitude of reindeer herders, who formed the bulk of the nomadic population, to both schools and teachers was summarized as follows:

A teacher is not necessary, neither is the school; we have no need of reading and writing. Among us there is only one school; to make the boy a good reindeer-breeder, and the girl a good mistress of the yaranga.¹²³

Teachers often travelled throughout the areas in an attempt to persuade parents to allow their children to attend school.¹²⁴ At least at the primary level, teachers were given a wide degree of latitude in developing teaching methods that

¹²¹Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de L'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 119.

¹²²Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*, 266.

¹²³Ethel Dunn, "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North: The Limits of Cultural Change," *Arctic Anthropology* 5:1 (1968): 6.

¹²⁴Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 137-38.

would attract children to schools.¹²⁵ In some cases, parents visited the residential school to ensure that conditions were satisfactory.¹²⁶ Two other factors increased attendance not only in Chukotka but throughout the north: collectivization which freed children to attend schools¹²⁷ and the appearance of teachers with shared or similar ethnic backgrounds.¹²⁸

At this stage, the number of teachers with similar ethnic backgrounds was insufficient to meet the demand. Consequently, the majority had to be recruited from outside Siberia and were ill-prepared to work in the extremely harsh environment. Beside having to organize the school and work out methods of instruction, these teachers often had to devise ways of overcoming the negative attitude of parents toward

¹²⁵Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 139.

¹²⁶Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*, 269.

¹²⁷Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 119. A detailed discussion of collectivization and its full impact upon the native peoples of Siberia is beyond the scope of this work. For further reading see Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 106-135. See also Yuri Slezkine, *Russia and the Small Peoples of the North: Arctic Mirrors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) and Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990*.

¹²⁸Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 63.

their children's studies. Simultaneously with executing these duties, it was also necessary to provide children with instruction in basic personal hygiene including regular bathing, brushing of teeth and other sanitary habits.¹²⁹ This was particularly difficult when parents and pupils spoke a different language from the teachers.

In addition to these problems, there were also difficulties in composing permanent textbooks that would meet the requirements of instruction, and, particularly, the peculiarities which the work in national schools in the North entails; the absence of permanently established literary languages there; and, finally, the lack of settled rules on terminology, orthography and grammar of the northern language.¹³⁰

The Soviet Government also sought alternate means of addressing the related problems of the vast size of the areas inhabited by the northern peoples and its inability to establish sufficient schools to meet educational objectives,

¹²⁹V. V. Antropova, "Uchastie etnografov v prakticheskom osushchestvlenii leninskoi natsional'noi politiki na krainem severe (1920-1930)," [The Participation of Ethnographers in the Practical Realization of Leninist Nationality Policy in the Far North (1920-1930)] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 6 (1972): 22-23. Of the 1620 Chukchi living in Chaun Bay in 1936, only 95 had learned to clean their teeth. Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 237.

¹³⁰Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 297.

especially in the more remote areas.¹³¹ The government was concerned that too many of the native peoples, children and adults, would remain outside the conventional educational system and thus outside the principal mechanism for inculcating these peoples with Soviet values and doctrines. This was particularly critical because the native peoples shared few cultural ties with and had a natural distrust of Russians.¹³² Hence, a comprehensive solution was sought to ensure that all native peoples were literally "enveloped" by Soviet influences. In May 1925 the plenum of the Committee of the North formally recognized that the creation of "cultural bases" [kul'tbazy] would effectively and expediently deliver education to the northern peoples.¹³³

The purpose of these bases, or "cultural emissaries", as they were sometimes known, was to introduce and provide educational, medical, technical and social facilities to the native peoples within one complex.¹³⁴ The average cultural

¹³¹For example the Chukotska district occupies 682,000 square kilometres. Skachko, "Osvoenie severnykh raionov dal'ne-vostochnogo kraia," 92.

¹³²A. K. L'vov, "Kul'turnye bazy na severe," [Cultural Bases in the North] *Severnaia Aziia* 3 (1926): 29.

¹³³Terletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 36; Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 16.

¹³⁴Terletskii "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 36; I. M.

base included a residential school, a hospital with a dispensary, a day-nursery, a hut for visitors, veterinary station, research and laboratory facilities, a bath house, a library, forges and workshops, and animal breeding and husbandry facilities. The bases also served as research centres for economists, meteorologists, and ethnographers who were to gather information on the native peoples, their culture, and history, and then to train local people in these disciplines.¹³⁵

A Statute of October 5, 1932 defined cultural bases as cities of culture occupying a housing space of 12,000 cubic meters. One definition described them as:

Large, complex organizations whose fundamental task is to render assistance in every possible way to various organs of the Soviet authority as well as to various economic and social organizations in the Northern Regions in their attempt at gradual economic reconstruction of the Northern Peoples on the basis of the national policies of the proletarian State.¹³⁶

One of the most important services was the provision of courses for the "preparation of workers" from the local

Suslov, "Piatnadtsat' severnykh kul'tbaz," [Fifteen Northern Cultural Bases] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1934): 29.

¹³⁵Teletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 44.

¹³⁶Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 298.

populations who, unlike imported workers, required no training on local cultures and living conditions. These courses reduced the need to remove large numbers of native peoples from their environments for extended periods for schooling. This was particularly important since upon their return they had to be re-acclimatized to local conditions.¹³⁷

Plans were drawn up for the first cultural bases as early as 1926. However, lack of information as to the most effective sites prevented their immediate construction.¹³⁸ The first cultural base was opened October 1, 1927.¹³⁹ By 1929, there were six cultural bases functioning throughout the north and by 1934 the number had increased to 18.¹⁴⁰ Three were created in Chukotka, one in 1928 at Lavrentiia Bay, followed by two others in 1933.¹⁴¹ By 1935, 13 cultural bases had been

¹³⁷L'vov, "Kul'turnye bazy na severe," 30-31.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, 36.

¹³⁹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 155

¹⁴⁰Zelenin, "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," 17. According to "Sed'moi rasshirenyi plenum komiteta severa," 336, by 1930 there were five cultural bases, with three under construction. Vdovin, "Malye narodnosti severa na sotsialisticheskoi put' razvitiia za 50 let sovetskoi vlasti," 82; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 304; Terletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 45.

¹⁴¹Terletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 36-38. In the 1932-33 academic year there were 119 Chukchi children studying at the residential schools located within the

provided with residential school facilities which at that time accommodated more than 700 children, 90 percent of whom were from the native population. Many of these schools were successful in attracting children while others, even after four years of extensive efforts, experienced difficulties in gaining the acceptance of the local population.¹⁴² While a variety of factors, as discussed, contributed to the reaction of the native peoples one significant cause, not yet mentioned, was the attitude of shamans and *kulaks* (generally affluent, influential peasants who opposed the Soviet regime). In some areas, direct threats and organized attacks were made on the cultural bases. Cases were reported in which the children were forcibly removed and taken back to their parents.¹⁴³ The attitude of shamans, who served as spiritual leaders to others in their group, had a significant impact on peoples already ill-disposed to education.

Cultural bases eventually gained acceptance from native populations and in some instances developed into towns and economic centres.¹⁴⁴ However, the extent of their

cultural bases.

¹⁴²Terletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 40.

¹⁴³Suslov, "Piatnadtsat' severnykh kul'tbaz," 33. It is not known whether this action had the approval of parents.

¹⁴⁴Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 137.

effectiveness was often thwarted by the conditions existing in many of the bases. While the cultural base programme was allegedly well funded, shortages of both manpower and supplies were common. Some were closed because the staff had to use the hospitals and other facilities for living accommodations. The bases all experienced shortages of teachers, doctors, agronomists, and other specialists.¹⁴⁵ The majority of workers in these complexes were from the south and endured severe hardships. Beside the challenge of adapting to the northern environment, work was often disrupted because of the shortages of supplies. In some cases, workers spent more time ensuring their survival than discharging their duties.¹⁴⁶ Many of the problems related to the initial planning. Prior to establishing a base, in theory, studies were to be conducted to determine the best site. In practice, these studies, if undertaken at all, were in many cases inadequate.¹⁴⁷ This was particularly significant since the bases were established in the most isolated locations, often from 900 to 1500 kilometers

¹⁴⁵Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 311.

¹⁴⁶Terletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 46.

¹⁴⁷Suslov, "Piatnadtsat' severnykh kul'tbaz," 29.

away from major population centres and off major communication routes.¹⁴⁸ Clearly, they had to be self-contained units.

For the nomadic populations, Red Tent organizations [*krasnye chumy*] or [*krasnye iarangi*] as they were called in northeastern Siberia were established in the most remote and sparsely inhabited districts.¹⁴⁹ They evolved out of the cultural base programme and provided similar services but were itinerant. Their mobility limited their complexity though they had libraries, radios or wireless sets, medical facilities and other equipment.¹⁵⁰

According to a statute approved on March 24, 1933, the purpose of the Red Tents was to improve the cultural level of local populations through education and "the promotion of socialist construction." They were to operate on a year-round basis, travelling on predetermined schedules to service all peoples in the north. It was intended that a Red Tent would stay with one group until that group was able to continue

¹⁴⁸Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 136; Terletskii, "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa," 39.

¹⁴⁹Analagous organizations to Red Tents that operated in maritime areas were referred to as "Red Boats" [*krasnye lodki*].

¹⁵⁰Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 256.

independently.¹⁵¹ They were usually found either at fairs and trading stations or travelling with the nomad population.¹⁵² The mandate of the Red Tents with respect to education included the following:

promotes the organization of schools and individual training in literacy and draws the population into this work, enrolling children in schools and adults in centers for education, as well as sending young people to normal and higher educational institutions and to various [special] schools. ...organizes the work in educational centers and in case of necessity (lack of local cadres) conducts the work of liquidation of illiteracy.¹⁵³

Through the cultural bases and the Red Tents, a system had been established to ensure that Party doctrine and Soviet Government principles were spread to all areas. A by-product of these organizations was that many of the natives people obtained their first exposure to a structured educational process. In Chukotka the first Red Tent organization opened

¹⁵¹Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, Appendix XXIX, "Statute on the Travelling Political-Educational Institution "Krasnyi Chum" ("The Red Tent") Carrying on its Activity in the Region of the Extreme North," 481.

¹⁵²Sergeev, "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma," 137.

¹⁵³Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 298.

in 1929 and by April 1933 there were four operating throughout the regions.¹⁵⁴

At this stage, having provided the basic infrastructure for the northern educational system, there was a concomitant emphasis placed upon improvements that would eliminate illiteracy and provide for compulsory education "in the shortest time possible."¹⁵⁵ On April 29, 1933 a resolution was adopted that called for the nationalization of primary schools in the north within five years. For the most populous of the native peoples, including the Chukchi, instruction during the first three years of school was to be in the native language.¹⁵⁶ For smaller groups, including the Eskimos, instruction in the native language was to be limited to the first two years of school.¹⁵⁷ Teaching of Russian as a subject

¹⁵⁴Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 222.

¹⁵⁵As cited in Taracoucio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, Appendix XXX "Resolution of the Bureau of the Committee of the North on the Role of Native Languages in Primary Schools of the Peoples of the North," 485.

¹⁵⁶This was affirmed in Article 121 of the 1936 constitution which guaranteed citizens the right to school instruction in their own language. Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver, "Some Factors in the Linguistic and Ethnic Russification of Soviet Nationalities: Is Everyone Becoming Russian," in *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society* eds. Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990), 98.

¹⁵⁷Taracoucio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, Appendix XXX "Resolution of the Bureau of the Committee of the North on

was to begin in the second year and, from the third grade, Russian became the language of instruction in all schools. The native languages were to be used only for explanation.¹⁵⁸ These resolutions went into effect for the 1933-1934 school year in the majority of schools, including those for the Chukchi and Eskimosy.¹⁵⁹ However, the continuing problem of insufficient teachers with the necessary language skills and the shortages of textbooks in the native languages prevented universal implementation of the programme.¹⁶⁰

A separate but related problem was the number of dialects that existed within the northern languages. Written languages were created only for the strongest dialects.¹⁶¹ The Chukchi were included in this category because the differences in their dialects were minimal, and one group understood the other.¹⁶²

the Role of Native Languages in Primary Schools of the Peoples of the North," 485.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 485-86; Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 120.

¹⁵⁹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 138.

¹⁶⁰Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 148.

¹⁶¹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 138.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, 195.

As had been done with the introduction of the alphabets, brigades were established in the north to assist in the "liquidation of illiteracy." In 1933, 24 representatives from the Chukchi population were assigned to these brigades to work in maritime settlements and on the tundra.¹⁶³

By the mid 1930s, the Committee of the North decided that the native peoples had advanced to a level where special organizations specifically designed to address their needs were no longer necessary. It was claimed that by 1934 in a number of regions universal primary education had been realized.¹⁶⁴ At the tenth extended plenum of the Committee of the North, in April, 1934, there was formal recognition that the organization had completed its work.¹⁶⁵ Accordingly, the Presidium of the VTsIK abolished the Committee of the North in August 1935. The Main Directorate of the Northern Sea Route [*Glavsevmorput'*] assumed the mandate of improving the culture and economy of the northern native peoples.¹⁶⁶ This

¹⁶³Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 215.

¹⁶⁴Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 139.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁶⁶Z. P. Sokolova, "Postanovleniia partii i pravitel'stva o razvitii khoziaistva i kul'tury narodov krainego severa," [Resolutions of the Party and Government on the Development of the Economy and Culture of the Peoples of the Far North] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies

organization had been created in 1932 to assume responsibility for the transport system, industry, and trade as well as economic and cultural developments in the north.¹⁶⁷ Then, in 1938 the Council of People's Commissars specified that *Glavsevmorput'* was to relinquish responsibility for all organizations not connected with the administration of the northern sea route.¹⁶⁸

It has been argued that the decision to abolish the Committee of the North may have been premature since only a minimal infrastructure had been put in place and the native peoples were still adapting to a new way of life. In some areas, there was a decline in the special efforts to assist the northern native peoples to develop politically, economically, and culturally in accordance with Soviet objectives.¹⁶⁹

The decision is even more perplexing when one considers that although the development of the northern educational system appeared to have been progressing in an orderly fashion

among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 69.

¹⁶⁷Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 55. According to Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 291, *Glavsevmorput'* came into existence by a decree on July 20, 1934.

¹⁶⁸Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, 67.

¹⁶⁹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 27.

and reaching its objectives, there was evidence to the contrary. An editorial of the official publication of the *Glavsevmorput*¹⁷⁰ identified a number of inadequacies:

The programme to construct schools was only a partial success. Of the planned thirty-two pre-manufactured school buildings, by November 1, 1936, only eleven were completed. Even of these, two structures were still at Vladivostok waiting for shipment to the North. Nor is any attention being paid to this by local regional executive committees. Thus, in the Chukchi District in 1936 not a single schoolhouse was being built. In the Koriak District only one was under construction. There is a shortage of teachers in the schools, and the training of the needed instructors is poor beyond words. The pedagogical institutes are in a state of decay. Thus, in the Enisei Technicum 45 per cent of students have been taken ill because of poor living conditions. Even in Leningrad, the work at the Hertzen Institute preparing teachers for the North, proved a failure: [many] courses were never given, and matriculation of students in the freshman year was nil.¹⁷⁰

Two other means of assessing the success of the educational system can be found by examining the literacy rates of the native peoples and their integration into the economy of the changing society. In 1936 there were an estimated 34,000 illiterate people in the north, but only 9400

¹⁷⁰As cited in Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 311.

or 31 percent of them attended classes. This prompted Lenin's widow Nadezhda Krupskaja, the Deputy People's Commissar for Education, to call a special conference on this question in April 1937.¹⁷¹

The northern native people's participation in the industrialization programme was, at best, limited. By 1935 native peoples constituted 35 percent of the entire population, but only 2.3 percent of the industrial labour force.¹⁷² For the most part, their involvement in industry remained linked with their traditional occupations, for example, they made very good guides and they provided reindeer transport.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, by 1935, 1200 students had completed their studies in various higher educational institutions and an additional 900 had taken courses locally.¹⁷⁴ However, it should be noted that the majority of these students had studied to be teachers, administrators,

¹⁷¹V. N. Uvachan, *The Peoples of the North and Their Road to Socialism* [trans: Sergei Shcherbovich] (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), 162-63.

¹⁷²According to Taracouzio, in 1926, native peoples made up approximately 56 percent of the entire northern population and by 1935 they made up 4.1 percent of the work force. Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 260-261; Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 74.

¹⁷³Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 75.

¹⁷⁴Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 254.

political workers and other non-technical professions and not as industrial workers.

In response to some of the inadequacies of the school system, special syllabi were created in 1935-1936 for primary schools. They addressed specific features of the native languages and lifestyles. For example, in some of the languages of northern native peoples where the counting system differed from the Russian, this difference was taken into consideration.¹⁷⁵

The educational system suffered a short-term disruption in 1937 when on March 7, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the CPSU replaced the Latin alphabet used for native languages with one based on Cyrillic letters.¹⁷⁶

During the mid 1930s it was concluded that the decision to use the Latin alphabet for the native languages was a mistake.¹⁷⁷ The original decision to use Latin for the northern languages had been based on the arguments of Soviet

¹⁷⁵Danilov, "Cultural Situation and Education in the Soviet North," 66.

¹⁷⁶Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, 73; Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 297; Stephen P. Dunn and Ethel Dunn, "The Peoples of Siberia and the Far East," in *Russia and Asia: Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples* ed. Wayne S. Vucinich (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), 303-4.

¹⁷⁷Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, 73.

linguists and ethnographers. They had argued that the Latin alphabet was more adaptable and provided more flexibility for symbolising the phonetics of the native languages of Siberia.¹⁷⁸ The ethnographers at the Society for Regional Research in the Soviet Far East, who viewed the use of the Cyrillic alphabet as an attempt at russification, had provided four reasons why the Latin alphabet should be used for the languages of the Far Eastern nationalities. Firstly, oriental alphabets had been successfully converted to Latin; secondly, the Latin alphabet was used internationally; thirdly, the Cyrillic alphabet would require supplementary letters to incorporate all the sounds of the northern languages; and finally, since scholars had already proposed to convert the Cyrillic alphabet to Latin, it would soon fade from existence. The government supported this position and, as stated previously, the Latin alphabet was adopted for the northern languages.¹⁷⁹

The decision to convert the alphabet was based on the experience gained during the five year period when the Latin alphabet was in use. At the practical level, one of the main

¹⁷⁸Dennis and Alice Bartels, "Language Education Programmes for Aboriginal Peoples of the Siberian North: The Soviet Experience," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 16:1 (1989): 30.

¹⁷⁹Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, 73.

reasons for the conversion was that teachers, who were predominantly Russian, had difficulty with the Latin alphabet.¹⁸⁰ In addition, children had to learn to read and write their native language using the Latin alphabet and to read and write Russian in the Cyrillic alphabet during the first years at primary school.¹⁸¹ The predominant view was that the use of two alphabets in schools created undue hardship for children.¹⁸² On the ideological level, the continued use of Latin was viewed as a factor that distanced the northern peoples from mainstream Russian culture.¹⁸³ Conversely, the use of the Cyrillic alphabet would have a conciliatory effect on the relationship between northern peoples and Russians.¹⁸⁴ Probably the most important reason for the conversion was that it would provide a common form of communication particularly for economic and political

¹⁸⁰Dennis and Alice Bartels, "Language Education Programmes for Aboriginal Peoples of the Siberian North," 30.

¹⁸¹Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 286.

¹⁸²M. I. Isayev, *National Languages in the USSR: Problems and Solutions* [trans.] (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), 250; Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 61.

¹⁸³Nielsen, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," 225.

¹⁸⁴Dunn and Dunn, "Transformation of Economy and Culture," 23.

considerations.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, the Cyrillic system was adapted for all languages throughout the USSR with the exception of Georgian, Armenian, Abkhazian, and Yiddish.¹⁸⁶

As a result of the conversion of the alphabet, the material that had been printed in Latin for the northern native peoples became obsolete and was subsequently destroyed. Although accurate figures on the amount of material destroyed are difficult to assess, it appears to have been substantial, since between 1931 and 1933 approximately 200,000 textbooks, 100,000 political pamphlets, and 10,000 books on medicine and economics had been printed. The changeover meant that literacy in the native languages, now based on a knowledge of the Cyrillic alphabet, was again minimal.¹⁸⁷ It has been argued that the conversion impeded the progress of literacy in the north and that, in at least one area, the recovery period was 16 years.¹⁸⁸ Conversely, it has been asserted that there were few problems associated with the changeover in the alphabet and that it had a positive impact since it enriched

¹⁸⁵Isayev, *National Languages in the USSR*, 267-68.

¹⁸⁶Jacob Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy: Continuity and Change," in *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* ed. Erich Goldhagen (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), 122.

¹⁸⁷Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, 73.

¹⁸⁸Dunn and Dunn, "Transformation of Economy and Culture," 23.

the lexicon of the native languages, added grammatical precision, and facilitated publication of materials in the northern native languages.¹⁸⁹ While the changeover and subsequent destruction of literature appeared to have caused some difficulties for the northern peoples, it contributed to the state's objectives of bringing the northern peoples in line with the rest of Soviet society.

On March 13, 1938 a decree introduced the compulsory study of Russian as a second language in schools. The purpose was to provide a common means of communication in the multi-national state, as well as to increase the scientific knowledge of minorities who obtained education at Russian schools, that is, to allow minority groups access to scientific works which, as a rule, were published only in Russian.¹⁹⁰

The development of the educational system to this point had provided unparalleled opportunities for the native peoples. Initially, the main objective had been to induce them to enter the educational programme. To facilitate this, the system had been based on a policy of 'nativization.' This

¹⁸⁹Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa," 128.

¹⁹⁰Koutaissoff, "Literacy and the Place of Russian in the Non-Slav Republics of the USSR," 123; Barbara Anderson and Brian Silver, "Some Factors in the Linguistic and Ethnic Russification of Soviet Nationalities," 98.

included placing members of the northern native peoples into lower and middle grade local Communist Party and administrative positions, despite the fact that in many cases they lacked the skills to perform their functions efficiently.¹⁹¹ It also involved the development of written languages, and the training of teachers from among the native population.

After the early 1930s, there was a subtle change in the focus of the northern educational system. While nativization continued to be an essential component of the educational programme, in reality, the overall importance of this policy began to decline. The Russian people and culture gradually assumed a pre-eminence in all spheres of society with a corresponding decrease in the focus on the cultures of the native peoples.¹⁹² A number of different policy changes were implemented that reflected this shift. Native peoples who had been appointed to government and Soviet positions because of their ethnic background, and not for their professional skills, were found to be unsuitable and were dismissed.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹Nikolai Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North* [A Minority Rights Group International Report] 92/5 (August, 1992), 17.

¹⁹²Erich Goldhagen, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), x.

¹⁹³Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 17.

After 1937 only seven written languages, including Chukchi and Eskimosy, continued to be developed. Languages with a number of dialects were limited to the publication of primers. No attempts were made to provide native language publications for groups that were considered too small or who had adopted the Russian language.¹⁹⁴

In the same year, programmes for the study of native and Russian languages were introduced. The objective was to allow children from the native population to be taught jointly with Russian children according to the programme and textbooks of Russian schools.¹⁹⁵ The following year, the amount of time allotted to the study of the Russian language increased: it was introduced in all non-Russian schools in the first class.¹⁹⁶ In addition, publications in the Russian language increased, and in many cases, supplanted the native languages.¹⁹⁷

Thus, by the late 1930s there appeared to be two conflicting ideologies that influenced educational policies for the native peoples: nativization versus russification.

Despite policies that emphasized the study of Russian,

¹⁹⁴Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 61.

¹⁹⁵Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 146.

¹⁹⁶Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 286; Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 148.

¹⁹⁷Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy," 122; Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 286.

the importance of native languages in the school system did not appear to decline during this period. Native languages continued to be used for instruction in primary, and to a lesser degree, in secondary schools, in Party and government activities at the local level, and for communication in everyday life. Publications that provided workers with information on technical and agricultural matters continued to be produced in the native languages.¹⁹⁸

The continued publication of textbooks in the native languages provides further evidence that the policy of nativization was by no means obsolete. In 1937 the publication of textbooks in the Cyrillic alphabet was initiated.¹⁹⁹ Between 1939 and 1941, an almost complete set of textbooks for grades one and two as well as some for third and fourth year were published for northern national schools. Teaching programmes and children's books were also issued.²⁰⁰ The publication of similar materials for the third and fourth year classes had been initiated but was interrupted by the advent of war.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy," 122.

¹⁹⁹I. S. Vdovin authored the new textbooks for the Chukchi. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 217.

²⁰⁰Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 63.

²⁰¹Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 146.

Nativization versus russification aside, there was a third option: the motivation for the policies initiated in 1938 and beyond was simply an attempt to find the most practical and efficient method of bringing the native peoples into the Soviet sphere of influence. The greater influence of the Russian language at the expense of native languages was largely the result of this more practical policy.

Notwithstanding the apparently countervailing policies and direction of programmes in the northern educational system, the 1930s had been a period of rapid expansion of the school infrastructure. In 1939, 550 schools, with an enrolment of more than 10,000 children, served the native populations.²⁰² In Chukotka, in 1940 there were 68 schools with 1925 students from the native population.²⁰³ Literacy levels in Chukotka for people aged 9 to 49 had risen to 46.8 percent.²⁰⁴ Moreover, by 1940 there were 180 native peoples in Chukotka in professional jobs.²⁰⁵

Exigencies caused by World War II limited the further advancement of the school system in Siberia. The number of

²⁰²Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 156.

²⁰³Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 216.

²⁰⁴Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 76.

²⁰⁵Balitsky, *Ot patriarkhal'no-obshchinnogo stroia k sotsializmu*, 174.

schools remained at pre-war levels, teacher training was disrupted, and native language publications ceased.²⁰⁶ In 1941 or 1942, the Northern Peoples Institute, so indispensable in the 1930s, was closed.²⁰⁷ Despite setbacks, in 1944-1945 there were 30,472 students, including Russians, attending 553 schools in the national areas.²⁰⁸

The common motive shared by both the Tsarist and Soviet education systems was to inculcate the northern peoples with ideologies which were in keeping with mainstream society but foreign to the native peoples' traditional culture. The missionaries wanted to convert the northern peoples from a culture based on Shamanism to one based on Christianity. The Bolsheviks viewed education as the most efficient means of securing control over the native peoples, and at the same time, socializing them with Communist Party principles.

In establishing the educational system, various philosophies were advanced. Notwithstanding the efforts of linguists, ethnographers, and other specialists to create and promote written languages, as well as teaching programs that catered to the needs of the native peoples, in all instances

²⁰⁶Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 135.

²⁰⁷Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 43.

²⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 40.

the overriding motive behind the educational policies was to promote Communist ideology. Regardless of the benefits of the educational process for many of the northern peoples, the consequences were that Communist ideology and culture pervaded all levels of society, even in the most remote areas. By World War II, a basic educational system had been developed that encompassed all the northern native peoples, and increasingly influenced and changed their lives.

Moreover, by the close of World War II Soviet educators and government officials had examined and addressed many of the issues that their counterparts in Canada, involved in developing an educational system for the Inuit, would only just be starting to consider.

CHAPTER TWO

Soviet Educational Policies: 1945-1980

The philosophy that would drive Soviet educational policy after World War II is best understood by briefly reviewing relevant events of the 1930s. During this period, the Great Purges under Joseph Stalin had been a dominant factor in Soviet society. Russification of all peoples of the Soviet Union had been an important part of Soviet domestic policy. During the war, the purges and russification had been subsumed by the exigencies of war. In the post war period, russification was intensified.¹ To promote its position, the government initiated an extensive programme of propaganda that presented Russia as superior in the arts, science, and industry. The most extreme manifestation of this policy was the re-activation of arrests and purges of individuals who were seen to be embracing western ideals and "cosmopolitanism."²

The native peoples of Siberia felt no direct impact from

¹Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967: An Essay," *Slavic Review*, 27:3 (September, 1968): 418.

²Nikolai Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, (Minority Rights Group International Report, May, 1992), 17.

these policies. This was largely because they were relatively isolated; as individual groups or collectively, they constituted a small percentage of the population and they posed no security threat to the State.³ Nevertheless, russification had an influence in determining the focus of the national school system in Siberia.⁴

The first sign of a policy shift in the educational system occurred with the introduction of preparatory classes in northern national schools.⁵ These special classes were intended for children who entered the school system with little or no knowledge of Russian.⁶ The children were taught to develop reading and writing skills in their native

³Terence Armstrong, "Administration of Northern Peoples: USSR," in *The Arctic Frontier* ed. R. St. J. Macdonald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 83-84.

⁴National schools were specifically designed for smaller nationalities throughout the Soviet Union, including those in Siberia.

⁵These classes were introduced in the post-war period between 1945 and 1948. James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 406; A. I. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987), 217.

⁶N. I. Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," [Leninist Nationality Policy and the Education of the Peoples of the North] *Letopis' severa* 8 (1977): 45; I. S. Gurchich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period* [Ethnic Development of the Peoples of the North in the Soviet Period] (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), 140.

languages using textbooks that had been specially designed for each nationality.⁷ Whenever possible, the children were instructed by native teachers with specialized training.⁸ These teachers were provided with special materials to help them with instruction in the native languages.⁹ The goal was to provide these students with basic skills in reading and writing of their own languages so that ultimately they would be able to apply this knowledge to the learning of Russian. It should be stressed that though the preparatory classes were taught in the native languages, they had one overriding purpose: to provide children with the ability to learn in their native languages in an effort to facilitate the learning of Russian. They were not designed to maintain or enhance the native languages.¹⁰

By 1948, the network of national schools had expanded to

⁷A. Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," in *Education in the North Selected Papers of the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations and Related Articles* ed. Frank Darnell (Arctic Institute of North America and the University of Alaska, 1972), 66.

⁸Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 140.

⁹Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 66.

¹⁰Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 406.

embrace virtually all peoples of the North.¹¹ The government claimed that illiteracy had been eliminated completely among the adult population in a number of areas.¹² However, in the more remote areas, like northeastern Siberia, illiteracy continued to be a problem.

With the establishment of primary compulsory education in the immediate post-war period, the government shifted the emphasis of its policy from the construction of primary schools and improving literacy levels to the introduction of new teaching programmes and the intensification of teacher training.

In 1947-1948, a new syllabus was introduced, the first significant change since the publication of textbooks that were designed specifically for the northern regions in 1932.¹³

¹¹Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," [trans.] *Polar Record* 19:119 (1978): 135.

¹²I. S. Gurvich, "Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR," [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North of the USSR] *Sovetskaia ethografiia* 1 (January-February, 1970): 25.

¹³I. F. Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa." [Development of Printing in the Languages of Northern Peoples] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa*. [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971): 135; Paul Thoe Nielson, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," *Folk* (1972/73): 230.

During the 1945-1948 period, for the northern peoples who had written languages, textbooks were issued in these languages for preparatory and primary classes.¹⁴ In 1948-1949 new syllabi for the teaching of native languages were prepared.¹⁵

According to the new syllabi, the number of hours of native language instruction was reduced from twelve to eight hours and instruction in Russian was increased from six to ten hours in preparatory classes per week. In the preparatory and first two grades, instruction was conducted in the native language with Russian as a special subject, but for grades three and four all instruction was in Russian. The most important shift in the teaching programme was the increased emphasis placed on Russian language study. All children began to study Russian from the first day of classes and it became the dominant language of training. In the first five years of school there were 1584 hours devoted to the study of Russian and 957 hours devoted to native language study.¹⁶ From grade

¹⁴Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 64; Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa," 135.

¹⁵Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa," 135.

¹⁶A. F. Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," [School(s) of the Peoples of the Far North] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies Among the Peoples of the Far North of the USSR] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 149.

five, all instruction was in Russian and the syllabi employed in Russian schools were adopted as the standard.¹⁷ Thus, while measures were taken to improve the extent of available materials in the native languages, the overall thrust was to promote education in the Russian language.

The general reconstruction of the country limited the amount of funding available for the north, in general, and the educational system, in particular. As a result, priorities were redefined for training. Increased attention was accorded teacher training for mid-level, higher schools, and medical schools. There were also programmes to train "cadres" for cultural and educational institutions, but less emphasis was placed on the training of personnel for other professions.¹⁸

In 1948 a special faculty for northern peoples was organized at Leningrad University. It consisted of a department of Russian, as well as departments for northern languages, literature, history, ethnography, economics, and geography.¹⁹

A year later, a Northern Department was established at

¹⁷Nielsen, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," 230-231.

¹⁸Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 135-36.

¹⁹Kerstin E. Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North: Soviet Ethnography and Nationality Policy* (Stockholm: Uppsala, 1985), 64.

the Herzen Institute in Leningrad to train teachers primarily for seven-year schools, but also for the limited number of ten-year schools.²⁰ Admittance was determined by a pre-planned allotment to ensure that all national districts or regions had sufficient teachers. The enrolment in any area of specialization was based upon the needs and demands of local educational committees.²¹

The Northern Department consisted of preparatory and basic programmes. The three-year preparatory programme corresponded to the eighth, ninth and tenth grades of secondary school and was exclusively for students from the northern native populations. As a rule, the native students were 15 to 18 years old and had only a seven-year education. Therefore, they were required to complete their secondary education before advancing to the basic teacher-training programme.²²

In the basic programme, students were required to complete a three-year course of study in order to qualify as

²⁰Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 64.

²¹L. V. Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," in *Education in the North: Selected Papers of the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations and Related Articles* ed. Frank Darnell (Arctic Institute of North America and the University of Alaska, 1972), 286.

²²*Ibid.*

teachers for seven-year schools. The Institute admitted individuals from any ethnic group or nationality, but the overwhelming majority were members of the northern native peoples. Russians were admitted only if they were permanent residents of the north, were familiar with northern conditions, and agreed to serve in the north upon graduation.²³

The basic three-year programme of study at this institute included courses on "Foundations of Marxism-Leninism," "the great works of Stalin on questions of linguistics," and the history of Russian, and Soviet literature, and folklore. To prepare students for teaching in northern areas, the programme included lessons in general methods of teaching, as well as specific courses in the grammar of the native languages and the history and ethnography of the peoples of the North.²⁴

To address the chronic shortage of teachers for northern schools, comparable teacher training facilities were established in the national areas.²⁵ The Institute of Education at Khabarovsk served as a principal teacher training

²³Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 286.

²⁴Walter Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East* (Archeon Books, 1969), 74.

²⁵Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 286.

facility for representatives of the Chukchi and Eskimosy.²⁶ Others attended the Anadyr Teachers' School for northern peoples.²⁷ As a result of these extensive efforts by 1949, 40 percent of teachers in northern schools were recruited from the north.²⁸ In the early 1950s, the expansion of the secondary school system in northern areas created an increased demand for teachers with specialized training. In response, the Northern Department of the Herzen Institute re-organized its teacher training programme and by 1953 had developed a four-year programme. In 1956 the programme was expanded to five years to allow specialization in such overlapping disciplines such as "Russian, Literature and History," "Mathematics and Physics," "Biology and Chemistry," "Geography and Biology," "Art, Draftsmanship and Handwork."²⁹

²⁶Chuner Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," [Preparation of Specialists from Among the Peoples of the North] in *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 180; Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 64.

²⁷V. V. Antropova and V. G. Kuznetsova, "The Chukchi," in *The Peoples of Siberia*, eds. M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov [trans] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 833-34.

²⁸Koutaissoff, "Literacy and the Place of Russian in the Non-Slav Republics of the USSR," *Soviet Studies* 3:2 (October, 1951): 122.

²⁹Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 286.

As a consequence of the commitment of the Herzen Institute to the training of northern native peoples, Leningrad became a key centre for their education.³⁰

During this period, northern schools were categorized into four types based primarily upon the existence of a written language for the native population. In each type of school, a different method of teaching was adopted according to these criteria:

1. In national areas in which the peoples had a written language - Chukchi, Eskimosy, Evenki, Eveny, Nanai, Mansi, and Nentsy - the native language was used for instruction in the preparatory and the first two classes. For all subsequent grades, instruction was in Russian.
2. For the native peoples who had only ABC books in their own language - Nivkhi, Sel'kupy, Khanty, and Koriaki - native language instruction was limited to the preparatory class.
3. In cases where there were no written languages - Udege, Orochi, Ul'chi, Oroki, Itel'meny, Iukagiry, Aleuty, Nganasany, Entsy, Kety, Saami -- all instruction in all grades was in Russian.
4. In schools in which native and non-native peoples shared the same facilities, because of the potential for a number of different ethnic groups to be present, all instruction was in Russian.³¹

In 1948 the government embarked upon a plan that would

³⁰Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 245.

³¹Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 148; Kuoljok, *Revolution in the North*, 62; Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 46.

have far-reaching consequences in Chukotka. Building materials and equipment for construction of power plants, hospitals, all types of schools, libraries and other facilities to establish new communities with all essential services were brought into the District. This scheme was in response to a statute passed by the Council of Ministers of the USSR "On Measures to Assist Economic and Cultural Construction in the National Districts and the Regions of the Extreme Northeast of the Khabarovsk Krai." Its purpose was to entice nomadic populations to become sedentary and to settle in these new communities or in the existing settlements of former marine mammal hunters. The transition of the nomadic peoples to a more sedentary lifestyle and the increased number of residential schools eliminated the need for mobile schools that had served the nomadic population for the past two decades.³²

In 1948 the Office of the Chukchi Regional Committee examined methods for improving the cultural education and political work among the native peoples. In the following year, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a special resolution on the expansion of the network of Red Tents to serve reindeer brigades in the Chukchi region. As a result

³²Vdovin, "Politique législative, économique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du développement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 121.

the number of Red Tent organizations, which had been an integral part of the Soviet literacy campaign in the 1930s, was increased. In the Chukchi region, in 1950, there were 20 Red Tents in operation and by 1960 the number had increased to 35.³³ The raising of the cultural-educational levels of the nomadic peoples was an integral part of the plan to have them accept the benefits of living in permanent settlements. Thus, the Red Tent Organization became a natural instrument of the re-settlement policy.

In 1949 there were more than 300 schools with an estimated 455 teachers and a total enrolment of approximately 32,000 within Kamchatka province which until 1953 included the Chukchi national area.³⁴ In Chukotka there were approximately 76 schools with more than 3,000 pupils.³⁵ During the 1949-1950 academic year compulsory seven-year education was introduced

³³I. S. Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei* [An Outline of the History and Ethnography of the Chukchi] (Moscow: Hauka, 1965), 389. In 1972, there were 40 Red Tents operating in Chukotka. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 224-25.

³⁴A. V. Lepetuk, "Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo na Kamchatke," [Cultural Construction in Kamchatka] *Voprosy istorii* 8 (August 1970): 26. For a detailed explanation of administrative changes in Siberia see Neil C. Field, "Administrative and Constitutional Changes in Arctic Territories: The USSR," in *The Arctic Frontier* ed. R. St. J. MacDonald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966): 160-193.

³⁵Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*, 9; Vdovin places the exact number of students at 3198. Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei*, 387.

throughout Chukotka.³⁶ By 1951 the region had 84 primary, seven-year, and secondary schools. Moreover, more than 1200 students attended the 26 residential schools.³⁷ At this time, there were no national secondary schools, that is, schools that primarily served the native population. None would be established in the foreseeable future.³⁸

By 1950 approximately 2000 northern peoples were occupied in leading positions in collective farms (*kolkhozy*) the court system, party work, Komsomol, and other social organizations. In the Chukchi District, more than 100 native peoples served as teachers, doctors, and in cultural educational institutions.³⁹

The publication of textbooks had been a continual process until it was disrupted by the war. One of the obstacles to the development of printed materials was the absence of a local intelligentsia that could develop such materials on a

³⁶Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei*, 387; Antropova and Kuznetsova, "The Chukchi," 833.

³⁷Antropova and Kuznetsova, "The Chukchi," 833; Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei*, 387.

³⁸V. V. Leont'ev, *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg* [The Economy and Culture of the Peoples of Chukotka, 1958-1970] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1973), 146.

³⁹V. G. Balitskii, *Ot patriarkhal'no-obshchinnogo stroia k sotsializmu* [From Patriarchal-Communal System To Socialism] (Moscow: Mysl', 1969), 176.

continuing basis.⁴⁰ For example, from 1931 to 1934 the government published a total of 217 books in 14 languages. From 1932 to the beginning of World War II, representatives of the northern native peoples had written approximately 20 books.⁴¹ The development of an intelligentsia, however modest, led to the publication of an increasing number of books for the national areas. In the first decade after the war, 76 books had been published in the Chukchi language with a total circulation of 106,000.⁴² There were similar publications in the Eskimosy language.⁴³

In 1951-52 a complete set of textbooks was published for all northern national schools.⁴⁴ The publication of these books was not inconsistent with the overall government strategy of 'russifying' the northern native peoples. Clearly, there was a demand for books in the native languages which, in turn, served to increase the general literacy of the

⁴⁰Ia. Al'kor (Koshkin), "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe," [Tasks of Cultural Construction in the Far North] *Sovetskii sever* 3 (1934): 50.

⁴¹Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," 184.

⁴²Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 67.

⁴³These were the Evenki, Eveny, Khanty, Mansi, and Koriaki peoples.

⁴⁴Belenkin, "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa," 135.

native peoples. The Chukchi and Eskimosy languages were still used "in domestic, professional, and social contexts."⁴⁵ While the use of Russian was the objective, as stated previously, the government fully recognized that it was much easier for a population to learn to read a second language if they were already literate in their native language.

Accordingly, the emphasis on the study of Russian in schools paralleled the expansion of the publication of native language textbooks. Between 1950-1955, special ABC books were created and published for all northern peoples that had a written language. These books were specifically designed to assist the northern native peoples in learning Russian.⁴⁶ Arguably, the clearest indication of the importance the government placed on Russian was the introduction on May 11, 1955 of a new syllabus which increased the study of Russian and decreased the study of native languages by one hour.⁴⁷

Throughout the 1950s, language policies, in general, and educational policies, in particular, were affected by the shift in demographics in the northern areas of Siberia. In

⁴⁵Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de L'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 121.

⁴⁶Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 151.

⁴⁷Nielsen, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," 234.

1911 approximately 89.5 percent of the inhabitants of Siberia were Russian.⁴⁸ However, in the national areas such as Chukotka, native peoples formed the majority. Nevertheless, the population of Siberia increased by more than two and a half times between 1926 and 1935, largely the result of immigration.⁴⁹

The importance of Siberia in the economic development of the Soviet Union should not be understated. As early as 1936, Stalin, according to a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, noted that:

The Arctic and our northern regions have colossal wealth. We must create a Soviet organization which can in the shortest period include this wealth in the general resources of our socialist structures.⁵⁰

Siberia contained approximately 70 percent of the forest resources of the Soviet Union, and many of the largest deposits of oil, natural gas, coal, and minerals. Beginning in 1956, the development of these natural resources proceeded at an accelerated rate.⁵¹ This expansion led to a requirement

⁴⁸Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 115.

⁴⁹Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, 260.

⁵⁰Armstrong, *Russian Settlement in the North* (London: Cambridge University Press 1965), 154.

⁵¹Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 52.

for skilled workers in all areas, particularly for mining, forestry, construction, transportation, communications, and administration.⁵² Among the population of Siberia, particularly the northeast, the existing labour pool did not possess the requisite skills to meet the demand. This resulted in an extensive in-migration of workers so that by the end of the decade the native peoples were minorities in all their national districts.⁵³ In 1959 there were 630,000 native peoples residing in the national areas with a total population of 2,700,000.⁵⁴

The pattern of in-migration can be illustrated with a comparison of the two full censuses of 1926 and 1959.⁵⁵ The 1926 census shows that Russians constituted a minority of approximately 25 percent of the population, but by 1959, they

⁵²Terence Armstrong, George Rogers and Graham Rowley, *Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic* (London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1977), 46; V. V. Leont'ev, "The Indigenous Peoples of the Chukchi National Okrug: Population and Settlement," *Polar Geography* 1:1 (January-March, 1977): 10.

⁵³Armstrong, "Administration of the Northern Peoples," 73-74.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 65.

⁵⁵Soviet census figures for 1926, particularly in the case of the northern native peoples are admitted to have some small mistakes. For 1959, the census figures are considered reasonably reliable because they were "not particularly flattering to Soviet policy towards the native peoples." Armstrong, *Russian Settlement in the North*, 126.

comprised 80 percent of the population.⁵⁶

In the Chukotka region up to 1954, the growth in population averaged only about 730 persons a year.⁵⁷ Between 1954 and 1959 the rapid inflow of people from other areas reduced the native peoples to a minority of only 26 percent of the population. Between 1959 and 1970, the greatest immigration occurred in Chukotka, primarily as a result of the mining industry. The non-native population increased by approximately 250 percent or 200,000 people while the indigenous population rose only by about 10 percent.⁵⁸

As a result of the continuing influx of people from other areas of the Soviet Union, the native peoples' proportion of the population dropped to 13 percent by 1970 and to 11 percent by 1975.⁵⁹ In 1979, the Chukchi made up eight percent of the

⁵⁶Terence Armstrong, *Russian Settlement in the North*, 126; Terence Armstrong, George Rogers, and Graham Rowley, *The Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic*, 46.

⁵⁷Vladilen V. Leont'ev, "The Indigenous Peoples of the Chukchi National Okrug, 9.

⁵⁸According to Demitri and Edith Shimkin the growth rate of the native population was 17 percent. This discrepancy, however, does not change the overall demographic picture. Demitri B. Shimkin, and Edith M. Shimkin, "Population Dynamics in Northeastern Siberia, 1650/1700 to 1970," *Musk-Ox* 16 (1975): 19; Leont'ev, "The Indigenous Peoples of the Chukchi National Okrug: Population and Settlement," 2.

⁵⁹Leont'ev, "The Indigenous Peoples of the Chukchi National Okrug: Population and Settlement," 10.

population in their homeland.⁶⁰

Until the 1950s, the northern educational system had concentrated primarily on the requirements of the native peoples. This focus began to change with the shift in demographics and emphasis began to be placed on the educational requirements of the in-migrant majority. This led to an increase in ethnically-mixed schools with the result that fewer and fewer native peoples were taught in their native languages.⁶¹ As a result, more schools became accessible to the native peoples but the influence of Russian was also stronger. This facilitated russification.

The change in the school system in the Chukchi national area is a case in point. Between 1947 and 1957, the number of national schools actually declined from 43 for the Chukchi and five for the Eskimos to 30 and two respectively.⁶² At the same time, the number of Russian and ethnically-mixed schools increased. This trend continued throughout the 1960s and is discussed below.

By the mid 1950s, practically all northern native peoples

⁶⁰Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 197.

⁶¹Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 62; Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 140.

⁶²Nielsen, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," 243.

could speak or at least understand Russian. In many ways, the acquisition of Russian as a second language was a positive development as it allowed access to information through books, newspapers, and other media which were predominantly in Russian.

Despite the progress in establishing a northern educational system, many of the historic problems in socializing the native peoples remained. These included cultural backwardness, reliance on a subsistence economy, and geographical isolation. These factors were the principal barriers to the government's desire to raise the standard of living of the northern native peoples to that of central Russia. In recognition of this situation, the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences in 1954 established a number of special sub-sections, including an Institute of Ethnography. Its purpose was to discover the most efficient methods to accelerate the pace of development of the northern native peoples.⁶³

B. O. Dolgikh, an ethnographer specializing in northern studies, identified problems with the residential schools and the slow development of an intelligentsia as two reasons for the retarded rate of advancement of the educational system.

⁶³I. S. Gurvich, "Ten Years of Activity of the Northern Section, Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences, USSR," *Problems of the North* 11 (1967): 323.

The results of this and other studies were submitted to the Institute of Ethnography, and to senior party and government organizations, and formed the basis of a number of changes that occurred in the late 1950s.⁶⁴

During the 1957-1959 period, the government issued a number of decrees intended to promote the development of the northern native peoples. On March 16, 1957, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a decree entitled "On Measures for the Further Development of the Economy and Culture of the Peoples of the North." [*O merakh po dal'neishemu razvitiiu ekonomiki i kul'tury narodnostei severa*]. It called for an increase in native language publications, the training of more native peoples, the elimination of illiteracy, and an expansion of the school system.⁶⁵ The following year a second decree was issued entitled "On Reinforcing the Connection Between School and Life and the Further Development of the National Educational System in the USSR" [*Ob ukreplenii svyazi shkoly s zhizn'iu i o dal'neishem razvitii sistemy narodnogo*

⁶⁴Gurvich, "Ten Years of Activity of the Northern Section, Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences, USSR," 324.

⁶⁵Armstrong, "The Administration of Northern Peoples," 81; Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 136.

obrazovaniia v SSSR].⁶⁶ This legislation was to constitute the basis of educational policy in the north for the next decade.

One of the first steps taken was the publication of new textbooks in the native languages based on the linguistic and ethnographic information recently gathered in the national areas.⁶⁷ During the same period, efforts were made to re-design existing teaching programmes to make them more relevant and reflective of the technical and scientific evolution of Soviet society. This involved the introduction of additional disciplines to the curricula at all levels.⁶⁸ In 1958 a new teaching programme was published for all subjects contained in the curricula with the exception of language study which was issued as a separate document.⁶⁹

Although it was acknowledged that the new curriculum should be adapted to the requirements and circumstances of the local areas, the programmes adopted were, for all practical purposes, the same as the standard curricula employed in the

⁶⁶Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 41.

⁶⁷V. V. Lebedev, "Education, Employment, Economic Organizations and Health Services in the USSR Far North," *Inuktitut* (Fall, Winter, 1988): 96.

⁶⁸Ethel Dunn, "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North: The Limits of Cultural Change," *Arctic Anthropology* 5:1 (1968): 13.

⁶⁹Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 153.

central areas of the RSFSR.⁷⁰

In Chukotka, there were a number of shortcomings in the new curricula. One of the more important was the absence of training programmes for mechanics and technicians in the taiga and tundra areas. This was particularly important since the collectivization of the native peoples involved a reliance on mechanization.

Subsequent efforts to re-dress this problem proved to be inadequate because no consideration was given to the paucity of teachers with the necessary backgrounds to teach the additional courses. When this situation had still not been resolved by 1967, the Council of Ministers of the USSR directed the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education to place an additional 100 northern native people into existing higher technical schools.⁷¹

Few substantial innovations were made to the curricula until November 1966 when the Central Committee of the (CPSU) and the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a resolution for the Further Development of Work in General Secondary Schools [*O merakh dal'neishego uluchsheniia raboty srednei obshcheobrazovatel'noi shkoly*]. In May 1967 it was affirmed

⁷⁰Dunn, "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North," 13.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

by the Chukotka Regional Committee. According to this resolution, in the same year a new programme was to be introduced for the teaching of history, literature, and biology. During the 1968-1969 academic year, teaching programmes for other subjects were introduced. Within five years the teaching plan in secondary schools had undergone a major re-design. The first ten grades had thirty hours of core classes. For the seventh to tenth grades, 16 hours of elective classes were added to make better use of the students' leisure time. These changes were viewed as the optimum strategy for the transition to compulsory secondary education.⁷²

The reforms included instructions to local authorities to make every effort to attract and promote more native people into responsible positions outside their traditional occupations. The official motivation underlying this policy was two-fold. Native people were needed to supplement the labour force since there had been a decline in the number of forced labourers and to defray the high costs of the incentives required to attract workers from other areas of the USSR. It was also believed that this policy would produce a

⁷²N. N. Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei* [Essays of History of Chukotka from the Most Ancient Times up to the Present Days] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1974), 377.

rapprochement between Russians and the native people. Ethnographers, I. S. Gurvich and V. K. Gardanov, had misgivings about this policy. Gardanov suggested that the native populations were required to fill positions within their traditional economy. Gurvich believed that there would be greater harm than benefit to the overall economy of the north if native peoples left their traditional occupations and ultimately lost those skills.⁷³

Nevertheless, a number of "general labour poly-technical schools" were established to train native people. These schools, which operated at the local, regional, and state level consisted of programmes that reflected local requirements and the background of the children. The teachers were expected to prepare students to work in semi-skilled and skilled positions. In the north, these schools provided general courses for standard vocations such as tractor and truck drivers, electricians, book-keepers, and miners. These schools also trained students for traditional native vocations: reindeer-breeding management, fur bearing animal-breeding farms, and fishing cooperatives. In Magadan province, three of the major centres were the Magadan Technical Mining Institute, the Reindeer Breeding Qualification School, and a school in Chukotka at Provideniia

⁷³Armstrong, "The Administration of Northern Peoples," 80.

Bay specifically to train local peoples for the construction trades: brick-laying, carpentry, plastering, and heavy equipment operations.⁷⁴ Workshops were established in Uelen in Chukotka, to train professional artists in bone carving.⁷⁵ In effect, these schools served as the training ground for a more educated and diverse native labour force. One which would be better equipped to ensure the continuity of traditional occupations and, at the same time, be able to participate in the industrial development of the north.

The 1958 educational reform also addressed the alienation of young people from their traditional lifestyles. This was a problem throughout the Soviet Union, including Siberia. Children from among the northern native peoples tended to drop out of school from the fourth to sixth grades. In the Evenki national area, only 33.3 percent of the pupils who had entered school in 1950-1951 were still in school in 1957-1958. There were similar drop-out rates in the other regions of

⁷⁴Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," 182. This school was opened in 1957 and in 1960 was expanded to include mechanics. Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei*, 396.

⁷⁵Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 120; Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 67.

northeastern Siberia.⁷⁶

In an effort to entice children to remain in school, "work-education programmes" were established throughout the country. However, in the north, a survey of 36 schools in the 1963-1964 academic year revealed that only one had a complete programme that involved all areas of the traditional economy.⁷⁷ Accordingly, this programme did not significantly alter the status quo.

While efforts were made to comply with the resolutions set down in 1957, clearly there were problems in coordinating and developing a consensus as to the optimum design of the educational system for the northern native peoples. What was needed was a system that would facilitate the objectives of the government and ensure the full participation of the native people. The most obvious conclusion may be that the government, functioning on multi-tiered levels of authority, was unable to address the specific problems of specific areas. The larger concern was the development of a social-economic infrastructure that, at least theoretically, would allow all citizens to participate equitably. The problem that faced the authorities was to provide effectively for the education of

⁷⁶Ethel Dunn, "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North," 11.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

the native peoples within the larger context of the dominant Russian and other non-native populations of Siberia.

Despite the inherent problems within the general educational system, on balance there had been some progress. The Chukchi, for example, had been attending institutions of higher learning since 1927 and continued to do so in increasing numbers. In 1960, there were 400 or approximately three percent of the Chukchi peoples, studying in institutions of higher learning.⁷⁸

Among the initiatives that the government undertook to reform the educational system, arguably the most important was to increase compulsory education from seven to eight years in 1958.⁷⁹ One year may not appear to be substantial; however, the long term plan was to use this change as a pre-cursor to the introduction of compulsory secondary education by 1970. Advances in the scientific, technological, and industrial fields would require a more educated labour force.⁸⁰

As this and the other reforms presented to this point suggest, the educational policies developed in the late 1950s

⁷⁸Dunn, "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North," 7.

⁷⁹Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 41.

⁸⁰Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 65.

and 1960s were designed to produce a strong labour force in support of economic objectives. In fact, during this period, economic policy was indirectly linked to educational policy and, as a result, economic interests significantly influenced the development of the educational system.

Four factors dominated educational policy throughout the 1960s. All related to the economy and had an impact upon the native peoples: compulsory eight-year education; the massive in-migration of workers from other parts of the USSR; the re-settlement of the nomadic populations; and the closing down of small villages consisting of native peoples, and their relocation to new settlements or to existing large population centres.

Compulsory eight-year education resulted in the merging of elementary and seven-year schools into eight-year schools where children from the native population were transferred from small national schools to new, larger, multi-ethnic institutions.

The massive influx of in-migrants has already been described. It is worth noting that the State Planning Commission acknowledged that the Siberian north was still at a "low level of development" but accounted, nevertheless, for a significant proportion of the raw resources in the USSR. The high cost of capital investment was justified because of the potential economic return from all sectors, particularly

gold mining.⁸¹ At the 23rd Party Congress in 1966, intensified development of Siberia and the Far East was included in the Five Year Plan.⁸² This led to the continuation of the immigration of workers, causing the focus of the educational system to shift even further from catering to the needs of the native people to addressing the needs of the in-migrant majority: Russians. This process accelerated throughout the 1960s at an ever increasing rate.

Of equal importance were the initiatives taken by the government to complete the settlement of the nomadic populations. As in the early 1950s when the process had first begun in earnest, these settlements offered many social and public amenities, including schools, apartments and health facilities.⁸³ The Council of Ministers of the USSR, on March 20, 1960, passed a decree that nomadism was to be eliminated within a three year period.⁸⁴ Although this goal has yet to be fully attained, substantial numbers of the nomadic

⁸¹"Resolution of the Second Plenum of the Interdepartmental Commission on Problems of the North of the Council on the Study of Factors of Production, Gosplan, USSR, June 1-3, 1964," *Problems of the North* 9 (1966): 359.

⁸²Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 52.

⁸³Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 115-116.

⁸⁴Steven P. Dunn and Ethel Dunn, "Transformation of Economy and Culture in the Soviet North," *Arctic Anthropology* 1:2 (1963): 6.

population were affected. Between 1952 and 1970, 12,000 families or approximately 52,000 to 75,000 individuals were settled in communities.⁸⁵ The children of these re-settled populations were compelled to transfer from small schools with a homogeneous population to ethnically-mixed institutions.

In addition, small settlements with native populations were closed and the residents were moved to new or larger communities. One Eskimosy village on the Bering Strait, Naukan, provides an example of the rationale for these moves. It was closed in 1958 because it was difficult to service and deemed to be in an inconvenient location.⁸⁶ Many of these moves were ill-planned and detrimental to the economy of the native peoples. In some cases, the best hunting and fishing sites were abandoned and there were insufficient resources at the new locations for the native peoples to continue their occupations at previous levels. However, these moves provided the native peoples with direct access to medical facilities

⁸⁵Walter Slipchenko, *Siberia, 1971: A Report on the Visit of the Honourable Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Official Delegation to the Soviet Union, July-August, 1971* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972), 32.

⁸⁶Terence Armstrong, "Soviet Government Policy Towards Northern Peoples of the USSR," in *Arctic Policy Conference* ed. M. A. Stenbaek (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1985), 148.

and other services.⁸⁷ As of the early 1970s, the native peoples of the Chukchi District lived in 44 villages, two workers' settlements, and two towns.⁸⁸

The official reason for the resettlement of nomadic peoples was that it provided the nomadic peoples access to the full advantages of Soviet society. In practice, it improved the efficiency of and reduced the costs associated with administrating them. It also placed them into settlements where their children could take full advantage of all educational opportunities and receive "proper" guidance.

In summary, four factors led to the closing of small national schools and the construction of larger schools that were more economical and effective: the merging of full-size primary, eight-year, and secondary schools; the closing or consolidation of settlements; the settlement of nomads; and the 1958 law enacting eight-year compulsory education.⁸⁹ This included the building of standard schools but particular attention was given to expanding the network of residential

⁸⁷V. A. Vasil'ev, Iu. B. Simchenko and Z. P. Sokolova, "Problems of the Reconstruction of Daily Life among the Small Peoples of the Far North," *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 5:2 (Fall, 1966):19.

⁸⁸Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 346.

⁸⁹Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 64; Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 349.

schools for the children of parents who were engaged in traditional occupations.⁹⁰

In the 1960s, there was a rapid increase in the development of the school system and student enrolment. In 1958, there were 238 residential schools in the national areas and by 1970 nearly all native children were accommodated in these schools. While the total number of schools remained relatively constant throughout this period at 600, in fact, small national schools were shut down and replaced primarily with large residential facilities.⁹¹ The capacity of these schools is reflected in the number of children they accommodated. In 1956 there were 40,000 pupils attending schools in the national districts, including 7000 pupils from the native populations.⁹² By 1966, there were about 90,000 students of whom approximately 22,500 were from the native populations.⁹³ As a point of interest, at the end of the 1950s, there were also nearly 500 northern native people

⁹⁰Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 65.

⁹¹Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 156; Gurvich, "Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR," 32

⁹²Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 156.

⁹³Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 41.

studying in universities throughout the country.⁹⁴

In Chukotka, by 1960 there were more than 100 schools of which 37 were residential schools. About 25 percent of the entire budget for the district was allocated for education.⁹⁵ By 1963, there were approximately 49 residential school in the Chukchi District with accommodations for an estimated 2000 children from the native population.⁹⁶ In that year, the state assigned 20 million rubles to education, a four-fold increase from the assignment in 1954.⁹⁷ This increase is, of course, relative. In the late 1920s, it cost the state 435 rubles a year to educate one child in a residential school;⁹⁸ by 1960-61, this figure had increased to 7500 rubles.⁹⁹

As of 1970, there were 43 elementary schools, 12 eight-year schools, and 19 ten-year schools in the Chukchi

⁹⁴Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 357.

⁹⁵Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de L'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 121.

⁹⁶Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitiie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 158; Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 353.

⁹⁷Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 353.

⁹⁸Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*, 271.

⁹⁹Vdovin, *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei*, 388.

District.¹⁰⁰

The total student enrolment increased concomitantly with the construction of larger schools.¹⁰¹ As the following table indicates the total student enrolment tripled, and native enrolment more than doubled in the Chukotka District during the 1958-1970 period.

Student Enrolment Growth in the Chukchi District				
1958-1970				
Year	1958	1965	1967	1970
Total Students	4611	8965	11077	15500
Native Students	1711	2609	2796	3436

Traditionally, most of the schools that served the nomadic populations and isolated settlements had been small and

¹⁰⁰Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 378; Lebedev, "Education, Employment, Economic Organizations and Health Services in the USSR Far North," 94. An Eight-year education is equivalent to an "incomplete secondary education," a ten-year education is equivalent to "complete secondary" and higher education refers to university training. Arkadi Cherkasov, "The Native Population of the Soviet North: Language, Education, and Employment," *Musk-Ox* 30 (1982): 69.

¹⁰¹Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 350. Lebedev states that in 1965 there were 9,200 students in the Chukchi District. Lebedev, "Education, Employment, Economic Organizations and Health Services in the USSR Far North," 94; Boitsova, "Shkola narodov krainego severa," 155-56 and Leont'ev, *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg*, 146.

scattered in order to reach all children, especially those of reindeer herders and hunters. Few schools in the larger centres were equipped with residential facilities and the number of children from the native peoples attending them was relatively small, approximately 10-15 percent.¹⁰² Since the children who attended these schools only remained for the elementary grades, the influence on their language, culture and life-styles was minimal.¹⁰³ The children who attended small local schools remained within the family environment and, therefore, the influence of these schools was negligible.

The transfer of native children into large residential facilities located in towns and regional centres caused a number of difficulties for pupils from the native populations. The dominant ethnic group in these new schools was normally Russian -- on average about 40 percent.¹⁰⁴ Thus, native children from any one ethnic group rarely formed the majority of the student body. These schools exposed the native

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁰³S. N. Eremin and M. M. Traskunogo, "Problemy vospitaniia i obrazovaniia molodezhi narodnostei severa," [Problems of Upbringing and Education of the Youth of the Peoples of the North] in *Narody Sibiri na sovremennom etape natsional'nye i regional'nye osobennosti razvitiia* [Peoples of Siberia in the Modern Stage of National and Regional Peculiarities of Development] ed. I. S. Shmakov (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1989), 116.

¹⁰⁴Leont'ev, *Khoziastvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg*, 147.

children to a new way of life based upon Russian culture and traditions. With rare exceptions, no provisions were made at residential schools for the special needs of the native children, nor was there any effort to conduct training in the native language.

In Chukotka, children from the native population who found themselves in this alien environment had trouble coping, and either fell behind the other students or dropped out of school completely. Their parents, as a rule, did not force the children to continue their education.¹⁰⁵ This may have been because the parents were less than satisfied with the effect of boarding schools upon their children. In most cases, upon returning home, the children had to be re-acclimatized to their traditional homelife, even with regard to diet.¹⁰⁶ In 1961-1962 the children in the boarding schools on Sakhalin Island, for example, refused to eat the unfamiliar food provided by the school. They subsisted on tea, bread and candy which led their parents to accuse the school authorities of "starving their children." In addition, ethnographers were critical of the physical fitness programmes provided at northern boarding schools: one suggested that the

¹⁰⁵Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 218.

¹⁰⁶Dunn and Dunn, "Transformation of Economy and Culture in the Soviet North," 22.

boarding-school environment was "ultimately detrimental to the health of future reindeer-breeders, hunters and fishermen."¹⁰⁷ The transfer to compulsory eight-year education simply exacerbated the problem since the children remained in school longer.¹⁰⁸

It is significant that when children from the native populations attended national schools, where they formed the majority, they had few problems adjusting to the school environment and academically progressed at a rate commensurate with Russian students.¹⁰⁹

Some educators believed that ethnically-mixed schools were difficult for children from native populations because of the language requirements. In 1959 an educator in Yakutia wrote the following:

one must recognize as wrong the simultaneous study in Yakut schools of three languages, demanding 50 per cent of the students' classroom time. This leads to neglect of other disciplines and overloads the student. . . . Such a heavy load makes too great a demand on the intellect and nervous system of their not

¹⁰⁷Ethel Dunn, "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North: The Limits of Cultural Change," *Arctic Anthropology* 5:1 (1968) Appendix [Notes Toward a Medical Sociology of the Small Peoples of the North], 23.

¹⁰⁸Eremin and Traskunogo, "Problemy vospitaniia i obrazovaniia molodezhi narodnostei severa," 116.

¹⁰⁹Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 218.

yet fully developed organism.¹¹⁰

Discounting the histrionics of this statement, there are difficulties associated with a child attempting to learn three languages while assimilating the normal school curriculum. The extent to which this requirement was a function of the curriculum is unknown; however, the multi-ethnic composition of these schools would have made it necessary for native children to learn other languages in order to integrate socially. The requirement of children to develop multi-language capabilities was not limited to the Yakut area. According to an enquiry held in 1962, 60 percent of the Eskimos were trilingual.¹¹¹

Some fundamental correction was needed to help the native peoples cope with the new environment of the expanded school system. The basic premise was that the solution had to be introduced at a level that would help children from the first day of school. The option adopted was the expansion of pre-school institutions.

Pre-school institutions provided facilities for children from two months to seven years of age. These schools were

¹¹⁰As cited in Jacob Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy," in *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* ed. Erich Goldhagen (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), 125.

¹¹¹Nielsen, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," 242.

intended to assist in the physical and intellectual development of the children in an effort to prepare them for entry into the general education system. Some of these institutions were opened on a 24-hour, year-round basis and served as "holding pens" for children whose parents were engaged in the traditional occupations.¹¹²

However, during the 1960s the demand for nursery schools had increased proportionally with the increase in the number of native peoples who took advantage of these facilities.¹¹³ By 1970, there were 500 pre-school institutions serving a total of 25,000 children, including approximately 8000 from the native population.¹¹⁴ In Magadan Province, there were sufficient pre-schools to accommodate 60 percent of children. Though this figure exceeded the national average, provisions were made to increase the level further to approximately 90 percent.¹¹⁵

These institutions were instrumental in the development

¹¹²Leont'ev, *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg*, 147; Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 71.

¹¹³Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 71.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵T. V. Troshina, "The Development of Service Industries in the Northern Regions of the Far East," *Problems of the North* 15 (1971): 388.

of Russian language capabilities among pre-school children since generally the teachers and the majority of the children were Russian.¹¹⁶

One area of policy that remained relatively consistent from its inception in the late 1920s and through the reform period was teacher training programmes. The programmes initially established in Leningrad expanded, and additional facilities were gradually added in local centres of the national districts. Between 1952 and 1969, approximately 700 teachers from the northern native peoples were trained in Leningrad at the Herzen Institute.¹¹⁷ During the period 1951-1965 this institute trained 25 people to teach the Russian language, literature, and the native languages; five for mathematics and physics; six for geography; and six for primary schools in the Chukchi territory.¹¹⁸ These figures indicate that this institute trained less than two people per year on average for Chukotka. Notwithstanding this factor, the Herzen Institute remained an important centre for northern native studies though increasingly the role of training

¹¹⁶Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 146

¹¹⁷Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 64; Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 69-70.

¹¹⁸Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 378.

teachers devolved to local centres. The main training centre for teachers in Chukotka was at Anadyr. From 1959 to 1965, this institution graduated 346 teachers of whom 141 were Chukchi and 37 were Eskimosy.¹¹⁹ It trained more than one-third of the 870 teachers working in Chukotka in 1967.¹²⁰ It also undertook the training of pre-school teachers.¹²¹ In 1970, there were 5,950 teachers with advanced education working in the north, including 1,500 from the northern nationalities.¹²²

In 1957 measures had been taken to improve the skills of teachers working in northern primary schools. One-year advanced refresher courses were established at the Herzen Institute.¹²³ From 1957 to 1969, a total of 683 northern teachers, or an average of 57 per year, attended these

¹¹⁹Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 357. Leont'ev agrees with the number of graduates but states that it occurred between 1939 and 1967. Leont'ev, *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg*, 150.

¹²⁰Vdovin, "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches," 119.

¹²¹Leont'ev, *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg*, 149.

¹²²Danilov, "Cultural Situation and Education in the Soviet North," 69.

¹²³Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 289.

courses.¹²⁴

Despite generous incentives which included special salary bonuses, extended vacations, and early retirements for working in the north, it remained difficult to retain teachers from outside areas.¹²⁵ In some areas of Siberia in the mid 1960s, the number of teachers who left was almost as great as those who were incoming, a direct result of poor living conditions, especially in the more remote areas.¹²⁶

The final reform to be described here is language policy as it relates to education. It has been placed at this point because the implementation of the other reforms influenced the degree to which the legislation on language policy was realized. As already stated, by the mid 1950s in-migration into Siberia had affected the extent to which native peoples could receive schooling in their own languages. This, in turn, led to an erosion of native language use especially among the younger members of the various ethnic groups. Though repeated attempts were made between the late 1950s and 1970s to correct this situation, the trend continued. In

¹²⁴Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 71.

¹²⁵Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 71

¹²⁶Jaan Pennar, Ivan I. Bakalo and George Z. F. Bereday, *Modernization and Diversity in Soviet Education* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 150.

fact, during this period, the common practice was to follow the trends existing within the rest of Soviet society¹²⁷ and educational legislation for the north became little more than a paper exercise, especially language policy.

The first language reform occurred in 1958. It was designed to strengthen the connection between school and traditional lifestyles. On November 12 of that year, the Central Committee of the CPSU approved 'Thesis 19.' It granted parents the option of having their children study either Russian or a minority language in schools, if there were sufficient children from the native population to form a class and if there was a teacher available with the requisite skills.¹²⁸ It also gave parents the right to decide whether their children would study their native language as a subject in schools where the language of instruction was exclusively Russian.¹²⁹ This proposal was debated in the Supreme Soviet and on December 28, 1958 it was decided that incorporation of this resolution would be left to the individual republics. It

¹²⁷Shimkin and Shimkin, "Population Dynamics in Northeastern Siberia, 1650/1700 to 1970," 17.

¹²⁸Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver, "Some Factors in the Linguistic and Ethnic Russification of Soviet Nationalities: Is Everyone Becoming Russian," in *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*. eds. Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990), 106.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 101.

was almost universally adopted.¹³⁰

The entrenchment of language rights in the reform period did not necessarily, in and of itself, diminish the influence of Russian in the educational system. While it granted both native peoples and Russians the right to choose the language of instruction for their children, there was a fundamental flaw in this reform. Native peoples were more likely to choose to have their children study Russian, rather than their native language, because it increased their opportunities for employment. There was virtually no incentive for Russian parents to have their children study the languages of the northern native peoples.¹³¹ Thus, as Russians became the majority in northern areas, the importance and overall use of the minority languages diminished.¹³² Legislation which provided for native language instruction in the first two grades was still in force. However, the paucity of teachers made this policy and the guarantee of choice of language study

¹³⁰Jacob Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy," 126; Yaroslav Bilinsky, "The Soviet Education Laws of 1958-9 and Soviet Nationality Policy," *Soviet Studies* 14 (1962-63): 138.

¹³¹Harry Lipset, "The Status of National Minority Languages in Soviet Education," *Soviet Studies* 19:2 (October, 1967): 187.

¹³²Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 140.

in schools impossible to implement on any meaningful scale.¹³³ As a consequence, the extensive publication of educational materials in the native language in many cases went unused.¹³⁴ The closure of small national schools compounded the problem.¹³⁵

Soviet language policy before 1959 had two seemingly mutually exclusive objectives: the enhancement and development of the native languages, and the development of a common language for all peoples of the Soviet Union. To have achieved both of these objectives, the government would have had to embark on the development of realistic training programme for both Russian and native languages and accorded both languages a reasonable degree of parity in the school curricula. Notwithstanding the official attempts to appease the native populations, the overriding goal of the educational policy had been and continued to be to establish Russian as

¹³³Armstrong, Rogers and Rowley, *Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic*, 50.

¹³⁴V. K. Gardanov, B. O. Dolgikh and T. A. Zhdanko, "Osnovnye napravleniia etnicheskikh protsessov u narodov SSSR," [Basic Direction of Ethnic Processes Among the Peoples of the USSR] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4 (1961): 25.

¹³⁵Even in the pre-reform period, the study of Russian in the Chukchi national area was decreasing. As stated previously, during the decade before the reform the number of schools in Chukotka remained relatively the same but the number of national schools declined from 55 to 32. Nielson, "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples," 243.

the universal language of the Soviet Union. Probably one of the best examples of the dichotomy in articulating language policy was the comments Khrushchev made in a speech before the 22nd Party Congress in 1960:

One cannot fail to note the growing striving of the non-Russian peoples to acquire the Russian language which has become in effect the second native language for the peoples of the U.S.S.R....The process actually now taking place of voluntary study of the Russian language is of positive significance for the development of cooperation between nations. A process of bringing nations closer together is taking place in our country; their social homogeneity is being strengthened.¹³⁶

In the draft programme for the same Congress, he confirmed the support of the CPSU for the free development of the languages of the peoples of the USSR. Moreover, he reaffirmed the right of all Soviet citizens "to speak, educate, and teach his children in any language, with no special privileges, restrictions, or compulsions in the use of this or that language."¹³⁷

If Khrushchev had limited his comments to these policy statements, there would have been a clear signal that Russian and native languages were to develop in tandem. However, he

¹³⁶As cited in Erich Goldhagen, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* ed. Erich Goldhagen (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), xi.

¹³⁷Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy," 129.

went on to say that:

...the obliteration of national distinctions, and especially of language distinctions, is a considerably longer process than the obliteration of class distinctions... The Party neither ignores nor exaggerates national characteristics.¹³⁸

This remark clearly indicates the intention over the long-term of eliminating native and all other non-Russian languages or relegating them to positions of insignificance within Soviet society. Furthermore, in 1961, the Communist Party confirmed the policy of russification as part of its programme.¹³⁹

Subsequently, a number of arguments were developed to justify the increased use of Russian in schools. The most important was that Russian was the most developed language, that is, the language of science of technology, as well as the language of the majority of the people.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, if non-Russian individuals wished to participate fully in society, particularly in the areas of science and technology and sought access to all available materials, Russian was essential.

¹³⁸Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy," 130.

¹³⁹Bilinsky, "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967," 418.

¹⁴⁰John A. Armstrong, "The Ethnic Scene in the Soviet Union: The View of the Dictatorship," in *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* ed. Erich Goldhagen (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968) 4.

Furthermore, officials in the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR expressed the wish to terminate publications in northern native languages and to use Russian exclusively in order to assist these minority languages in "dying off all the sooner."¹⁴¹

From 1960, in Chukotka, as in other national areas, the education administration decreased the study of native languages and, in some national schools, they were studied only as a subject. At the same time, the publication of textbooks for the Chukchi was decreased.¹⁴² This policy was reflected in the attitude of some teachers, throughout the north, who began to punish children if they spoke any language but Russian at school. Parents were asked not to speak their native language to their children in order to assist the children in adapting to the "future mono-ethnic Soviet state."¹⁴³

These attitudes, however, did not reflect the attitude of the native peoples toward their own language. According to the socio-linguistic study carried out in 1965 in villages of Chukotka and surrounding regions, members of the Scientific

¹⁴¹Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy," 133-34.

¹⁴²Krushanova, *Istoria i kul'tura Chukchei*, 218.

¹⁴³This policy was never officially announced or published. Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 18.

Investigation Institute found that the majority of native people used their own language at work and in their daily lives. They wished to have radio transmissions and newspapers in their native languages and to have it taught at least in pre-school institutions and primary school.¹⁴⁴

It should be noted that the emphasis on Russian did not eliminate the publication of books in the native languages. By 1966, there were 129 works of fiction, nine works on folklore, and 170 books on education and politics in the Chukchi language.¹⁴⁵

By the late 1960s, the dramatic increase in the number of children from the native populations who were entering primary school with little or no knowledge of their native language concerned teachers and native parents. This problem was the direct result of placing native children into pre-schools where the dominant, sometimes sole language, was Russian. This was a particular problem among the Chukchi and Evenki children whose parents lived on the tundra, herding reindeer. Parents and children were often separated for five to six month periods, and the children after two or three months of concentrating on Russian began to forget their native

¹⁴⁴A. I. Fedorov, "The Contemporary Linguistic Situation in the Non-Russian Regions of Siberia and Its Investigations," *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 22:1 (Summer, 1983): 45.

¹⁴⁵Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North*, 149.

language.¹⁴⁶

The status of native languages among the northern native peoples was the subject of a special enquiry in the late 1960s. The consensus was that Russian was replacing the native languages among young people, and that the continuation of this trend would cause a serious language barrier between the generations.¹⁴⁷ Significantly, the enquiry found that there had been a substantial increase in bilingualism among the native populations.¹⁴⁸ It also found that parents wanted their children to study both the native languages and Russian in schools.¹⁴⁹ The school policy at this time was to limit native language instruction to those children who entered primary classes with no knowledge of Russian.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶Leont'ev, *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg*, 149.

¹⁴⁷Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 148.

¹⁴⁸Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 140. There are two kinds of bilingualism prevalent in the North. One uses simple Russian speech which contains elements of the native language while the second resulted from the study of literary Russian in school. A. I. Fedorov, "The Contemporary Linguistic Situation in the non-Russian Regions of Siberia and Its Investigations," *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, 22:1 (Summer, 1983): 40-42.

¹⁴⁹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 140.

¹⁵⁰Gurvich, "Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR," 32.

By 1970, only one of the 26 northern languages (Nentsy) was used as the medium for instruction in schools and this was limited to primary grades. Most native languages played no role in the educational process.¹⁵¹ In the same year, as a measure to offset the influence of Russian on native children, the study of native languages as a subject was introduced into primary classes of national schools, and in pre-schools in the second half of the first year.¹⁵² As a result by 1972, the Eskimosy language was taught as a subject; Chukchi schools adopted a similar approach.¹⁵³

Thus, the primary outcome of the language policy was extensive bilingualism among the native population. However, the secondary outcome was russification which was the underlying objective of the government's policy.¹⁵⁴

Although the discussion of language policy to this point has highlighted some of the negative impacts, there is an equally compelling argument that it helped to enhance some aspects of the native people's lives. It allowed an

¹⁵¹Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 18.

¹⁵²Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 378.

¹⁵³Armstrong, "Soviet Government Policy Towards Northern Peoples of the USSR," 145.

¹⁵⁴Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 18.

increasing number of native people direct access to "modern culture and science at a time of tremendous advance in society, science and technology."¹⁵⁵ It also provided many of them with the language capability and the education required to qualify for the new occupations that became available with the industrialization of the North. The 25th Congress of the CPSU which convened in February, 1976 reiterated the importance of the Russian language: "Russian has in fact become the common language of cross-national communication and cooperation among all the peoples of the USSR." As a consequence, the Ministry of Education emphasized the importance of studying Russian, even in national schools.¹⁵⁶

The Director of the Research Institute for National Schools of the RSFSR Ministry of Education, in an interview, summarized the importance of Russian:

A person who knows Russian has access to practically all the riches of human thought. The Russian language is important for communication in everyday living; thousands of students from many foreign countries receive their education in it; it is being widely used by business people; and finally it is becoming a language of communication in outer space.

¹⁵⁵Danilov, "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North," 66.

¹⁵⁶R. K. Chernikov, "The National School Today and Tomorrow: An Interview," *Soviet Sociology* 16:1 (Summer, 1977): 83. Interviewer was M. Iunusov, correspondent for *Nauka i religii*.

One may say with confidence that those who know Russian are in an advantageous position no matter what occupation they choose.¹⁵⁷

Although these comments may have overstated the universal importance of Russian, the message was clear -- proficiency in the Russian language was necessary to obtain the full advantages of Soviet society. Yet, the government continued to guarantee language rights. In the following year, "the opportunity to use the mother tongue and languages of other peoples of the USSR," and "the opportunity for school instruction in their native language" were affirmed in Articles 36 and 45 respectively of the 1977 constitution.¹⁵⁸ Thus, continued the 20-year long practice of issuing conflicting signals on the direction that Soviet language policy should take. While there does not appear to have been any official policy to eliminate the national languages, the educational system had evolved in such a manner, either by accident or design, that native language training was impractical on any meaningful level.

The degree to which any native language was affected by

¹⁵⁷Chernikov, "The National School Today and Tomorrow," 83.

¹⁵⁸Anderson and Silver, "Some Factors in the Linguistic and Ethnic Russification of Soviet Nationalities," 98; See also Konstantin U. Chernenko, *Human Rights in Soviet Society* (New York: International Publishers, 1981), 47.

the language policy was, to a large extent, a function of the extent of the interaction between the native peoples and Russians. For example, among the Chukchi and Eskimosy who lived in relative isolation until they were resettled, the impact was less pronounced than on native peoples who lived in urban areas. With the education of the youth in Russian, three strata of language abilities emerged. The young used Russian as their primary language, the middle generation knew both the native language and Russian and the older generation knew only the native language. This resulted in communication barriers, in some cases, between parents and children which were even more pronounced between grandchildren and their grandparents.

The influence of Russian upon the Chukchi and Eskimosy native languages can be traced through an examination of the census figures from 1926 to 1979. In 1926, 99.3 percent of the Chukchi considered the language of their nationality to be their mother tongue. The percentage had dropped to 93.3 percent in 1959, to 82.6 percent in 1970 and to 73.8 percent by 1979.¹⁵⁹ In 1926, 98.1 percent of the Eskimosy considered

¹⁵⁹Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 146; Canada, *Statistics on the Economic and Cultural Development of the Northern Aboriginal People of the USSR for the Period 1980-1989* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Circumpolar Affairs Division, 1991), 13.

the language of their nationality to be their native language. By 1959, this figure had dropped to 84 percent and by 1970 it was 60 percent.¹⁶⁰ The percentage remained relatively constant through the next decade.¹⁶¹ These trends are comparable with the continued decline of native languages among all other native peoples. According to the 1979 census, 61.8 percent of the peoples of the north considered the language of their nationality to be their native language.¹⁶²

While Russian was unquestionably replacing the native languages, there were instances in which some members of the smaller native groups were adopting languages from larger ones. This occurred when two native groups lived in close proximity. Some of the Evenki and the Eveny who lived in Yakutia adopted Yakut as their native language and similarly some Eskimosy adopted the Chukchi language.¹⁶³ This occurred as a natural outcome of the emphasis on the dominant native language in a region. The same pressures that existed to

¹⁶⁰Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 146.

¹⁶¹Canada, *Statistics on the Economic and Cultural Development of the Northern Aboriginal Peoples of the USSR for the Period 1980-1989*, 13.

¹⁶²Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 143.

¹⁶³Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 145.

learn Russian throughout the north also influenced the numerically smaller native peoples to learn the dominant native language of a given area.

Throughout the late 1950s and 1960s children from the northern native peoples were required to make a number of personal adjustments upon entering the educational system. As of 1970 in Chukotka, 79.8 percent of native students had finished eight-year school.¹⁶⁴ Of this group, 93 percent either continued into the ninth grade or into specialized secondary education.¹⁶⁵ However, only 14.1 percent of those who entered secondary school graduated.¹⁶⁶

The members of the national minorities who graduated from institutions of higher learning went on to serve in their communities in all professions, including education.¹⁶⁷ As of 1961, there were 1500 personnel working in the areas of education and health in the Chukchi District. This included

¹⁶⁴Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 219. According to Armstrong, Rogers and Rowley, "the number of students who had reached the secondary education level for the smaller nationalities, like the Chukchi, was 25 percent." Armstrong, Rogers and Rowley, *Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic*, 50.

¹⁶⁵Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 377.

¹⁶⁶Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 219.

¹⁶⁷Belikov, "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR," 289.

84 teachers and 66 medical personnel from the northern native people.¹⁶⁸ By 1969 there were 200 native peoples in education and 78 in medicine.¹⁶⁹ Others became politicians or economists, many at senior levels.¹⁷⁰ By the end of 1970, a total of 640 members of the native people were serving in professional positions. Approximately 60 percent were involved in education, medicine and cultural activities while the remainder worked in administration, or for the Party or local Soviets.¹⁷¹

The education of the native people, particularly the youth, had a second consequence. It changed and raised their social expectations. Up to 1959, an estimated 70-75 percent of all native peoples were engaged in traditional occupations: reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, and agriculture.¹⁷² Even into the 1960s, officials encouraged the native youth to

¹⁶⁸Dikov, *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 357.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 379.

¹⁷⁰Taksami, "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa," 187.

¹⁷¹Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 160.

¹⁷²A. I. Pika and B. B. Prokhorov, "Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov," [Big Problems of Small Peoples] *Kommunist* 16 (1988): 80; A. N. Zaitsev, "Food Consumption of the People of the Far North and its Effects on Health," *Problems of the North* 19 (1970): 291.

return to these occupations after completing school because the in-migrants would have more difficulty performing them.¹⁷³ Most of the native peoples did return because the government provided incentives to work in these occupations.¹⁷⁴ However, an anomaly existed. These incentives, which could pay a reindeer herder as much as a miner were only paid to northern peoples who worked on state farms (*sovkhozy*).¹⁷⁵ Those working on collective farms (*kolkhozy*) were not considered wage earners and were not considered eligible for the bonuses.¹⁷⁶

Nevertheless, prolonged attendance in boarding schools, and exposure to urban lifestyles made traditional occupations less attractive to the native youth, and fewer and fewer wished to return to them.¹⁷⁷

In the 1975-1976 period, a number of studies were conducted to determine the attitudes of the younger generation

¹⁷³Armstrong, Rogers and Rowley, *Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic*, 52.

¹⁷⁴Terence Armstrong, "Notes on a Visit to Yakutskaya ASSR, July 1967," *Polar Record* 14:89 (1968): 181.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶Armstrong, Rowley and Rogers, *Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic*, 52.

¹⁷⁷Stephen P. Dunn and Ethel Dunn, "The Peoples of the Siberia and the Far East," in *Russia and Asia: Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples* ed. Wayne S. Vucinich (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), 305-6; Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia*, 400.

to traditional occupations.¹⁷⁸ Many young people considered these jobs menial. The following reasons were given for eschewing reindeer herding as an occupation:

1. these jobs were "economically backward" and had low status.
2. The relatively low pay for physically demanding difficult work.
3. The reduced opportunity for marriage.
4. The difficulties of living a nomadic lifestyles on a year-round basis.¹⁷⁹

Such attitudes led to an acute shortage of reindeer herders in the Chukchi District so that by the end of the 1970s, only one-third of the required herdsmen were being recruited into the profession, despite relatively generous incentives. The Chukchi and Eskimosy youth believed that technical professions provided greater prestige and, therefore entered these professions after completing school.¹⁸⁰

The decline in interest in hunting can be traced back to the 1950s. From 1953 to 1957, there was a decrease of 19

¹⁷⁸I. A. Argunov, "Some Problems of Rural Youth in Yakutia," *Soviet Sociology* 18:1 (Summer, 1979): 23.

¹⁷⁹Pika and Prokhorov, "Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov," 80; Helmut Liely, "Shepherds and Reindeer Nomads in the Soviet Union," *Soviet Studies* 31:3 (July, 1979): 411.

¹⁸⁰Cherkasov, "The Native Population of the Soviet North," 71.

percent in the number of northern native hunters. Moreover, by 1959, approximately half of all hunters were over the age 40.¹⁸¹ The decline in interest in hunting as a profession among the youth continued into the late 1970s.

The preference of the youth for non-traditional jobs did not always translate into successful careers. Many found themselves consigned to unskilled and poor paying jobs in urban centres. In 1959, only 13 percent of the native peoples were in these jobs, but the trend continued at an ever increasing rate into the 1980s.¹⁸²

The 1960s had marked the beginning of the development of a school system that would eventually provide for universal secondary education in the North. By January 1, 1975 there were 463 schools providing general education with an enrolment of 138,000 students, including 26,500 children of native peoples.¹⁸³ In the Chukchi District, more than 65 percent of

¹⁸¹Dunn, "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North," 10.

¹⁸²Pika and Prokhorov, "Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov," 80.

¹⁸³V. Uvachan, "Perekhod malykh narodov severa ot rodovogo stroia k razvitomu sotsializmu," [Transition of the Small Peoples of the North from Patrimonial Level to the Development of Socialism] *Letopis' severa* 8 (1977): 33. According to Meliakov, in the 1975/76 academic year there were 469 schools in the seven national areas accommodating 135,400 students, including more than 27,000 children from the native populations. Meliakov, "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa," 47.

children of pre-school age attended kindergartens and day nurseries, 97.2 percent of school-age children were attending secondary school, including 99.1 percent of those of the indigenous populations.¹⁸⁴ By 1977 universal secondary education had been virtually accomplished.¹⁸⁵ In the period between 1970 and 1979, among the Chukchi, the number of specialists with incomplete higher and secondary specialized education almost doubled and the number of specialists with higher education increased approximately two and one half times.¹⁸⁶

Part of the reason for the success of the programme in the late 1970s may be attributed to measures designed to reduce the number of students who were dropping out of school. In the Chukchi area, for example, 13 night schools, two correspondence schools, and over 40 tutorial-study centres were opened. In 1980 more than 870 Chukchi were using these

¹⁸⁴L. G. Tynel' and B. A. Zhuravlev, "Sovershenstvovanie kompetentsii soveta avtonomnogo okruga," [Perfecting the Competence of the Soviet of an Autonomous District] *Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo* 11 (November, 1977): 48.

¹⁸⁵R. K. Chernikov, "The National School Today and Tomorrow: An Interview," *Soviet Sociology* 16:1 (Summer, 1977): 81; Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 158.

¹⁸⁶V. I. Boiko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa*, [Socio-Economic Development of the Peoples of the North] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1988), 74.

facilities.¹⁸⁷

In February, 1980 the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted another resolution to promote economic and social development. It directed the Academy of Sciences to begin intensive investigations of northern native languages and to ensure that each language had a written form. The Ministry of Education in conjunction with the the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Ministry for Advanced and Intermediate Specialist Training, the State Committee on Publishing and Polygraphy, and the Council of Ministers were to ensure the formulation of training programmes and the development and publication of textbooks, visual teaching aids and dictionaries for schools providing general education. Visual aids and teaching programmes were also to be created for pre-school institutions.¹⁸⁸ In addition, the Ministry of Culture was directed to initiate plans to establish a network of mobile cultural and educational facilities in the northern districts.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 220.

¹⁸⁸Sobranie postanovlenii pravitel'stva soiuz sovetskikh sotsialisticheskikh respublikh (Collected Resolutions of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) 7 (Kremlin, Moscow: February 7, 1980).

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*

To recapitulate, the educational system in Siberia had been dedicated to the advancement of the native peoples. During the next three decades, that is, from 1960 to 1990, national-economic imperatives consistently took precedence over the needs of the northern native peoples. The educational system gradually shifted from one that was designed to socialize the native peoples to one that focussed on the Russian majority and the need for a more sophisticated labour force. The repeated statements of the government that guaranteed and promoted the rights and interests of the northern native peoples can only be seen in the larger context as measures to pacify them. Notwithstanding this, the general education level of the native people did increase significantly, and some entered the professional and technical occupations. However, at the same time others were displaced by the system, alienated from their traditional lifestyles while inadequately trained for any occupation other than unskilled labour.

At the beginning of the 1980s, Soviet educational policy for the north was a blend of new ideas and a return to the old policy of developing written languages for the native people. The programme, once again, attempted to integrate the needs of native peoples into the educational system but still in accordance with state requirements.

CHAPTER THREE

Canadian Educational Policies: 1900 - 1960

At the turn of this century, the Inuit of the Canadian Northwest Territories (NWT) lived in conditions that mirrored those of their Siberian counterparts during the same period. Like the indigenous population of Siberia, the Canadian Inuit's first experience with an educational system was with schools that had been set up by missionaries, though in Canada the network was more extensive and continued until the late 1950s.

In the western Arctic, the mission school which had been established in 1898 at Herschel Island operated without government subsidy until 1902. In that year, the government provided a \$200 annual grant that was awarded with the proviso that "it would be used for the education of white, Eskimo or half-breed children only..."¹ During its first two decades in

¹As cited in Robert Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education: If not Reindeer Herding, How About Small Appliance Repair?" *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 7:1 (1983): 93. According to Carney, this grant was increased to \$250 in 1931 and remained at that level until after World War II. According to Diubaldo, by 1915-16, the government provided \$400 for teacher's salary and \$100 towards the rental of a building at Herschel Island. Richard Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit 1900-67* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, (1985), 86.

operation, at times the enrolment at this school reached as high as 65.² The official government policy was to leave the establishment and administration of this and other mission schools "to those interested in the evangelization of the people."³

Government involvement in Inuit education in the eastern Arctic was even more limited than in the western Arctic. When an application was made in 1909 by the Anglican Church for per capita grants for Inuit day schools, the government denied the request on the grounds that it would not support educational endeavours for the Inuit.⁴ It did, however, provide an appropriation of \$200 to help with relief measures.⁵ The government response to a similar application in 1911 illustrated its level of commitment: "the request for

²NAC, Northern Affairs Program Records, (Record Group) RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Letter to Honourable H. Grevenkop-Castenskiold, Danish Legation, London from Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, June 27, 1919.

³NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Letter to H. Grevenkop-Castenskiold from Duncan Scott, June 27, 1919.

⁴NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Letter to Duncan Scott from Reverend E. J. Peck, Anglican Missionary, June 2, 1909; *Ibid.*, July 28, 1909; NAC, RG 85/786/5997-C Memorandum for Frank Oliver, Superintendent General, Department of Indian Affairs, from Duncan Scott, May 7, 1909.

⁵NAC, RG 85/786/5997-C Letter to Frank Oliver from F. F. Payne, Department of Marine and Fisheries, Meteorological Service, April 28, 1909.

some assistance toward the expense of the education of the Eskimo will have to stand, as no funds were specially voted for the purpose and as our education appropriation is fully taken up."⁶

With the exceptions noted, government activity in the Canadian north up to World War I remained limited to exploratory expeditions and the establishment of three police posts to enforce laws and collect customs.⁷ After the war, the number of police posts increased and annual ship patrols were made to the eastern Arctic. During this period, Inuit contact with European culture was primarily limited to trading furs at the various outposts scattered across the Arctic for supplies from the white man's world - chiefly weapons and food.

By 1920, the mission school on Herschel Island was still the only educational facility specifically for the Inuit of the western Arctic. However, the mission school system in the Mackenzie District had increased to two day schools and six boarding schools. The Roman Catholic Church operated two boarding schools and the two day schools, and the Anglican

⁶NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Letter to Frank Oliver from Duncan Scott, May 6, 1911.

⁷Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada* (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), 19-20; NAC, RG 85/651/A-1009-3-5 (1) "Canada and Our Eskimos," Jean Lesage, Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, (hereafter DNANR) March, 1955.

Church had four boarding schools.⁸

The curriculum at these schools included religious teachings and subjects taught in southern institutions, but was extended to provide instruction in various practical skills: sewing, cooking, and general housework for girls; building and agriculture for boys. English was the standard language of instruction, but the Roman Catholic schools did teach French in senior grades.⁹ Notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries to provide a rudimentary education to the northern native people, there is evidence that in the case of the Inuit, the effort was counter-productive.

Until the late 1920s, missionaries, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, travelled throughout the Arctic and collected Inuit children, particularly orphans, and brought them to their boarding schools in the Mackenzie Delta.¹⁰ The children entered the schools, as a rule, at the age of seven and remained in residence for up to eight or nine years¹¹ where

⁸NAC, Department of Interior Records, RG 15/3/"Mr. Kitto's Report," Extracts from Mr. F. H. Kitto's Report on the Mackenzie District, December 22, 1920.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Richard Finnie, *Canada Moves North* (London: Hurst & Blackett Ltd., 1944), 55; Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 68.

¹¹Finnie, *Canada Moves North*, 55.

they co-existed with Indian children.¹² While living in the boarding schools the Inuit children rarely had contact with their relatives even during holidays, not even by way of correspondence.¹³

As a result of this system of education, many of the Inuit children lost the capacity to communicate in their native language, spoke halting English or French and were unable to function in either the white man's world or their own. More significantly, these children returned to their homes without the necessary survival skills for Arctic conditions, specifically the capacity to gain a livelihood through fishing, hunting and trapping.¹⁴

In the eastern Arctic, Inuit education was less structured. The general custom for the missionaries was to teach classes when the Inuit remained in their area, that is, at trading or whaling stations for extended period of time. Beside religious instruction (scripture lessons, texts, and the various elements associated with "Our Saviour,") there was instruction in the reading and writing of syllabic characters, exercises in composition, and rudimentary lessons in

¹²Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 68.

¹³Keith J. Crowe, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 167.

¹⁴Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 68.

geography. For those Inuit who did not receive "teaching" at the missions, the missionaries often engaged in "itinerant expeditions." This sometimes involved travelling up to 200 to 300 miles visiting Inuit camps, instructing children during the day and adults in the evening.¹⁵

As early as 1922, alternate suggestions concerning the structure of Inuit education were surfacing. One of the most straightforward and logical schemes was advanced by J. E. Bernier, a noted explorer who helped focus attention on the Arctic after the turn of the century. He postulated that schools for Inuit children should be situated so that instruction would include traditional methods of making a living: fishing, sealing, trapping, the building of snow houses, care and breeding of dogs, and manual training in the construction of native clothing and equipment. In addition, learning to read, write, and speak English, and a rudimentary ability in elementary mathematics could be incorporated into the programme. The goal would be to ensure that the children would return to their traditional lifestyles, and, at the same time, would facilitate the Inuit's ability to cope with White society.¹⁶ As practical as Bernier's ideas may have been, the

¹⁵NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Letter to Grevenkop-Castenskiold from Reverend Peck, June 17, 1919.

¹⁶NAC, RG 85/349/203 Report of Captain J. E. Bernier, C. G. S. "Arctic," July 30, 1922.

government ignored his suggestions. It would not be until the 1970s that similar ideas would be incorporated into the educational system.

Nevertheless, there were government officials within the Department of the Interior who sought to improve and extend Inuit education. O. S. Finnie, Director of the NWT Branch from 1921 to 1931, viewed the mission schools as "religious kindergartens hardly deserving the name of schools."¹⁷ He would have liked to establish government schools but official policy dictated that Inuit education was best left to the missionaries. The position of the government was that as long as the Inuit remained law-abiding, every effort should be made to maintain their traditional lifestyle. The overriding concern was that the Inuit "should not be deliberately transformed into White men, who would inevitably demand public schools, medical care, and other services that would entail a considerable expenditure of public funds."¹⁸

The government did undertake surveys of the Arctic coast in an effort to maintain sovereignty and investigate general conditions. One of these studies was conducted to determine the best sites for future mission schools. The criterium used was that the locations should be convenient to the native

¹⁷Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 48.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 32.

peoples, but the actual sites would be dependent upon the future development of the country.¹⁹

During the late 1920s, the Inuit made repeated requests to the government for public educational facilities and in one case offered to pay the salary and other expenses for a qualified teacher from their own funds. This and all other requests were either ignored or denied.²⁰ The government's reaction was to provide further funding to mission schools.²¹

Notwithstanding the government's reaction to the Inuit's requests, the missionaries did modify their approach. In 1927 the Anglican Church established the first mission day school, specifically for the Inuit, at Shingle Point on the Arctic Coast. The government began subsidizing it in 1929.²² From this time, the missionaries abandoned the practice of taking

¹⁹NAC, RG 85/784/5984-1 Memorandum for Mr. Burwash from O. S. Finnie, Director, Northwest Territories Administration, June 29, 1928.

²⁰Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 48.

²¹NAC, RG 85/787/6018 Memorandum to W. W. Cory, Deputy Minister from O. S. Finnie, January 8, 1929.

²²W. G. Devitt, "History of Education in the Northwest Territories," in *Education North of 60* [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), 62. At this time, the author was serving as District Superintendent of Schools, Arctic District. As cited in Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education," 93.

children from the Arctic and sending them to schools that were intended primarily for Indians. Throughout the 1930s, several day schools were established in Inuit settlements in other parts of the Arctic and by 1937 there were seven such schools in operation.²³

There were no regulations or standards governing the quality of teaching in these schools. The missionaries at each school established the curriculum and decided the method of instruction: some taught in the native languages while others prohibited its use.²⁴

Up to this point, the establishment of educational facilities for the Inuit had been exclusively the work of the missionaries. While criticism has been levelled at the quality of the mission schooling system, there are a number of points that must be considered in this respect. For example, the missionaries entered the Arctic primarily to obtain converts to Christianity, few were qualified to teach school, they lived under extremely arduous conditions and their only support from the Canadian government was in the form of funding that proved wholly inadequate to the task. Between

²³Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 68.

²⁴Crowe, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada*, 167; Fred Bruemmer, "The Best of Both Worlds," *Weekend Magazine* 24:37 (1974): 2. Mr. Bruemmer was one of Canada's foremost Arctic photographers.

1918-1923, the federal government contributed a total of \$4,000 for the education of Inuit children at mission schools in the NWT.²⁵ By 1930-1931, the subsidy had increased to \$14,500.00.²⁶ These amounts were barely sufficient to maintain the status quo. Certainly, there was no possibility to implement measures that would have improved the system.

The example of Shingle Point, the first Inuit boarding school to receive government subsidies, provides insight into how this funding worked. Initially, the federal government provided \$550 per year for each Inuit student, but in 1932 it was reduced to \$200 and was conditional on the RCMP certifying the child destitute.²⁷ Thus, funding was linked to the number of destitute children enrolled, not to the quality of education that was provided.

The following year the Shingle Point school was closed and a new school opened at the larger settlement of Aklavik.²⁸ During this time, the Anglican Church made repeated appeals

²⁵Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit*, 86.

²⁶NAC, RG 85/787/6018 Memorandum to W. W. Cory from O. S. Finnie, January 8, 1929. The actual amount may be lower. According to Krauter and Davis the figure was \$12,787. Joseph F. Krauter and Morris Davis. *Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups* (Toronto: Methuen Publishing Company, 1978), 29.

²⁷Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education," 93-94.

²⁸Devitt, "History of Education in the Northwest Territories," 62.

for an increase in education subsidies in order to provide all Inuit children with "such educational facilities as are possible within...our Dominion." All were denied.²⁹

The method the government used in granting subsidies to mission schools caused further difficulties. The total grant was based on a per student rate per annum. This policy, combined with the traditional competition between the Roman Catholic and Anglican Church for converts, heightened the conflict and reduced the missionaries to little more than "head hunters."³⁰ The necessity of acquiring students to obtain funds appeared to have shifted the focus of the educational system from the goal of providing education, albeit with a religious orientation, to concentrating on ensuring there were enough students to remain fiscally viable. The Inuit remained little more than pawns in the process with their choices limited to mission education or none at all.

During this period, the government did institute limited measures designed to improve the social and economic conditions of the Inuit. These included a conservation policy to protect game and the establishment of the most rudimentary health care. Government officials admitted that further efforts should be implemented to improve educational

²⁹Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education," 94.

³⁰Finnie, *Canada Moves North*, 69.

facilities for the Inuit but few initiatives were undertaken because there were "so many conflicting opinions as to methods, etc., that the problem is not an easy solution."³¹

Certainly, government studies made of the Arctic did not inspire confidence that a comprehensive educational system was the correct path for the Inuit. One report on the eastern Arctic in 1935 concluded that the Inuit were "very simple and their mental capacity to assimilate academic teaching is limited."³²

Aside from financial considerations, the overriding factor that contributed to the government's inaction was a concern about the impact of formal education on the Inuit. The prevailing government view held that the lack of industry in the Arctic obligated the Inuit to continue to gain a livelihood through their traditional occupations of trapping, hunting, and fishing. It was believed that prolonged attendance at residential schools would reduce the Inuit's ability to continue traditional occupations.

Anglican Archdeacon A. Fleming, who later became Bishop of the Arctic, and L. Livingstone, a physician stationed at

³¹NAC, RG 85/792/6302 Memorandum to J. Lorne Turner, Director, Lands, NWT and Yukon Branch, June 28, 1934.

³²W. C. Bethune, *Canada's Eastern Arctic Its History, Resources, Population and Administration* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935), 55.

Aklavik, supported the government position. Fleming believed that as a consequence of the infringement of civilization upon the Arctic, Inuit children should be educated to meet the challenge. However, this education should be limited to teaching them when they appeared at trading posts. Thus, the children could remain with their parents and learn traditional occupations. He argued that to place children of nomadic parents in boarding schools would result in them adopting the white culture and habits at the expense of their own.³³

Dr. Livingstone's observations were consistent with those of Fleming. He stated that eight to twelve year old boys were often cared for by white men and in every case the boys "learned a smattering of English and never was [sic] properly trained in the art of hunting...."³⁴ Residential schools, therefore, were both unnecessary and harmful. The earlier experiences of Inuit children who had attended mission schools in Indian territory tended to support this contention.

The concern over prolonged stays at residential schools prompted the NWT Council in its session on November 26, 1934 to set the age limit for mandatory discharge of boys and girls from schools at 14 and 16 years respectively. Boys, who were

³³NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Letter to O. S. Finnie from Archdeacon A. L. Fleming, January 6, 1928; NAC, RG 85/792/6302 Memorandum to J. Lorne Turner, July 13, 1934.

³⁴NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Memorandum to J. Lorne Turner from Dr. L. Livingstone, August 7, 1934.

physically sound, from the age of 12 would be allowed to leave each year for the duration of the hunting and trapping season. This regulation was adopted by the NWT Council at its fifty-sixth session held on the February 25, 1935 and remained in effect until after World War II.³⁵

The attitude among government officials was that since the children would be obliged to continue to live as hunters and trappers it was best that they were "not to be overeducated in a scholastic way."³⁶ The children would receive some education and at the same time obtain some training in the traditional means of making a living. However, this policy failed to consider that the NWT were gradually being developed and that the lifestyle of the Inuit, through increased exposure to white society, was changing irrevocably. The Inuit needed some training to help them deal with these changes.

Diamond Jenness,³⁷ noted for his knowledge of Inuit conditions, made his views known to the government during the

³⁵NAC, RG 85/1476/603-1 (12) Letter to Dr. J. A. Urquhart, Medical Health Officer, Aklavik from J. Lorne Turner, September 27, 1935.

³⁶NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Extract from the Minutes of the Fifty-third Session of the Northwest Territories Council, October 17, 1934.

³⁷Diamond Jenness travelled extensively throughout the north. His studies are as important to the study of the Canadian Inuit as those of Bogoras are to the Chukchi.

mid 1930s. He saw no need for primary schools since the Inuit could read and write in their own language. However, he did see a need for limited vocational training based on three suppositions: (1) the Inuit population was steadily declining and if the trend continued unabated, the Inuit would abandon the more northern areas resulting in Canada losing its strongest claim to sovereignty over the Arctic archipelago, (2) the Inuit would be the best guarantee of the successful development of any resources found in the Arctic, and (3) they were ill-equipped to meet the changes that had been and were occurring in the territory they inhabited. The scheme proposed by Jenness was intended to educate the Inuit to provide many of the services essential to the Arctic by giving them training not available in ordinary mission schools. The training, for males aged 17 to 20, was to extend over two years under the supervision of the Chief Engineer at Churchill. It would focus on mechanics and include reading, writing, and arithmetic. He further suggested that government funded hospitals in the Arctic should be compelled to train at least one Inuit girl each year in nursing and first aid.³⁸

³⁸NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Memorandum to the Council of the Northwest Territories regarding "Training of the Eskimos," from Diamond Jenness, Natural Museum of Canada, May 11, 1934; NAC, Rudolf Martin Anderson and Mae Bell Allstrand Papers, (Manuscript Group) MG 30 B 40/14/"Eskimos." Memorandum regarding Vocational Training of Eskimos from Diamond Jenness, Victoria Memorial Museum, November, 1935.

The diversity of opinions among government officials, missionaries, and others familiar with the Inuit culture resulted in indecision about the optimum policy to follow in developing an educational system for the Inuit. As a consequence, Inuit education continued to be the responsibility of missionaries with government involvement limited to the provision of annual grants.

Nevertheless, one scheme was attempted to provide vocational education for aboriginal girls. In 1937 Dr. Livingstone, on his own initiative, inaugurated a plan to train aboriginal girls (including members of the Inuit) as practical nurses to serve as medical personnel in their communities.³⁹ This experiment had reasonable success. In 1939 the NWT Council approached local missionaries and medical personnel for their opinions on making this an official programme. While there was a general endorsement of the plan, it eventually bogged down in bureaucratic discussions and never received official sanction.⁴⁰

In 1940 there were still no government schools in the NWT. In the Mackenzie District, the Catholic and Anglican

³⁹NAC, RG 85/791/6210 "Precis for the Northwest Territories Council," October 2, 1941.

⁴⁰NAC, RG 85/791/6210 "Precis for the Northwest Territories Council," October 2, 1941.

missions operated nine day schools and four boarding schools.⁴¹ Inuit children along the western Arctic coast and in the Mackenzie Delta attended the mission residential schools at Aklavik.⁴² The teaching programme used in the province of Alberta was adopted.⁴³ Meanwhile, in the eastern Arctic, the Inuit received some education at mission day schools. However, their nomadic tendencies and short visits to settlements made the periods available to the missionaries for teaching too short to warrant the payment of government grants.⁴⁴ Instruction at these centres was limited to a few elementary subjects including reading, writing, and drawing.⁴⁵

The difference between the development of the mission school systems in the eastern and western Arctic was in part a function of the relative development of these regions. In the eastern Arctic even the largest settlements had

⁴¹Shelagh D. Grant, *Sovereignty or Security: Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver: University of British Press, 1988), 34.

⁴²NAC, Henry Larsen Papers, MG 30 B 75/"4 NWT, 1944," "The Northwest Territories Administration - Resources - Development," issued by the Bureau of NWT and Yukon Affairs, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, 1944.

⁴³NAC, RG 85/328/633-1 (2) "The Northwest Territories Council," Ottawa, April 24, 1944.

⁴⁴NAC, RG 85/55/160-1-1 (1A) "Educational and Health Facilities in the Northwest Territories," August 8, 1944.

⁴⁵NAC, RG 85/328/633-1 (2) "The Northwest Territories Council," Ottawa, April 24, 1944.

populations of fewer than 20 white people and consisted of "25 to 30 buildings in all, including warehouses, outhouses and blubber sheds."⁴⁶ In the western Arctic, by northern standards there were fully developed settlements which included hospitals and government offices.

The government's position that universal education for the Inuit was unnecessary, by the 1940s, had coalesced into a firm policy based on the following assumptions: the Inuit were able to earn a living through the traditional methods of hunting, fishing, and trapping; education would disrupt their lifestyles; employment requiring education was virtually non-existent; and informal education was available for the Inuit at day or residential schools of the various church missions.

The Depression, the continuing development of the south, and the advent of World War II were all factors that contributed to the government's ambivalence toward native people in general and the Inuit in particular. It was convenient and cost-effective to have the missionaries provide most of the social services, including education, for them.

In essence, aside from the increased number of schools, the school system for the Inuit had advanced only marginally during the last three decades. By southern standards, the

⁴⁶J. Lewis Robinson, "Mineral Resources and Mining Activity in the Canadian Eastern Arctic," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 24:2 (August, 1944): 55.

systems were barely adequate. However, the missionaries had neither the funds nor the inclination to establish a school system similar to that in the south. The continuing goal of the missionaries was to imbue the Inuit with Christianity and teach them some fundamental life skills, not to provide them with a modern education. The missionaries genuinely believed that the education they provided to the Inuit was fitting and adequate and would not significantly alter the Inuit way of life. This objective conformed perfectly with the aims of government officials in Ottawa whose overriding concern was to keep "the natives, native."⁴⁷

The first major change in government attitudes toward the Inuit occurred during World War II. As the strategic importance of the Arctic increased, and Canada entered into joint projects with the United States the Canadian government became increasingly aware of the problems of the Inuit. This awareness came, for the most part, from within their own administration. However, American military personnel who were stationed in the Arctic corresponded with their own government officials regarding the abject poverty and the appalling living conditions of the Inuit, and inquired as to the reason for not educating them. Canadian government officials agreed that they had not done as much as they should to help the

⁴⁷As cited in Grant, *Sovereignty or Security*, 34.

Inuit and cited inadequate financial resources and the exigencies of war as excuses for their inactivity.⁴⁸

Many of the Inuit problems related to the increased contact with White culture which, in many cases, led to the Inuit abandoning their traditional lifestyles with disastrous results. The American criticisms mobilized the government into re-examining its policies and, in part, served as the impetus for the federal government to seek meaningful solutions to the deplorable living conditions of many of the Inuit. Formal education was considered the first step in this process.

The process of bringing education to the North began officially in 1944 with a review of the ownership and operation of schools in the NWT.⁴⁹ That summer, a survey was made of the educational facilities in the Mackenzie District of the NWT. Andrew Moore, an Inspector of Secondary Schools in Manitoba, was selected to conduct the study on behalf of the NWT government and the Canadian Social Science Research Council. The report contained some criticisms of the educational system. One of the major findings was that as of

⁴⁸NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Letter to Major D. L. McKeand, Eastern Arctic Patrol, from R. A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, Northwest Territories, May 7, 1943.

⁴⁹NAC, RG 22/271/40-10-1 (2) Memorandum for R. G. Robertson, Deputy Minister from F.J.G. Cunningham, Director, Northern Affairs and National Resources, January 4, 1955.

1941 there were only two certified teachers and both taught at the Anglican residential school at Aklavik. The other teachers had only completed grades eight to ten and none had any form of teacher certification. Despite the low level of professional training, there was recognition that the majority of teachers "certainly have considerable native ability for teaching and the children under their care are receiving a fine service."⁵⁰ Secondly, according to the 1941 census, there were 1007 Indian and 443 Inuit children of school age (ages five to fourteen inclusive) in the NWT. In 1943-1944 there were 170 native children attending the mission schools.⁵¹ At that time, 85 percent of native children in the Mackenzie Delta and the western Arctic remained outside the full-time school system.⁵² For example, in 1944-1945 at the Anglican residential school in Aklavik (one of the largest in the

⁵⁰See Andrew Moore, "Survey of Education in the Mackenzie District II," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 11:1 (February, 1945): 67. It should be noted that at this time, this situation was not uncommon in southern Canada, especially in rural areas.

⁵¹Moore, "Survey of Education in the Mackenzie District II," 70. During this period, full-time mission schools operated only in the Mackenzie District.

⁵²According to Krauter and Davis, 93 percent of school-age native children remained outside the system. Krauter and Davis, *Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups*, 29.

Mackenzie District) there were only 23 Inuit students.⁵³

Moore's study contained a series of recommendations to correct perceived inadequacies in the organization and administration of the educational system. Firstly, have the governing body of the NWT in control of all education supported by public funds. The governing body would act through a director of education who had to be a resident of the NWT. Secondly, an educational council should be instituted to act in an advisory capacity to the director of education. Thirdly, all teachers should hold at least first-class teaching certificates and have special training for work with aboriginal peoples.⁵⁴

With regard to educational policy, the recommendations included the following: the development of a "middle-of-the-way" curriculum that balanced academic instruction, occupational courses, and instruction in health and hygiene; "suitable white man's education" should be immediately introduced on an experimental basis in the home environment of the native people; compulsory education should be enforced as far as conditions permitted; short courses emphasizing occupational skills should be introduced for adults in

⁵³NAC, RG 85/644/630/119-2 (9) Report "Aklavik Anglican Residential School," August, 1957.

⁵⁴Moore, "Survey of Education in the Mackenzie District II," 79-82.

residential schools; and finally scholarships and bursaries should be established to allow NWT students to take special training to become teachers and social workers.⁵⁵

As a result of the findings of this survey, grants for the operation of schools, and the amount of supplies and equipment for them were substantially increased. In addition, on January 9, 1945 a request was made for the establishment of an Inspector of Schools. This appointment in 1946 was the initial step in the creation of an educational organization in the NWT.⁵⁶ In the same year, an Order-in-Council, dated 18 July 1946, placed education within the legislative authority of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.⁵⁷ An Education Division was also established.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Moore, "Survey of Education in the Mackenzie District II," 78-79.

⁵⁶NAC, RG 22/871/40-10-4 (1) Report presented to the Northwest Territories Council on October 22, 1947 by the Sub-Committee on Education [based on discussions of educational matters at meetings held on October 16th and 20th, 1947]; *Ibid.*, "Educational Policy for the Northwest Territories," J. W. Mackinnon, Inspector of Schools, October, 1947.

⁵⁷NAC, Walter Dinsdale Papers, MG 32 B35/60/25 Opening Address by Gordon Robertson Commissioner of the NWT at the 16th session of the Council of the NWT, January 26, 1959; W. Ivan Mouat, "Education in the Arctic District," *Musk-Ox* 7 (1968): 1. Mr. Mouat held a number of posts connected with northern education until 1966 when he became Regional Superintendent of Education, Keewatin Region.

⁵⁸The Education Division's function was similar to that of a provincial Department of Education within a provincial

However, the NWT Council had neither the resources nor facilities to implement this legislation. Since the education of Inuit children was the responsibility of the federal government, it agreed to provide schooling for all children in the NWT.⁵⁹ The Territorial government agreed to reimburse the Federal government for expenses incurred through educating White children. The result was an officially ethnically-integrated school system but one which on the whole actually catered exclusively to white culture and hence to white students.⁶⁰

The author of a major independent study suggested that the existing educational system was inadequate to help the Inuit meet the challenge of new economic opportunities. The primary recommendation was that the school system should move from "the smattering of English and syllabic intermixed with half-understood religious precepts" to "an adequate system of schooling attuned to their needs." The envisioned system would train the indigenous inhabitants, who had the advantage

system of education. "Education North of 60," 8.

⁵⁹This occurred by a Supreme Court decision in 1939. See Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit*, 29-52.

⁶⁰B. Thorsteinsson, "Education at the Top of the World -- An Overview," in *Education North of 60* [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent* (Toronto: Ryerson Press 1964), 7.

of being already adapted to the climatic conditions, to lead in the development of the more remote areas. In this way, the native peoples would become "a valuable national asset rather than a pauperized remnant of a race that is passing away."⁶¹ Another report followed in 1947 when the North Pacific Planning Project, a federal government group, was mandated to study the current and future development of the Canadian Northwest, including the Mackenzie District. This report included the future plans for northern education which, although forward thinking, appear with hindsight to have been overly optimistic about the government's commitment to education in the NWT:

The educational system in the northern territories that are under Dominion administration is being reviewed with a view to the establishment of suitable, specially equipped schools under direct Government control with a curriculum better suited to the practical needs of the native population. This plan is primarily directed to the preservation and development of the native culture to the end that these Canadians of the Northland, proud of their race and ancestry, no longer wards of the State, may become upstanding citizens of the Dominion of Canada.⁶²

Although the concepts in this study and others of the

⁶¹As cited in Grant, *Sovereignty or Security*, 145-46.

⁶²Charles Camsell, Director, *Canada's New Northwest: Report of the North Pacific Planning Project* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947), 17.

period had a common theme of improving the educational system, it should be noted that no mention was made of consulting the Inuit concerning their needs and aspirations or how they viewed the educational system. This remained so until the late 1950s, and even then efforts to involve the Inuit in their own education was little more than a token effort.

In 1947 the government set up an educational sub-committee which was to act solely in an advisory capacity. At the same time, further surveys were undertaken.⁶³ Two of these surveys, both of the eastern Arctic where mission day schools continued to provide all education, offered some insight on the state of existing educational facilities and how the future system should be developed. The first was undertaken in 1948 for the purpose of examining "the educational situation at each settlement, and to submit recommendations concerning the nature of an instructional program which might be initiated for the benefit of the residents." It found that though instruction varied from mission to mission, little formal instruction was carried out because the children's "minds are for the most part on hunting, trapping, and the many aspects of life in the open air."

Consequently, in the study, the missionaries were granted full credit for their efforts but their teaching was found to

⁶³NAC, RG 85/321/610-1 (12) "Education in Canada's Northland," December 12, 1954.

be largely ineffectual. Seasonal day schools, which would operate during the summer months when Inuit congregated at permanent settlements, were regarded as the most satisfactory solution to the existing system.⁶⁴ A key aspect of this study, however, was the clear articulation that the urgent demand for education in the eastern Arctic was not from the "natives themselves but by all the [White] residents who have their welfare at heart." The second study in 1949 had findings that were virtually identical to those conducted in the mid 1940s though it was more detailed in its criticism of the educational system. For example, through the efforts of the missionaries, many Inuit had been taught to read and some of the younger generation had mastered basic arithmetic. However, education beyond religious teaching was given only limited consideration and only casually taught. Almost without exception, the missionaries were European and had no understanding of Canadian teaching methods or the English language. The case was cited of the missionary who commented that he "tached [sic] Englished [sic] regularly."⁶⁵

⁶⁴NAC, Indian Affairs and Northern Development Records (hereafter DIAND), RG 22/126/40-10-4A Report on Educational Facilities in the eastern Arctic prepared for the Northwest Territories Administration by H. R. Lamberton, November 1, 1948.

⁶⁵NAC, RG 22/120/40-10-4A "Report on Education in the Eastern Arctic," sent to Gibson from Carter B. Storr, Visual Education Specialist, June 29, 1949.

The proposed solution was for a centralized administration that would provide certified teachers, a standardized curriculum, and textbooks. The principal conclusion of this study was that the Inuit had to learn English if they were to retain their native pride, broaden their knowledge, and be able to "meet the white man on a somewhat equal footing".⁶⁶ However, the Inuit should be encouraged to retain their native language.⁶⁷ Ideally, the Inuit would speak their own language and English and be able to read and write in English.⁶⁸ As a result of the studies carried out from 1947 to 1949, the sub-committee on Education of the NWT Council concluded that "without hesitation, it is fair to say, that with hardly an exception, the quality of the teaching and the content of the studies undertaken are

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁷NAC, MG 32 B35/69/"J. W. McKinnon." Survey of Educational Facilities in the Mackenzie District of the NWT, August 10 to October 9, 1947 submitted to the Bureau of the NWT and Yukon Affairs, Department of Mines and Resources by J. W. McKinnon, Inspector of Schools, February 17, 1947.

⁶⁸NAC, RG 22/120/40-10-4A Memorandum by J. G. Wright, Chief, Arctic Division on Storr's Report of June 29, 1949 on Education for Eskimo of Eastern Arctic, November 18, 1949. By then, almost all Inuit in the western Arctic could speak English well enough to be understood. NAC, RG 85/802/6639 (3) "Education in Eskimo Land," *Creemore Star*, Ontario, August 28, 1952.

definitely unsatisfactory."⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the plan to increase grants and supplies to the mission schools went ahead as scheduled.⁷⁰

While these surveys were being conducted, at least the Commissioner of Education, for one had been made aware of some of the developments in the Soviet educational system for its northern native peoples. Details of the Leningrad Institute and its programme of training native peoples as academics, vocational, and health instructors so that they could return to work among their own people had been communicated through an American scholar in 1944.⁷¹ This information apparently had little impact and was never pursued. The reason for this may have been the increased east-west tensions, but the information still should have provoked some examination of the Soviet programme.

In addition to the surveys, the Inspector of Schools made several trips north to visit educational facilities. On one such trip in 1947, he interviewed about 100 Inuit children who

⁶⁹NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1A) Precis for Discussion at a Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Education of the Northwest Council by J. Wright, May 17, 1949.

⁷⁰NAC, RG 22/871/40-10-4 (1) Report presented to the NWT Council by the Sub-Committee on Education, October 22, 1947.

⁷¹NAC, RG 85/98/252-1-2 (1) Letter to R. A. Gibson from Henry Sigerist, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, April 4, 1944.

attended residential schools within the Mackenzie District and reported that they appeared "quite happy and progressive."⁷² This assessment certainly does not accord with what is now known of Inuit attitudes toward their treatment in residential schools. The Inuit have reported living in extreme fear because of severe corporal punishment for the "offence" of speaking their native language at school. They also experienced a sense of disassociation from being summarily removed from extended family units to an alien environment, based on rigid rules and new roles and expectations.⁷³ The most obvious explanation for the discrepancy between the report and the Inuit recollections is that the children had been primed to react positively in the Inspector's presence.

In many respects, 1947 marked the beginning of the modern educational system for the Inuit. In that year, the federal government opened the first public school for the Inuit at

⁷²NAC, MG 32 B35/69/"J. W. McKinnon." Survey of Educational Facilities in the Mackenzie District of the NWT, August 10 to October 9, 1947 submitted to the Bureau of the NWT and Yukon Affairs, by J. W. McKinnon, February 17, 1948.

⁷³J. Iain Prattis and Jean Phillipe Chartrand, *System and Process: Inuktitut - English Bilingualism in the Northwest Territories of Canada* [Crete Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 5] (Ottawa: Centre for Research on Ethnic Minorities, Etc., Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1985), 12; Curt Taylor Griffiths, ed. *Preventing and Responding to Northern Crime* (Vancouver: Simon Fraser University for the Northern Justice Society, 1990), 3.

Tuktoyaktuk. At the same time, there were a 100 Inuit students at the two residential schools at Aklavik and approximately 12 from the eastern Arctic attending schools in northern Quebec. The school returns for 1947 suggest that 359 Inuit children were receiving education, though the overwhelming majority received it only intermittently when they passed through settlements that had educational facilities. Rough estimates suggest that about 25 percent were receiving some exposure to education.⁷⁴ "Some exposure" meant any attendance, no matter how brief, at a mission school. However, any statistics, especially on students attending mission schools in the eastern Arctic are suspect. As will be discussed below, there were grounds for suspicions that many mission schools inflated enrolment figures to improve the size of their federal grants.

Many reasons exist for the poor participation of Inuit children in the educational system. Chiefly, the Inuit lived a nomadic existence with close family ties and parents were reluctant to be separated from their children. Moreover, the opening of the government school at Tuktoyaktuk was not taken seriously by the Inuit as was reflected in the low attendance levels. Attendance, which was not compulsory was, at best, inconsistent. In many cases, parents of Inuit children left

⁷⁴R. A. Hoey, *The Year Book of Education, 1949* (London: Evans Brothers, Ltd. 1950), 196-97.

the decision to the discretion of the child.⁷⁵

To overcome the general ambivalence of the Inuit toward education, "welfare teachers" were introduced. These teachers, who had civil servant status, were to conduct regular school duties and provide leadership in community activities. In return for added remuneration, they were also expected to remain in the community for the entire year.⁷⁶ Their mandate included enlisting the aid of the local White residents to encourage the Inuit to learn English while carrying out their daily routines. However, at the same time these teachers were to encourage the Inuit to "retain pride in their own race, culture and language."⁷⁷

The teachers were directed to provide instruction in elementary arithmetic, personal and family hygiene, games and physical education, conservation, and handicrafts. This presented a particular challenge to the teachers, since in the

⁷⁵NAC, RG 85/213/610-4 (1) "Education of Eskimo Children in the Arctic Regions of Canada," n.d.

⁷⁶NAC, RG 85/419/500-2-3 (1) "Welfare Teachers," May 17, 1948; W. T. Larmour, "Eskimo Education," *Arctic Circular* 3:5 (November 1950): 51.

⁷⁷NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1A) Letter to W. Copeland, Welfare Teacher, Southampton Island from R. A. Gibson, March 10, 1950; NAC, RG 85/1875/610-1 (1) Letter to D. Lord, Welfare Teacher, Coppermine from R. A. Gibson, October 6, 1950; NAC, RG 85/1131/254-2 (1-B) Letter to Archibald A. Day, Information Division, Department of External Affairs from G. E. B. Sinclair, Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Department of Resources and Development, July 19, 1951.

absence of any official, standardized curriculum, they were expected to create their own. In this process, they were instructed to draw "as much as possible upon your professional training and experience, insofar as such may be found to be applicable to the education of the Eskimos." After a period of trial and assessment, these individual study programmes were to be forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner of the NWT.⁷⁸ The teachers were also responsible for all matters relating to Inuit administration and welfare.

One of the fundamental weaknesses in the programme was the lack of reliable information on conditions prevailing in any one location. There was a mass of general information on the Arctic, but specific knowledge regarding the customs and habits of the native peoples and their requirements was lacking. As one of their primary duties, the welfare teachers were expected to fill these gaps through the ongoing collection of information for the purpose of providing a complete understanding of the general and detailed welfare work needed to improve local conditions. Therefore, "rather exhaustive regular and frequent reports" were to be submitted.⁷⁹ The bureaucratic demands placed on these

⁷⁸NAC, RG 85/1875/610-1 (1) Letter to D. Lord from R. A. Gibson, October 6, 1950; NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1A) Letter to W. H. Copeland from R. A. Gibson, March 10, 1950.

⁷⁹NAC, RG 85/1875/610-1 (1) Letter to Dorothy Robinson, Welfare Teacher, Tuktoyaktuk from R. A. Gibson, January 14,

teachers, combined with the requirement to create their own teaching programmes, appears to have consigned teaching to a secondary role.

Notwithstanding their various duties, one of these teachers assessed the situation in more practical terms:

one of the outstanding welfare activities of the teacher was just being available and gradually, gaining the confidence of the people so they felt they had someone to turn to with their problems performing little services such as addressing an envelope, or arranging to send a letter.⁸⁰

The issue of which language to use for instruction in schools was central to establishing a curriculum. The two choices under consideration were English and the Inuit native language, *Inuktitut*. From Greenland across the northern Canadian Arctic to Alaska, it had a common form.⁸¹ The large distances between Inuit groups in Canada and their isolation from each other did lead to some differences in dialects but

1950; NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) *Ibid*.

⁸⁰NAC, RG 22/171/6-1-7B Welfare Report, Tuktoyaktuk, December 31, 1950 by Miss Dorothy Robinson.

⁸¹Krauter and Davis, *Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups*, 31; Wendell H. Oswalt, *Eskimos and Explorers* (Novato, California: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, Inc., 1979), 163.

it was not sufficient to impede comprehension.⁸² As an aside, *Inuktitut* is related to *Yupik*, a dialect spoken in northeastern Siberia and the two languages have many root words with common meanings and pronunciation. However, the similarities are not sufficient to allow for normal discourse.⁸³

Significantly, unlike Siberian native peoples, the Inuit in the eastern Arctic had a system of writing, a form of phonetic shorthand, called syllabics. Invented by a missionary for the Cree Indians about 1840, it was modified for the Inuit language in the late 19th century. It was "rapidly absorbed into the culture, taught within families, and became an almost instant skill without benefit of formal schooling."⁸⁴ With rare exceptions, all Inuit in the eastern Arctic knew the system.⁸⁵ An Anglican missionary had introduced syllabics in northern Quebec in 1876 and at

⁸²NAC, Sir Alexander Sim Papers, MG 30 D260 /9/9-2, Report of the Executive Director, E. R. McEwen, to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Toronto, October 21, 1965.

⁸³Bernadette Immaroitok, "A Visit to the Soviet Union," *Inuktitut* (July, 1981): 56.

⁸⁴As cited in Jack Cram, "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools," *McGill Journal of Education: An Inuit Teacher-Training Program* 20:2 (Spring, 1985): 115.

⁸⁵NAC, RG 22/126/40-10-4A Report on Educational Facilities in the Eastern Arctic, Prepared for the NWT Administration by H.R. Lamberton, November 1, 1948.

Blacklead Island in 1894. Others followed suit at Herschel Island in 1892 and Bernard Harbour in 1915.⁸⁶

A great many Eskimos have never come in contact with the missionaries; notwithstanding this, there are only a few... who cannot read and write.... Every native who learns to read, and who possesses a book, becomes the teacher of the uninstructed; in this manner education is spreading rapidly.⁸⁷

Despite the widespread ability of the Inuit to use syllabics, virtually all literature printed in this form was limited to religious material issued by missionaries. The only exception was an Eskimo-English grammar book published by the government in the 1920s.⁸⁸

In the western Arctic, especially in the Mackenzie District, the Latin alphabet was used for the Inuit language. Although neither the Latin alphabet nor syllabics fully represented the phonetic sounds of the Inuit dialects,⁸⁹ no

⁸⁶Oswalt, *Eskimos and Explorers*, 287; Robert E. Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," *Musk-Ox* 18 (1976): 44.

⁸⁷A. P. Low, *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands, 1903-1904* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 140-141.

⁸⁸NAC, MG 32 B35/69/"J. W. McKinnon," Survey of Educational Facilities in the Mackenzie District of the NWT, August 10 to October 9, 1947 submitted to the Bureau of the NWT and Yukon Affairs, by J. W. McKinnon, February 17, 1948.

⁸⁹Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 121.

discussion at this point ensued on developing an alphabet specifically for the Inuit language. Instead, the government decided English would be the medium of instruction in schools, despite the fact that only five percent of the Inuit in 1950-1951 were considered literate in English.⁹⁰ The rationale for this decision was based on two considerations: few teachers had any knowledge of the Inuit language, and it was deemed essential that the Inuit gain a knowledge of English if they were to participate in northern development.

The only residential schools in the eastern Arctic were in Arctic Quebec and they served very few Inuit. To remedy this inadequacy, in 1948 representatives of the Anglican church approached the federal government about constructing a residential school at Chesterfield Inlet. If the Department supplied the building materials, the mission offered to transport them and supply the labour. No action was taken by government. In 1949, the subject was broached again but to no avail.⁹¹ Meanwhile, the missions continued to receive educational grants, supplies, and equipment. However, though no official policy was established, financial

⁹⁰PWNHC, Alexander Stevenson Papers, N92-023 "Unsorted." "The Changing Canadian Eskimos," Alexander Stevenson, Administrator of the Arctic, DIAND, July 1969.

⁹¹NAC, RG 85/1874/600-1-4 (1) Letter to R. A. Gibson from J. G. Wright, November 10, 1949.

assistance for construction of new mission schools was discontinued.⁹²

Jenness alleged that by the end of the 1940s, a genuine programme for the education of the Inuit had begun to materialize. This was premised on the government's willingness to increase its investments in the Arctic, which included an increase in the education budget.⁹³ However, this assessment may have been overly optimistic. Although expenditures associated with education increased from \$35,060.66 in 1946-1947 to an estimated \$485,000 in 1949-1950,⁹⁴ lack of a defined policy limited activity to the construction of schools and resolving problems as they arose.⁹⁵ Aside from these factors, there was still no teaching programme, largely because there was no consensus about what it should include.⁹⁶ These were significant

⁹²Grant, *Sovereignty or Security*, 201.

⁹³Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II*, 79.

⁹⁴NAC, RG 22/871/40-10-4 (1) Memorandum to Hugh Keenleyside, Deputy Minister, Mines and Resources from R. A. Gibson, March 3, 1950; NAC, RG 22/871/40-10-4 (1) Memorandum for the Cabinet from Robert H. Winters, Minister, Department of Resources and Development, March 21, 1950.

⁹⁵R. A. J. Phillips, *Canada's North* (New York: St. Martin's Press 1967), 233.

⁹⁶NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Extract from Report of Alexander Stevenson, Officer-in-Charge, Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1950.

limitations in the advancement of the educational system. A government official made the following assessment:

At present there is more being done for 8,000 Eskimos than ant (sic) other 8,000 people in Canada. Without a wise program with an ultimate goal we will have 8,000 Eskimos with an education but on relief.⁹⁷

The general interest in improving the situation for the Inuit in the Arctic was exacerbated by the lack of a basic understanding of the problems involved in developing an educational system for the different ethnic groups inhabiting the NWT. To complicate matters further, other obstacles existed which related to the unique conditions in the Arctic: the enormous geographic area inhabited by the Inuit, their relatively small population and their nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle. The cost of transportation and communication and the difficulty of finding adequate personnel who could withstand the polar climate and geographic isolation exacerbated the situation.⁹⁸

Therefore, it is not surprising that by 1950 there had been little advancement in the educational system. By then, the federal government provided grants but neither curricula

⁹⁷NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Extract from Report of Alexander Stevenson, Officer-in-Charge, Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1950.

⁹⁸NAC, RG 22/871/40-10-4 (1) Memorandum for the Cabinet from Robert H. Winters, March 21, 1950.

nor teacher training programmes had been developed. Schools operated on different schedules, some for only four hours a day. Only about one-third of the teachers held teaching certificates, there were no vocational or adult education programmes, and according to one figure, there were only 117 Inuit children attending school on a full-time basis.⁹⁹ The situation was complicated further by the fact that the early 1950s was a period of transition in the northern educational system from a religious to a secular orientation.

Meanwhile, the bureaucracy associated with implementing the educational programme for the Inuit had increased. By 1950 the total staff of the Education Division, including teachers, caretakers, and headquarters administrative staff, totalled 60.¹⁰⁰

Inuit attendance in schools continued to be a issue. Part of the problem related to the lack of discipline from parents and, part, because neither the teachers nor the administrators had a clear understanding of Inuit culture. In

⁹⁹Phillips, *Canada's North*, 233. Chartrand cites the number of full-time Inuit students as 110, the number of certified teachers at 35 percent and there were three communities that offered adult education. Jean-Phillippe Chartrand, *Inuktitut Language Retention Among Canadian Inuit: An Analysis of 1971 and 1981 Census Data* (Ottawa: Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1985), 25.

¹⁰⁰NAC, MG 32 B 35/60/25 Opening Address by Gordon Robertson Commissioner of the NWT at the 16th session of the Council of the NWT, January 26, 1959.

response to a complaint from a teacher, a senior government official replied:

...there is a lack of parental authority among the natives... the situation cannot be altered ...by threatening to withhold family allowances or other social amenities. These ignorant natives are passing through a transition period. For years their capabilities failed to mature because they did not understand responsibility nor did they desire it. On the whole, Eskimos are a happy people, and were until a few years ago uncontaminated with white man's ideas on life and its attendant ills. To them it was the "survival of the fittest".... When an Eskimo is born, they believe this to be a reincarnation of a deceased relative. To correct the child for a misdemeanour would mean disrespect to a dead relative; hence the apparent lack of discipline...¹⁰¹

Furthermore, the poor attendance stemmed from the fact that the vast majority of Inuit still maintained a nomadic lifestyle and were reluctant to be separated from their children for extended periods of time. Finally, there were simply too few schools.

In 1952 in addition to 18 mission day schools, seven schools were operating under the jurisdiction of the federal government. The curricula, based on southern standards, included reading, writing, arithmetic, hygiene, natural

¹⁰¹NAC, RG 85/324/630/120-1 (2) Letter to G.E.B. Sinclair from LACO Hunt, Sub-District Administrator, October 17, 1951.

science, and conservation.¹⁰² The *Book of Wisdom*, a manual published in 1947 by the government for the Inuit, was also widely used.¹⁰³ Since this book was originally written in English and syllabics, it was reprinted in 1950, with an additional section in Latin characters. This was to enable the Inuit of the western Arctic, whose dialect employed Latin characters to understand it.¹⁰⁴ In 1951, film strips were made available and, soon after, part-time schools were supplied with a complete set of lessons for the first two grades.¹⁰⁵

The government, in recognition that its unique relationship with the Inuit required special consideration,

¹⁰²NAC, RG 85/59/160-7 (3) National Resources and Northern Development Press Release, May 22, 1952.

¹⁰³NAC, RG 85/941/12607 (2) "Administration of the NWT", 1952. At least one missionary criticized this book because it "shamelessly" ignored the outstanding work of the missionaries among the Inuit. In fact, it was a non-religious book designed as an experiment to convey to the Inuit information on subjects which were important in their daily lives, such as hygiene, care of the sick, wildlife conservation, and care of rifles, boats, etc. NAC, RG 85/1131/254-2 (1-B) Memorandum for Mr. Wright from A. Stevenson, June 6, 1950; E. N. Grantham, "Education Goes North," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 42:1 (January, 1951): 47.

¹⁰⁴NAC, RG85/1131/254-2 (1-B) Letter to Archibald A. Day from G. E. B. Sinclair, July 19, 1951.

¹⁰⁵NAC, RG 22/270/40-8-1 (6) Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, April 15, 1955. One of these filmstrips entitled "Elementary English for the Eskimos," was designed to help white people teach English to the Inuit whenever an opportunity arose. NAC, RG 85/1130/254-1 (1) Memorandum for Missionary in Charge from G. E. B. Sinclair, June 9, 1951.

established the Eskimo Affairs Committee in 1952. The Committee's goal was to devise ways to encourage the Inuit to continue their traditional lifestyle.¹⁰⁶ It was chaired by the Deputy Minister of Resources and Development and included the Director of Indian Health Services, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Bishops for the Arctic, the fur trade manager from the Hudson's Bay Company, and the RCMP Commissioner. In total, 55 people attended the first meeting as representative of ten federal agencies, the churches, and the Hudson's Bay Company. No Inuit were invited to attend this meeting.

At this meeting, held on May 19 and 20, 1952, the committee members reached a consensus on a number of initiatives with respect to education. They agreed to employ Inuit teachers whenever available and to encourage and help children of "demonstrated ability" to become teachers.¹⁰⁷ The impetus for this may well have been the difficulties experienced by teachers in adjusting to the extremely isolated and vastly different northern environment. As an interim measure, the government and mission authorities initiated summer schools and training programmes to prepare the teachers

¹⁰⁶NAC, RG 22/254/40-8-1/2, Press Release, National Resources and Northern Development, May 22, 1952.

¹⁰⁷NAC, Department of Health and Welfare Records, RG 29/174/236-9-12 Meeting on Eskimo Affairs, Ottawa, May 20, 1952; PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Press Release No. 3360, DNANR, May 22, 1952.

to cope with conditions in the North.¹⁰⁸

The second agreement was to appoint a sub-committee on Inuit education.¹⁰⁹ Serving in a purely advisory capacity to the main committee, it consisted of professional educators and representatives from church and government.

At its first meeting, the sub-committee members agreed that though the Inuit economy was limited to hunting, fishing, and trapping, they should not be permitted to remain illiterate. Specifically, the Inuit "should be furnished with that degree and kind of education which will enable them to live a fuller life in their own environment and, at the same time, be able to take advantage of opportunities which may arise from the encroachment of outside civilization".¹¹⁰ To achieve this objective, they recommended the employment of itinerant teachers travelling from camp to camp, the building of residential schools, the erecting of tent hostels which reflected the traditional lifestyle, and the use of summer schools in settlements where the summer population warranted

¹⁰⁸NAC, RG 85/322/610-3(3) "Arctic Teachers Go to School," Michael Meiklejohn, Physical Fitness Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, n.d.

¹⁰⁹NAC, RCMP Records, RG 18 Accession 85-86/048/42/D1512-2-4-Q-27 (1952) "Report of First meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, September 26, 1952.

¹¹⁰NAC, RG 22/271/40-10-1 (2) Memorandum for R. G. Robertson, "Education in the NWT," from F.J.G. Cunningham, January 4, 1955.

it but the winter population did not.¹¹¹

The itinerant teacher experiment had limited success because the job entailed adopting the Inuit lifestyle which most teachers found unpalatable. The one exception was the female teacher who worked in the Cape Dorset area, in the eastern Arctic, from 1950 to 1957.¹¹²

The Roman Catholic Bishops in the Canadian Arctic were united on what they believed was the best education for the Inuit. To this effect, they submitted their suggestions to the government. They wanted education expanded for grade school pupils and younger adults, "so that their way of life may become more stable and they will gradually progress into civilization." The foundation of this education would be basic reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and other elementary subjects. However, it would be extended to include a practical education consisting of manual training, native handicrafts, and domestic science. The fundamental purpose was to help the Inuit to continue their tradition of earning a living by harvesting existing renewable resources, not to transform them into white people. They also recommended that

¹¹¹NAC, RG 18 Accession 85-86/048/ 42/D1512-2-4-Q-27 (1952) Report of First meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, September 26, 1952.

¹¹²NAC, RG 85/1476/603-1 (12) Letter to J. V. Jacobson, Superintendent of Education from E. N. Grantham, Education Division, July 30, 1957.

the minimum standard of education should be maintained through the creation of a school programme from grades one to five, and that the native dialect, when possible, should be used to teach the English language.¹¹³ As sound as these recommendations may have been, the absence of teachers with the requisite language skills made implementation impossible, even if the government had been amenable.

In 1952 the school ordinance of the NWT that dealt with the language of instruction was modified as follows: "All schools shall be taught in the English language but it shall be permissible for the board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French or Eskimo language."¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, English continued as the only language of instruction. However, because of the ordinance elementary textbooks could be printed in English with an accompanying version in the Inuit language.¹¹⁵ As an interim measure it was decided that each northern area would use the curriculum of

¹¹³PWNHC, N92-023, "Unsorted." Recommendations of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Mackenzie, Hudson's Bay and Labrador on Eskimo Welfare and Education, 1952.

¹¹⁴Philip G. Howard, "History of the Use of Dene Languages in Education in the Northwest Territories," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 10:2 (Winter, 1983): 4.

¹¹⁵PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Minutes of the First Meeting of the Special Committee on Eskimo Affairs, October 16, 1952.

the province adjoining it. Thus, the Mackenzie District adopted the curriculum of Alberta, the Keewatin area used Manitoba's, and Baffin Island employed the curriculum from Ontario, since most of its teachers had been recruited from that province.¹¹⁶

Developing a curriculum specifically for Inuit children proved to be difficult. After all, the new system despite statements to the contrary was not intended to enhance the traditional culture but to replace it with that of the white man. In other words, the difficulty stemmed from the difficulty in finding a curriculum that would ease the Inuit children's transition from one culture to another. It was equally difficult for teachers who were instructed that Inuit "racial pride and independence of spirit" must be maintained through the transition period.¹¹⁷ The continuing lack of a standardized curriculum meant that individual teachers were still required to devise practical methods of implementing these contradictory objectives. For teachers who were

¹¹⁶C. J. Frederickson, "The Curriculum for the Northern Schools," in *Education North of 60* [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent* (Toronto: Ryerson Press 1964), 41.

¹¹⁷NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) "Developing a Curriculum for Use in Eskimo Schools," Summary of Address given by Superintendent of Education, J. V. Jacobson, at the First Summer School for Teachers of the NWT, August 1953.

recruited from other areas and had a minimal knowledge of Inuit culture this was a formidable task.

In the fall of 1953, a draft outline of a proposed curriculum for Inuit schools was finally introduced. However, it was of little assistance to the teachers since it was to serve only as a tentative guide. Besides, it was intended primarily for missionaries who were still teaching but did not possess teaching certificates.¹¹⁸

As these initiatives continued, major changes occurred in the area of administration. Many of the government agencies that provided services to the north were centralized under the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1953.¹¹⁹ Its mandate was to assist with the development of the Northwest Territories, and its duties included the formation of an educational system for the Inuit.

During this period, a recommendation to establish local committees in the north was rejected on the grounds that "the time was not yet opportune."¹²⁰ Had this recommendation been accepted, the government would have had ongoing assessments of the status of the educational system in the various

¹¹⁸RG 22 V. 120 F. 40-10-4A Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education on October 15, 1953.

¹¹⁹Mouat, "Education in the Arctic District," 1.

¹²⁰PWNHC, N92-023, "Unsorted." Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, May 6, 1953.

settlements, and a basis for judging the impact of education upon the Inuit.

Meanwhile, the grants paid to mission schools came under review. At issue were concerns that some of the mission schools provided educational instruction for only a few hours each day, that the majority of mission teachers remained unqualified, and that they generally devoted the majority of their time to religious teachings. The decision was made to create a new method for determining grants to mission schools in Inuit territory based on the qualifications of teachers. It was further recommended that teachers in mission schools be made federal civil servants, that the federal government continue to provide textbooks and other supplies to the schools in the NWT, and that the present grants be replaced by an annual grant for each pupil. This was to occur in 1954-55.¹²¹ However, it was not until April 1, 1956, that all the mission school teachers became federal employees. This made it possible for the government to establish consistent qualification standards for all teachers in the NWT. These decisions were a marked departure from the previous position of the federal government to allow the mission schools to operate independently. In essence, it signalled a change from the government being a participant in the education system to

¹²¹NAC, RG 22/120/40-10-4A Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, October 15, 1953.

one in which it would eventually assume total control.

In 1954 the part-time schools were supplied with a complete set of grade one lessons and this was followed the next year with a set for grade two.¹²² These lessons added another element of standardization throughout the northern school system and can be considered the initial efforts to provide a universal curriculum. However, they were based on those used in southern schools, and as will be shown, were not completely satisfactory as teaching aids when applied in Inuit schools.

The government continued to conduct field studies, particularly during the annual eastern Arctic patrol.¹²³ The 1953 and 1954 patrol reports emphasized the number of communities for which school facilities were lacking. In both years, the use of some form of camp lessons for Inuit children was recommended.¹²⁴ These camp lessons were, in essence, temporary schools set up near trading posts where the Inuit tended to congregate in summer. If successful, it was

¹²²NAC, RG 22/270/40-8-1 (6) Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, April 15, 1955.

¹²³ In 1922, the government initiated the annual eastern Arctic patrol. The "patrol" was a fully equipped ship that conducted scientific studies, visited settlements to provide medical services and collected information about the general condition of the Inuit.

¹²⁴NAC, RG 22/120/40-10-4A Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, October 15, 1953.

suggested that government educational centres be established at each of these points. What is most significant about this recommendation is that, if adopted, the government would assume responsibility at the sites which were serviced by the missionaries.

The reports also focussed on the inadequate teaching materials in use. It was suggested that elementary English should be taught through the use of simple readers relevant to the Inuit culture. It was emphasized that the objective of education should be to raise the standard of literacy to levels comparable to the third or fourth grade level in southern schools.¹²⁵

As of 1954, about 15 percent of Inuit children were attending federal schools and about 400 more were receiving instruction in part-time mission schools.¹²⁶ These figures although representing an improvement in attendance levels, actually included all children who had access to school facilities. Thus the low attendance levels which had

¹²⁵NAC, RG 85/1476/603-1 (6) "Inspection and Supervision of Eastern Arctic School Facilities, 1954," E. N. Grantham.

¹²⁶NAC, RG 22/271/40-10-4 (2) Memorandum for Cabinet regarding "Education in the NWT" from Jean Lesage, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, March 4, 1955. By means of residential, day and mission schools, about 20 percent of Inuit school age children were obtaining some level of education. NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, DNANR, from F.J.G. Cunningham, Director, Ottawa, April 30, 1954.

characterized the initial attempts to provide schooling had been overcome. The system had progressed to a point where a lack of school facilities had become the main obstacle. At that time, there were schools in only eight Inuit communities.¹²⁷ The low numbers were, in part, the result of government's vacillation between educating the Inuit and leaving them to their traditional lifestyles, and, in part, to the fact that the cost to government and inconvenience to the Inuit did not justify providing schools in remote areas.¹²⁸ The cost associated with transporting to and accomodating Inuit children at residential schools was considered prohibitive. To address the needs of the children still outside the system, a proposal was made to introduce a "school of the air," a programme using "radio and correspondence instruction."¹²⁹

Throughout this period, the Inuit standard of living continued to deteriorate. The problem stemmed from the

¹²⁷National Library, Whiteside Collection (hereafter NLWC) No. 595. D. W. Simpson, D. K. F. Wattie, et al, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," Paper presented at the 19th Alaskan Science Conference, Whitehorse, (August 28-30, 1967), 1.

¹²⁸NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, DNANR, from F.J.G. Cunningham, Director, April 30, 1954.

¹²⁹NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, DNANR, from F.J.G. Cunningham, Director, April 30, 1954.

increase in the Inuit population which placed a greater demand on the supply of animals upon which the Inuit depended. As the animal population decreased, there was a growing dependence on store-bought foods. The situation was exacerbated by an increase in the cost of consumer goods and by fluctuations in fur prices.¹³⁰ From 1950-1951 to 1953-1954 the value of the fur trade decreased by 75 percent.¹³¹ As a result, relief payments increased from \$10,800 in 1945-1946 to \$115,000 by 1951-1952 and to \$158,000 in 1953-1954.¹³² This figure did not include family allowance payments which began on July 1, 1945.¹³³ This combination of factors demoralized the Inuit and placed a tremendous financial burden on the government.

In 1955 the attitude of the government toward the Inuit changed. Plans were underway for the economic development of the Arctic, and Canada was increasing its defense profile in the area. In order to redress some of the inadequacies of past policies, the government felt compelled to ensure that

¹³⁰Edward Treude, "Studies in Settlement Development and Evolution of the Economy in the Eastern Central Canadian Arctic," *Musk-Ox* 16 (1975): 55.

¹³¹NAC, RG 22/271/40-10-4 (2) Memorandum for the Cabinet "Education in the NWT" from Jean Lesage, March 4, 1955.

¹³²*Ibid.*

¹³³PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Opening Talk by Mr. J. G. Wright to Eskimo Affairs Committee, May 9, 1952.

the Inuit enjoyed some of the benefits of development. The official thinking at that time was reflected in the words of Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources:

It is pointless to consider whether the Eskimo was happier before the white man came, for the white man has come and time cannot be reversed. The only realistic approach is to accept the fact that the Eskimo will be brought ever more under the influences of civilization to the south. The task, then, is to help him adjust his life and his thoughts to all that the encroachment of this new life must mean.¹³⁴

This was the first definitive statement on the government's intentions with regard to Inuit education. It signalled the beginning of a process which would transpose the Inuit from a "primitive" to a "civilized" people through increased education.

During this period, there was continuing criticism of the missions with regard to education, specifically those in the central Arctic. In 1955, one government report pinpointed the weakness in the educational system as the fault of the instruction given in the mission schools.

Justifiably or not, there is widespread criticism that much of the teaching is ineffective and that a disproportionate amount

¹³⁴Jean Lesage, "Enter the European," *Beaver* (Spring, 1955): 4.

of time in school is occupied by religious instruction. There is also much cynicism about the padding of school attendance figures.¹³⁵

At this time, the government believed the optimum solution to the social and economic problems of the Inuit lay in the massive expansion of the school system in the NWT. Accordingly, the government introduced an extended educational programme. The general objective was stated as follows:

...to involve all the children of all the people, value each child equally with any other and offer all the opportunity of a systemized full bodied meaningful education under the best conditions practicable and to the fullest extent to which each child by his interest, abilities and propensities is able to achieve.¹³⁶

The new educational programme was to be introduced over a six-year period, and set a priority for school construction in areas with potential for wage employment, specifically the Mackenzie District.¹³⁷ It included the provision of education to children still outside the system either because their

¹³⁵PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Memorandum for Gordon Robertson and F. J. G. Cunningham regarding "Report of a Trip to the Central Arctic," from R.A J. Phillips, April 21, 1955.

¹³⁶NLWC, Simpson and Wattie, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," Appendix E.

¹³⁷NAC, RG 22/160/5-0-1-40 Opening Address by Gordon Robertson, Commissioner of the NWT at the 12th Session of the Council of the NWT, January 14, 1957.

parents lived a nomadic existence, or their area was too remote with too few students to justify the financial expenditure.

The key features of this new programme were the introduction of hostels at strategic sites to accommodate children who were not able to attend existing residential facilities and the creation of three vocational training programmes, two in the western Arctic and the other in the east. In addition, an Education Division was set up to create programmes for the adult native population who, at that time, had received no exposure to formal education. These programmes were to be based on the needs of the population and were to recognize "the various stages they are at in the process of acculturation."¹³⁸

As of April 1, 1955 the government assumed responsibility for all aspects of education in the NWT including the take-over or replacement of all church-owned hostels and the building of any new educational facilities.¹³⁹ However, the missions continued to operate those hostels intended for

¹³⁸NLWC, Simpson and Wattie, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," Appendix E.

¹³⁹NAC, RG 85/711/630-158-9 (5) "Government Should Operate Hostels," n.d.

children of native peoples on a contract basis.¹⁴⁰ This programme had the approval of both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Bishops of the Arctic.¹⁴¹ These changes reduced the influence of the churches over the educational system, though their representatives continued to play a role in establishing educational priorities and policies.

At the same time, the government defined the general objectives for curricula in the north. The new programmes were to be based upon those used in the south "with modifications, adaptations, and additions prepared and developed conjointly by curriculum specialists, principals, teachers and others, the materials of which are related and pertinent to the setting in which the learning is to take place."¹⁴²

With this in mind, in 1955, a Curricula Section with a three-person staff, who were responsible for research and the development of curricula, was established in the Education

¹⁴⁰Devitt, *History of Education in the Northwest Territories*, " 65.

¹⁴¹NAC, Rg 22/271/40-10-4 (2) Memorandum for Cabinet from Jean Lesage, March 4, 1955; *Ibid.*, Press Release No. 3555, "New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories," March 28, 1955.

¹⁴²NLWC, Simpson and Wattie, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," Appendix E.

Division.¹⁴³ The proposed curricula were to have three levels: academic, intended for children who would complete high school; all-purpose, for children whose stay in school would be limited; and pre-vocational, designed to produce skilled trades people.¹⁴⁴ The following year, 1957, three more people were added to the staff with a mandate to provide a basic English programme for adult instruction and trial programmes for teaching English in Inuit schools.¹⁴⁵ At the eighth meeting of the sub-committee on education on April 11, 1957, a recommendation was made to set up a "sub-sub-committee" to study the planning of the curriculum. It was established on May 8, 1958, however, its first meeting did not occur until May, 1959.¹⁴⁶ Thus, despite all the planning and good intentions, there had been little progress made in developing

¹⁴³NAC, RG 85/1262/620-1 (3) Letter to the Chief, Branch of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, from J. V. Jacobson, Chief, Education Division, February 13, 1956.

¹⁴⁴NAC, RG 22/271/40-10-4 (2) Memorandum for the Director, from J.V. Jacobson, Superintendent of Education, March 22, 1955; NAC, RG 85/1262/620-1 (3) Letter to Mr. LACO Hunt, Fort Smith from J. V. Jacobson, Superintendent of Education, April 5, 1955.

¹⁴⁵NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, March 15, 1956.

¹⁴⁶NAC, RG 22/869/40-8-9 (2) Statement by the Chairman, Gordon Robertson, Concerning the Report of the Education Sub-committee on Aims and Objectives of Education and Training Programmes, March 28-29, 1960.

a satisfactory curriculum for northern schools by the end of 1959.

In March, 1960 the Curriculum Section's mandate changed from developing curricula for use in all schools of the NWT to concentrating specifically on Inuit education. Still no satisfactory curriculum was developed.¹⁴⁷

During this period, the NWT had neither the resources nor the facilities to develop a supply of teachers from the local population. As a result, teachers had to be recruited from outside areas. According to official policy, teachers were required to possess at least first-class provincial teaching certificates or the equivalent. However, the inability to recruit an adequate number of teachers from southern Canada, resulted in a considerable number being hired from the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Commonwealth Countries.¹⁴⁸ By September 1, 1958, all teachers serving in northern areas had, as a minimum qualification, a first-class teaching certificate or license. To assist the teachers in coping with

¹⁴⁷NAC, RG 22/869/40-8-9 (2) Statement by the Chairman, Gordon Robertson, Concerning the Report of the Education Sub-committee on Aims and Objectives of Education and Training Programmes, March 28-29, 1960.

¹⁴⁸D. W. Simpson, "Accommodation for Learning and Living," in *Education North of 60* [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), 28.

the rigours of northern postings, visits by supervisors and in-service training were increased.¹⁴⁹

In-service training and workshops provided a forum for teachers to discuss mutual problems and possible solutions regarding the education of native peoples in the north. One such workshop held in the summer of 1956 suggested that the long term goal of northern education should be

the integration or acculturation of Indian and Eskimo peoples into Canadian Society while adding some elements of their culture to ours and accepting some of our cultural patterns so that finally both cultures will be enriched.¹⁵⁰

What is most interesting about this statement was that it was no more specific than the general policy statements of the government, nor did it provide any concrete solutions to the ongoing dilemma of how the Inuit should be educated. It did indicate, however, that at least the educators at this workshop accepted the prevailing view of the government.

During 1955, approximately 39 percent of Inuit pupils

¹⁴⁹Margaret Lantis, "The Administration of Northern Peoples: Canada and Alaska," in *The Arctic Frontier* ed. R. St. J. MacDonald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 100.

¹⁵⁰NAC, Joseph V. and Natalie Jacobson Papers, MG 31 D153/1/"Indian and Eskimo Publications, 1956." "Indian and Eskimo Education," University of Alberta, July-August, 1956, DNANR, Education Division.

were attending residential schools.¹⁵¹ These facilities served a key function in the acculturation process since they often immersed Inuit children in the white culture. However, there is some evidence that at least one school, the residential school which opened in 1955 at Chesterfield Inlet in the eastern Arctic, did make attempts to ensure that Inuit children retained a sense of their ethnic heritage. The church authorities, the Grey Nuns, selected students who met the following criteria: they had to be academically inclined, between nine and twelve years old, and in good health.¹⁵² The students were accepted for a period of three years and, if at the end of this time, they exhibited academic prowess, they remained for a further three year term. To qualify for the second term a student also had to be assessed as interested in further training and have no desire to return to the native way of life.¹⁵³ The school followed the standard curriculum, imposed by government, which was in general the same as was taught in other Canadian schools. However, special measures were taken to adapt the school to the Inuit child. This

¹⁵¹NLWC, Simpson, Wattie, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," 1.

¹⁵²NAC, RG 22/120/40-10-4A Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, October 15, 1953.

¹⁵³NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, March 15, 1956.

included the teaching of syllabics, devising a diet based on traditional Inuit foods, and recreational activities familiar to Inuit children. In an apparent contradiction of the selection criteria, these modifications were made based on the understanding that "the children will later on have to return to live as Eskimos."¹⁵⁴ The school was administered on the general principle that

In every sphere of action one must know how to adapt himself to the mentality and mores of the people concerned. Henceforth, every effort was made to adapt our way of thinking and doing to theirs, the Eskimos, and not vice versa.¹⁵⁵

This school had facilities for up to 75 Inuit students and was exclusively for the use of children of the Roman Catholic faith. There was no equivalent institution for Anglican children in the eastern Arctic.¹⁵⁶

Another innovative idea was introduced in the late 1950s at Baker Lake also in the Eastern Arctic. Experiments were

¹⁵⁴Lorraine Brandson, "A Look Back at Chesterfield Inlet Boarding School," *Inuktitut* (July, 1981): 44-45; Fr. A. Renaud, O.M.I., "The Boarding School at Chesterfield and the Education of the Eskimo," *Eskimo* (December, 1955): 17.

¹⁵⁵Brandson, "A Look Back at Chesterfield Inlet Boarding School," 44.

¹⁵⁶In 1956, there were 71 children in attendance. NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, March 15, 1956.

conducted in some locations to employ local Inuit to teach traditional skills in formal schools. In the 1957-1958 school year, one such course was conducted on a half-day basis which included training in fishing, trapping, the building of igloos, and the making of clothing from animal hides. However, it lasted for only one year because parents and teachers decided that knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic were more important.¹⁵⁷ It is possible that teachers or other local authorities cajoled the parents into making this decision.

The government position, as articulated by the Minister of National Resources and Northern Development at the Arctic Conference in 1957, noted a requirement for closer scrutiny of northern educational policy. The basic idea was that if the Inuit were to integrate fully into Canadian society, they needed to be trained for business and the professions. The notion was that "primitive" peoples could make the transition to a modern way of life if they were provided with "the right opportunities and the right guidance."¹⁵⁸ The Superintendent of Education went further by suggesting that the educational programme should be intensified to train the Inuit properly

¹⁵⁷Jill Oakes, "Culture: From the Igloo to the Classroom," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 15:2 (1988), 44.

¹⁵⁸NAC, RG 85/1476/254-1 (601-1 (13) DNANR Arctic Conference "Who's Who in the Arctic," Report of the Opening Session, October 28, 1957.

for employment in the mainstream economy. He argued that the Inuit had to be provided with at least a grade eight education if they were to rise above the level of "flunkie."¹⁵⁹

There were at least three fundamental impediments in the way of providing additional training for the Inuit: low levels of education, insufficient schools, and low literacy rates. By the end of 1957, there were 35 Inuit children who had achieved educational levels of Grade six or higher, and only two had graduated from high school.¹⁶⁰ To place these figures in perspective, according to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics report of 1959-1960, on average approximately two-thirds of students in southern Canada left the system before completing junior high school.¹⁶¹ Thus, while the Inuit figures are significantly lower than those in southern Canada, education past the grade eight level could not be considered a major goal within southern Canadian society either. It also tends to indicate that the government policy of providing the Inuit with an education to the eighth grade was a reasonable objective. The basic problem remained, however, to educate

¹⁵⁹PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Memorandum for the Acting Chief, Arctic Division from J. V. Jacobson, November 6, 1957.

¹⁶⁰NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Letter to Robert N. Harvey from Graham Rowley, January 22, 1958.

¹⁶¹Frederickson, "The Curriculum for the Northern Schools," 33.

all Inuit to the elementary school level.

The second and related factor was that approximately 75 percent of Inuit school-age children did not have access to full-time educational facilities. In more than 20 settlements, education was still limited to part-time instruction by missionaries.¹⁶² School construction up to this point was not sufficient to meet the increasing demand caused by the extensive population growth.¹⁶³ Thus, the creation of schools had to increase just to maintain the status quo. It would have taken a massive effort, including the building a network of schools in remote areas, to have significantly altered the percentage of Inuit children who had access to full-time educational facilities. The extent of the problem is illustrated by a review of the government record of school creation for the period 1949-1959. Fourteen schools had been established in Inuit territory, but 11 of these had previously been in operation as part-time mission schools.¹⁶⁴

The third factor impeding additional training was the level of literacy among the Inuit population. It was

¹⁶²NAC, RG 22/335/40-8-19 (2) Minutes of the Ninth Meeting of the Sub-committee on Eskimo Education, May 8, 1958.

¹⁶³PWNHC, N92-023 Unsorted." Memorandum for the Acting Chief, Arctic Division from J. V. Jacobson, November 6, 1957.

¹⁶⁴NAC, RG 85/1476/603-1 (12) "Expansion of Eskimo Educational Facilities in 1959-60," by E. N. Grantham.

estimated that at the end of the decade the literacy rate among the entire population was eight percent.¹⁶⁵ Among the adult population the rate fell to about 5 percent¹⁶⁶. Outside the Mackenzie District, even less than five percent of the adult Inuit population could read, write and do rudimentary mathematics.¹⁶⁷ Equally significant was the fact that 20 percent of Inuit children entering the school system were unable to function using the English language.¹⁶⁸ Thus, they first had to be taught English before they could be trained in any other subject.

By the end of the 1950s, there had been some progress in the area of school construction. During this period, the first vocational-high school facility, complete with a hundred

¹⁶⁵NAC, MG 30 B75/4/"Publications on Introduction to the Canadian North," "An Introduction to the Canadian North", by R. A. J. Phillips, Chief Arctic Division, [First in a series of lectures entitled the New North sponsored by the Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, October 26, 1957. R.A.J. Phillips claimed that "one in fifteen Inuit could read and write. This approximate figure would place the percentage at 6.7 which is consistent with the other estimates of Inuit literacy. R. A. J. Phillips, "Slum Dwellers of the Wide-Open Spaces," *Weekend Magazine* 9:15 (1959): 22.

¹⁶⁶Krauter and Davis, *Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups*, 29.

¹⁶⁷PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Speech presented to the NWT Council, entitled "The Problem of the North," January, 1959.

¹⁶⁸NAC, RG 85/653/1012-9 (2) Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, May 25, 1959.

bed residence to serve the Inuit and other ethnic groups, was opened in Yellowknife.¹⁶⁹ In addition, two student residences, each having facilities for 250 students opened in the Mackenzie District in 1959.¹⁷⁰ The few Inuit students who had the necessary qualifications to attend were transported to and maintained at these facilities by the federal government.

In 1958 and 1959 nine schools were added to the Inuit school system. This brought the total number of government-operated schools in the NWT and Northern Quebec to 48. There were also 22 part-time mission schools.¹⁷¹ As of February 28, 1959, 1165 of the 2949, or almost 40 percent, of Inuit children of school age regularly attended school on a full-time basis.¹⁷²

Programmes had also been initiated to train a number of Inuit in various vocations in southern schools. One such endeavour was a ten-week program to train eight girls from the

¹⁶⁹NLWC, No. 136. "Breakthrough in Eskimo Education," 1.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁷¹NAC, MG 32 B35/60/25 Opening Address by Gordon Robertson, Commissioner of the NWT at the 16th session of the Council of the NWT, January 26, 1959.

¹⁷²NAC, RG 85/644/630-146-3 "Eskimo Attendance at Full Time Schools in the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec," May, 1959; Chartrand, *Inuktitut Language Retention Among Canadian Inuit*, 25.

eastern Arctic in the food service industry.¹⁷³ In a more extensive programme, Inuit men were sent to training facilities at Canadian military bases to take courses relating to industry and commerce.¹⁷⁴ In total, there were 674 Inuit students enrolled in various vocational training programmes. Approximately 58 percent of these students received training as construction workers or for unskilled labour.¹⁷⁵

As the school system expanded so did the administrative, teaching and support staff of the Education Division of Northern Affairs and National Resources. From 125 employees in 1956 this Division increased its staff to 271 by 1959 with plans to expand further to 350 by 1960.¹⁷⁶ In its own right, the Education Division was becoming a sizeable bureaucracy with sufficient resources to service and address the needs of the Inuit educational programme. The growth in this division may be viewed as one indicator of the commitment of the

¹⁷³NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Press Release No. 3942 "Eskimo Girls to Take Food Services Training," DNANR, December 24, 1958.

¹⁷⁴NAC, RG 22/848/40-8-13 (5) Letter to Donald S. MacDonald, Minister of National Defence from Jean Chretien, Minister, DIAND, November 27, 1970.

¹⁷⁵Chartrand, *Inuktitut Language Retention Among Canadian Inuit*, 25

¹⁷⁶NAC, MG 32 B 35/60/25 Opening Address by Gordon Robertson, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories at the 16th Session of the Council of the Northwest Territories, January 26, 1959.

government to improving the educational system in the Arctic regions.¹⁷⁷

At the same time, there was a fundamental change in attitude concerning Inuit involvement in the educational process. Historically, neither the missions nor the government had felt the need to consult the Inuit concerning policies that directly affected them. The issue of consulting the Inuit for their opinions of the educational system was raised at the eighth meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee in May 1957. Concerns were raised that since the Inuit population was in different stages of transition and development, it would be difficult and impractical to select representatives. A survey of the Inuit was suggested as an alternative. This idea was criticized because a limited survey might not produce viable results since so many different viewpoints existed. It was decided that all people, Inuit and White, who were approached for their opinions would have to be selected with great care.¹⁷⁸

Nevertheless, a limited survey was conducted. In 1958 the Inuit were asked to complete a questionnaire, in syllabic characters, which sought to determine their views on education. The overwhelming consensus of the respondents,

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸NAC, RG 22/485/40-18-19-1 Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, May 13, 1957.

primarily mothers, was that they wanted their children to have an education but preferred to have them receive this education while living at home.¹⁷⁹ There were times, however, when parents were more willing to leave their children at schools. This was particularly the case during the summer or 'starvation period,' when adult Inuit had to cover vast areas in search of food. At these times, it was often necessary for the government to airlift supplies to small outlying camps in order to ensure that the Inuit did not starve.¹⁸⁰

One of the more concrete steps taken to involve the Inuit in the educational process was the classroom assistants programme. Intended as a general link between the school and the community, these aides were to assist teachers, learn basic life skills, and train as potential teachers. Upon completion of a ten-month apprenticeship they would work in schools in which the student population did not justify two teachers but was too large to be managed by one, or work in remote areas where the population did not warrant a regular federal day school.¹⁸¹ The programme began in the Arctic

¹⁷⁹PWNHC, N92-023 Unsorted." R. A. J. Phillips, "The Canadian Eskimo," An Address at a Conference of the National Commission on the Canadian Indian, January 28, 1959.

¹⁸⁰NAC, RG 85/497/630-159-1 Letter to J. V. Jacobson, Chief, Education Division, from Terence Golding, Welfare Teacher, Baker Lake, April 22, 1958.

¹⁸¹NAC, RG 22/485/40-8-19 (1) Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, April 11,

District in 1958 with the employment of two assistants in the communities of Resolute Bay and Chesterfield Inlet.¹⁸²

The most important example of the change in government attitude toward the Inuit occurred when four representatives from the Inuit community were invited to attend the tenth meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee in May 1959. Each of the representatives was given the opportunity to present his personal views on education and its impact upon the future of the Inuit. The consensus among these representatives was that their way of life was changing and education was essential if they were to benefit from the changes.¹⁸³ It should be noted that these representatives were selected because they had the greatest degree of comfort with government officials and their opinions conformed with government policy. It is not known what percentage of the Inuit population shared their opinions. Nevertheless, their attendance before a government institution in which they were provided the opportunity to speak was an important milestone in both the development of the Inuit educational system and for the Inuit as a people.

1957.

¹⁸²NAC, RG 22/335/40-8-13 (2) Memorandum for the Deputy Minister from B. G. Sivertz, Director, June 18, 1958; NAC, RG 85/2068/121-1-3 (5) "Classroom Assistants Program," October, 1968.

¹⁸³NAC, RG 22/335/40-8-19 (2) Memorandum for Alvin Hamilton from R.G. Robertson, May 26, 1959.

At the same meeting, the option of teaching the Inuit in their native language re-surfaced. The Sub-committee on Education in 1954 had recommended that children from remote areas should be taught in their native language, especially for the first two years.¹⁸⁴ This position, at least to some extent, was supported by the Superintendent of Education. A few months before the meeting on Eskimo Affairs, he had suggested to teachers working in the Arctic that the possibility existed of having the Inuit language taught as a subject. Moreover, when the Inuit had been trained as teachers or aides, they could teach subjects in the curriculum in their native language in the first two or three grades if the individual communities desired it.¹⁸⁵

However, despite this support for native language use in schools, the predominant view remained that English should continue as the language of instruction. The principal arguments against the use of the Inuit language had dominated government thinking from the early 1950s and were as follows: that the native language would have to be modified to address the technical age, there was a lack of

¹⁸⁴NAC, RG 22/805/40-8-9 (1) Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, October 29, 1954.

¹⁸⁵NAC, RG 85/1262/620-1 (4) Memorandum for Teachers, Arctic Education District from J. V. Jacobson, Chief Superintendent of Education, January 3, 1959.

teachers with knowledge of the native language which would impede any advancement of the system, and learning in the native language would be a deterrent to entering wage employment or advanced education.¹⁸⁶

A concession was made that it might be possible to teach the native language as a subject, but the overriding consideration was the belief that the "teachers were in a better position to enable children to master their subject matter if English was used as the language of instruction in the schools."¹⁸⁷ This last argument appears counter-intuitive. Many of the children entered the school system with no knowledge of English. Thus, while teaching in English was without doubt easier for the teachers, there is some question whether it was easier for the students. However, since the Inuit had indicated a wish for education, and at least some recognized the changing nature of their environment, the decision to use English seems to have had some merit. The one option that does not appear to have surfaced during this time was the creation of a bilingual educational system for both teachers and students. This would have achieved the objective of preserving the Inuit

¹⁸⁶NAC, RG 85/653/1012-9 (2) Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, May 25, 1959; NAC, MG 32 B35/30/1-36 Memorandum for the Alvin Hamilton from R. G. Robertson, Ottawa, April 12, 1960.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*

language while facilitating government objectives.

The advantages of a bilingual education system on a minority culture had been well defined as early as 1953 in a UNESCO paper entitled "The Use of Vernacular Language in Education"

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium.¹⁸⁸

Notwithstanding the decision to continue with English as the language of instruction, the government did acknowledge the importance of preserving the Inuit language and other cultural values.¹⁸⁹ To offset the damage caused by

¹⁸⁸Prattis and Chartrand, *System and Process: Inuktitut - English Bilingualism in the Northwest Territories of Canada*, 6. More recent studies support the contention that language immersion programmes can be equally effective when the integrity of the child's culture is maintained during the process. It should be noted, however, that this was not the case with the Canadian Inuit. For a general discussion of the subject see Barbara Burnaby, "Language in Native Education in Canada," in *International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* ed. Christina Bratt Paulson (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988): 141-161.

¹⁸⁹NAC, MG 32 B35/30/1-36 Memorandum for the Alvin Hamilton from Gordon Robertson, April 12, 1960; NAC, RG 85/653/1012-9 (2) Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, May 25, 1959.

this policy and to help ensure the preservation of the native language the government began publication of a native language magazine (*Inuktitut*).¹⁹⁰

During the Spring of 1959, the general direction of government policies for the Inuit came under severe criticism from the Roman Catholic Church. The Church's primary concern appeared to be that the government policies were leading to the assimilation of the Inuit. Moreover, these policies could be "a costly mistake because their culture varies from one area to another in nature, in degree of evolution and in relation to the direct contact with European culture." Allowing the Inuit to adapt to the ongoing changes, rather than being assimilated, would permit them to choose the salient features of their culture that they wished to preserve:

Instead of trying to remould all Eskimos in our own image, we should seek to guarantee them... the real freedom which is under the law. Only in this manner will he maintain his self-respect, his dignity, and his pride in being Eskimo and take his place in the

¹⁹⁰NAC, RG 85/653/1012-9 (2) Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, May 25, 1959. *Inuktitut* was first published in 1959, ceased in January 1965 and was revived in 1966. It was intended to help broaden and even establish an Inuit literature. It was to be written by Inuit for Inuit. The government covered the costs of publication. PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." M. K. Petrie, "Inuktitut: Policy," January 14, 1971.

nation."¹⁹¹

In retrospect, this argument was ahead of its time and in many respects could have formed the basis of government policy. However, it is worth repeating that the aim of the government was to educate the Inuit so that they could integrate fully into Canadian society. The protection of Inuit culture and heritage was a secondary issue, at best.

The prevailing view among government officials involved in education was that the "great strength" of the school system functioning in the north was that it was ethnically integrated. It provided the same facilities to all children of the three main racial groups inhabiting the NWT.

The north must not become a place where anyone feels that race has narrowed his horizons or set him apart. Our school system is a major influence in producing a sense of equality and mutual respect, and in preparing all our children for the changes and the opportunities they will meet as they grow older.¹⁹²

There was also the belief that it was possible to convert a "stone-age culture" to a modern level within one

¹⁹¹Reverend Paul Piche, OMI, Vicar Apostolic of the Mackenzie, "The Educator and the Eskimo," *Northern Affairs Bulletin* (May-June 1959), 9.

¹⁹²NAC, RG 18 Accession 85-86/048/51/T-400-4 (1) Northwest Territories Council (Sessional Paper No. 1, 1961 [First Session]) Commissioner's Opening Address.

generation without altering the integrity of the group. This was deemed necessary so that the native peoples would have equal access to the full range of knowledge and benefits that civilization afforded. The one dissenting voice was that of the Commissioner of the RCMP who believed that the process of bringing native peoples into the modern world should be gradual.¹⁹³

By 1960, the Canadian government had made progress in providing education for the Inuit. Sixty percent of Inuit children were receiving education either from the 25 full-time federal schools or from the 17 part-time mission schools.¹⁹⁴

The evolution of the educational system for the Inuit was linked directly to the goals and aspirations of first the missionaries and later the Canadian government. Certainly in the first six decades of this century examination of the particular needs of the Inuit was subjugated to what others thought was good for them. The missionaries, motivated by their desire to save a primitive people, sought to change Inuit beliefs. Their methods and

¹⁹³PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Memorandum for Field Staff for Information from B. G. Sivertz, March 11, 1959.

¹⁹⁴PWNHC, N92-023, "Unsorted." "Report on the Arctic," by Gordon Robertson, Chairman, Eskimo Advisory Board, Commissioner of the NWT, at the Eskimo Advisory Board, March 28, 1960.

actions were often as harmful as they were helpful, though they did introduce some new skills and knowledge of personal hygiene.

The federal government policies were first predicated on ensuring that the Inuit did not become an additional expense to the Crown. However, when the strategic and economic interests in the Arctic increased, government officials also decided the Inuit needed to be "converted." The Inuit remained instruments in this process without a voice or a viable forum in which to express their concerns or needs. Accordingly, a people who had remained independent for thousands of years lost their ability to determine their own future, or rather it had been taken away. The reality of the situation was that the Inuit were increasingly exposed to the White man's world and by the late 1950s were forced to recognize that education was the key to their continued existence. How this was to be accomplished however, remained a dilemma for the next two decades.

CHAPTER FOUR

Canadian Educational Policies: 1960-1980

The expansion of the federal school system in the Northwest Territories (NWT) and the related decline in the influence of mission schools continued throughout the 1950s. In 1960 the alliance between the government and the churches became more tenuous when the government withdrew financial aid for the residential schools that were owned by missionaries. With the termination of federal funding, the last mission residential school closed on June 30, 1960, though assistance continued to the remaining part-time mission schools.¹ In effect, the federal government had assumed control of the educational system in the Arctic and the missionaries, relegated to the role of administrators, were no longer recognized as educators of the Inuit nor did they play a significant part in Inuit education.² At the same time,

¹Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (hereafter PWNHC), Alexander Stevenson Papers, N92-023 "Unsorted." "Growth of Education in Northern Canada," n.d.; National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Record Group (hereafter RG), Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (hereafter DIAND) RG 22/487/40-13-2 (1) "Education in the NWT," J. N. Hefler, February 22, 1962.

²NAC, RG 22/869/40-8-9 (2) Clement Brown, "Underhand Fight by Ottawa Against the Influence of Missionaries," *Le Devoir* [Trans] Wednesday, March 23, 1960.

teaching programmes were revised and religious teaching, a central component of the mission school system, was de-emphasized.³

Federal educational policies in the NWT during the 1960s were a series of reactive responses to specific issues based on a principle first stated in 1955 that there were no racial lines in education.⁴ This principle dictated all policy formulation since no goal could

be regarded as satisfactory if it would create problems in the maintenance of this non-racial system, or if it did not serve the needs of children of all races and creeds in the Arctic.⁵

The "needs of children" were defined by the government and, for all practical purposes, amounted to racial integration.

Government officials expected that the system they had devised for the north would promote racial pride and provide

³NAC, RG 22/869/40-8-9 (2) Memorandum for Alvin Hamilton "Education of Eskimos: Discussion of the Statement of 'Aims' by the Committee on Eskimo Affairs," from R. G. Robertson, March 31, 1960.

⁴NAC, RG 22/156/5-0-1-35 (15) "New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories," Press Release No. 3555, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (hereafter DNANR), March 28, 1955.

⁵NAC, RG 22/869/40-8-9 (2) Statement given by Chairman, Gordon Robertson concerning the report of the Education Subcommittee on "Aims and Objectives of Education and Training Programmes," Eskimo Advisory Board, March 28-29, 1960.

an appreciation of other ethnic groups.⁶ According to the Commissioner of the NWT:

Our great strength is that we have in the Territories a school system which gives the same facilities to children of our three main racial groups. The north must not become a place where anyone feels that race has narrowed his horizons or set him apart. Our school system is a major influence in producing a sense of equality and mutual respect, and in preparing all our children for the changes and the opportunities they will meet as they grow older.⁷

The government embarked upon this policy, recognizing that there were significant social differences between the three ethnic groups living in the NWT and substantive differences within these groups.⁸ For example, the Inuit language had twenty dialects and there were vast social and cultural variations among Inuit groups depending on their

⁶DNANR, *Annual Review of Education in the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, 1964-65* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 5.

⁷NAC, RCMP Records, RG 18 Accession 85-86/048/51/T-400-4 (1) Northwest Territories Council (Sessional Paper No. 1, [First Session]) Commissioner's Opening Address, 1961.

⁸NAC, Manuscript Group (hereafter MG) Walter Dinsdale Papers, MG 32 B55/227/47 Notes for a talk by Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and Commissioner, NWT, to the Annual Breakfast Meeting of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors, September 20, 1960, Toronto.

level of exposure to white society.⁹

Jacobson, the Superintendent of Education, identified some of the practical problems of trying to coordinate the school system in the NWT. Except in rare cases, native pupils, particularly the Inuit, had little or no knowledge of English. Nor were teachers familiar with the native languages. This was a particularly serious problem for Inuit children who travelled up to 1500 miles to attend residential schools. Not only were they cast into an alien environment but they had no way to communicate with the authorities. The social and cultural differences among children from different ethnic groups made it improbable that a single teaching programme would satisfy all their needs. It also placed teachers in the untenable position of having to structure classes that catered equally to each group.¹⁰ Almost without exception, the teachers solved this problem by using southern programmes. Few allowances were made for the cultural gaps between students and teachers, or even among students of different ethnic groups.

⁹Paul Welsman, *Education of Native Peoples in the Northwest Territories: A Model*, in *The North in Transition* ed. Nils Orvik and Kirk Patterson (Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1976), 30.

¹⁰NAC, Joseph V. Jacobson and Natalie Jacobson Papers, MG31 D153/1/"165 Community Schools Northern Style, 7960," J. V. Jacobson, *Community Schools - Northern Style*, August, 1960.

Even in community-based schools, attempts to resolve conflicts between the school and the needs of the community were rare. One exception was the community of Cambridge Bay, where the parents, teachers, and administrators agreed to change the annual holiday period to allow boys to accompany their fathers on seal hunting trips in May-June and fishing expeditions in August-September.¹¹ While this modification should not be minimized, it was a superficial change that did not influence the overall school programme. The government was not insensitive to the hardships that the school system, particularly residential schools, had upon the Inuit. However, it operated on the premise that the transition of the Inuit from the traditional lifestyle was inevitable. Schools would facilitate the transition and provide them with the ability to adapt to the changes.¹² Any hardships suffered were simply considered a part of the process. Besides, the alternative -- segregation -- during the 1960s was politically unpalatable. Segregation was certainly an issue in the United States and one which the Canadian government was anxious to avoid.

¹¹NAC, Northern Affairs Programme Records, RG 85/1225/630-150-1 (1) Memorandum for B. G. Sivertz from the LACO Hunt, Fort Smith, March 23, 1961.

¹²NAC, MG 32 B55/227/47 Notes for a talk by Gordon Robertson, to the Annual Breakfast Meeting of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors, September 20, 1960, Toronto.

During the early 1960s, the government continued to expand the network of educational facilities for Inuit children. During the 1960-61 academic year, an estimated 56.6 percent of Inuit children were attending school.¹³ Because of the relatively recent expansion of the school system, the vast majority of Inuit children were entering school for the first time. Consequently, most pupils were in the first three grades with approximately 53 percent in grade one, 20 percent in grade two, 12 percent in grade three, and the remainder in grades four through twelve.¹⁴ On January 1, 1961, there were 46 Inuit pupils in the western Arctic above grade seven, and in the eastern Arctic only one.¹⁵

Not satisfied with the progress of Inuit children in the educational system, the government placed the blame on them.

¹³National Library, Whiteside Collection (hereafter NLWC), No. 595, D. W. Simpson and D. K. F. Wattie, et al. "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," Paper Presented at the 19th Alaskan Science Conference, Whitehorse, August 28-30, 1961. At the same time 62.2 percent of all school age children in the NWT were enrolled in school. NAC, RG 85/1962/A1012-9 (2) Report for the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, April 2, 1962.

¹⁴NAC, RG 85/1052/A-1012-9 (1) Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, March 3, 1960.

¹⁵Margaret Lantis, "The Administration of Northern Peoples: Canada and Alaska," in *The Arctic Frontier* ed. R. St. J. MacDonald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 100; Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II. Canada*, (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), 123 fn.

The government viewed the problem as the Inuit children's inability to understand the need to learn English. It was also suggested that they "lacked in their home life the tradition of scholarship; they were not competent students because they had little comprehension of what schools could do for them."¹⁶

The government, while expanding the regular school system, continued to place special emphasis on vocational training for the Inuit. This training was to provide the most efficient path into the wage economy and thus reduce Inuit reliance on traditional occupations. The programme had been initiated in 1953 but took on particular importance after 1955 when the official effort to expand education in the NWT began. At that time, plans were developed to create a vocational training facility complete with a 100-bed hostel at Yellowknife to accommodate students from all ethnic groups.¹⁷ This facility was opened in 1958.¹⁸

By 1960, over 50 percent of the estimated 1200 Inuit students were enrolled in vocational training programmes which were supposed to prepare them for positions in the

¹⁶PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Minutes of the First Arctic District Conference, Ottawa, March 6-9, 1961.

¹⁷NAC, RG 85/424/3-1-6 (1) Memorandum for Gordon Robertson from F.J.G. Cunningham, January 14, 1955.

¹⁸Margaret Lantis, "Administration of Northern Peoples," 100.

construction industry or other forms of manual labour.¹⁹ In 1964, special vocational programmes were introduced for young adults who had limited schooling. These included trapping, fur preparation, care and use of firearms, maintenance of small motors, metalworking, welding, food services, and care of the sick.²⁰

The overall programme was enhanced with the opening of the Churchill Vocational Centre also in 1964. At that time, four wings of a vacated military complex at Fort Churchill were turned over to the Education Division and converted into a vocational training school with boarding facilities.

This complex was intended to provide older Inuit children from the eastern Arctic with academic upgrading and pre-vocational training.²¹ A three-year training programme was created and the first class graduated in 1967.²² However, this

¹⁹Jean-Phillippe Chartrand, *Inuktitut Language Retention Among Canadian Inuit: An Analysis of 1971 and 1981 Census Data*, (Ottawa: Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1985) 25.

²⁰Canadian Education Association, "Canadian Report on Developments in Education, 1964-65," *Canadian Education and Research Digest* (June 1965): 98.

²¹NAC, RG 85/2075/600-3-4 Report on Education sent to F.A.G. Carter, Director, Northern Administration Branch from Irene Baird, Information Services Division, June 4, 1965.

²²NAC, Arctic Institute of North America Papers, MG 28 I79/133/nfn. "Parameters of Human and Industrial Resource Development in the Canadian North, 1980-85," Thomas J. Raveson, August 25, 1970; NAC, RG 85/2055/R-175-3 (1) Northern

school accepted students from other areas -- a factor which led to chronic overcrowding and many students from the eastern Arctic being denied admission.²³ In addition, for some students from the eastern Arctic, the complications involved in transportation meant that it was often easier for them to attend southern institutions. Between April to September, 1969, approximately 126 Inuit were enrolled in special training courses in various Canadian cities.²⁴ Although 4,475 Inuit received some form of vocational training between 1953 and 1969, many others were forced to forgo such training because of a lack of facilities.²⁵ This problem was alleviated to some extent, in September, 1971 with the opening of a facility that could accommodate 600 students at Frobisher Bay in the eastern Arctic.²⁶

Services Division, Education Responsibilities, n.d.

²³NAC, RG 22/688/AC-125 Letter to Advisory Commission on Northern Development from B. K. Kristensen, Community Teacher, Padloping Island, NWT, March 25, 1966.

²⁴PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "Report to NWT Council," Session 40, Baker Lake, NWT, October 6-10, 1969.

²⁵PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted," Memorandum to the Cabinet "National Objectives for Northern Canada", submitted by Minister of DIAND, November 9, 1970; NAC, RG 22/688/AC-125 Letter to Advisory Commission on Northern Development from B. K. Kristensen, March 25, 1966.

²⁶PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Press Release, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (hereafter DIAND), March 25, 1971.

A basic weakness existed in the vocational education system. While the Inuit were being trained for basic vocational positions, the labour market in the NWT was shifting to an increasing requirement for skilled labour, and a decrease in unskilled labour. Thus the educational focus of the government, instead of preparing the Inuit to participate fully in the wage economy, was assigning them to a limited future with limited opportunities.²⁷ In essence, the Inuit were being trained to fill positions for which it was difficult to attract southern labourers.²⁸

During this period, despite the efforts of government to improve the regular school systems, educational levels in the NWT remained well below the national average. According to the 1961 census, about 22 percent of the total population of the NWT had reached grade eight compared to the national average of 38 percent.²⁹ This figure included the non-native population who occupied virtually all positions requiring

²⁷NAC, RG 22/692/"Territorial Political Administration." Memorandum to Cabinet entitled "A Five Year Education Plan for the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec, 1965-1970," from Arthur Laing, Minister, DNANR, June 1, 1965.

²⁸David Keenleyside, "The Fallacy of Freedom: Education for the Adult Eskimo," *Continuous Learning* 7:5 (September-October, 1968): 208, 210.

²⁹NAC, RG 22/692/"Territorial-Political Administration," Memorandum to Cabinet entitled "A Five Year Education Plan for the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec, 1965-1970," from Arthur Laing, June 1, 1965.

advanced education. This situation would not be radically altered throughout the following decade.

As a result, the majority of Inuit who entered wage employment did so at the lowest levels. The extent of the problem was demonstrated by the experience of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1965, it had more than 70 Inuit employees but because of their low educational levels, no Inuit were employed in managerial or executive positions.³⁰ In the same year, 90.3 percent of Inuit working within the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources were in the lowest pay levels.³¹

The Inuit in this instance directly contributed to the problem. They did not understand the importance of mobility in a wage economy and they often had problems integrating the conflicting requirements of family and work. The Department of Education developed in-school programmes to assist the Inuit to understand the demands of wage employers.³² Consequently, all levels of Inuit education included some

³⁰NAC, RG 22/688/AC 102 Submission to Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the NWT to Mr. A. W. R. Carrothers, Chairman from D. H. Pitts, General Manager, Northern Stores, (HBC), February, 28, 1966.

³¹A. M. Ervin, *New Northern Townsmen in Inuvik* (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, DIAND, 7.

³²Eleanor A. Ellis, "Education of the Eskimo for Wage Employment," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 73:5 (November, 1966): 148.

training that would help them to integrate into mainstream society.

The fundamental objective of finding a suitable curriculum geared to the needs of the Inuit remained unresolved throughout the 1960s. This was largely because the overall control of curriculum development rested with the Education Division located in Ottawa. The staff had little or no first-hand experience with conditions or the culture of northern native peoples.³³ It was not until 1960 that curriculum specialists were directed to travel to the north to confer with teachers. In addition, local curriculum committees were set up in many communities and special committees were formed to study curriculum development in various disciplines.³⁴ Although these measures were a step forward, the Inuit remained excluded from this process. Their inclusion in the development of a curriculum might have

³³Education Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, "Education in Northern Canada," *Canadian Education and Research Digest* 3:2 (June, 1963): 85.

³⁴C. J. Frederickson, "The Curriculum for the Northern Schools," in *Education North of 60* [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964. 43; *Government of the NWT, (hereafter GNWT) Commissioner of the Northwest Territories Annual Report, Fiscal Year, 1961-1962* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), 23; NAC, RG 22/467/40-13-2 (1) "Education in the NWT", J. N. Hefler, February 22, 1962.

alleviated many of the subsequent problems within the system.

The task facing the curriculum specialists involved some critical though conflicting objectives. Since instruction was conducted in English, and many students arrived at school speaking only their native language, the curriculum had to include a provision for teaching English as a second language. At the beginning of the 1960s, about 80 percent of Inuit children who entered school for the first time could not speak English.³⁵ Thus, during the first few years of schooling, English language training dominated all aspects of the curriculum for these students.³⁶

The specialists had to design a curriculum which was based on the Inuit culture and environment. However, they were also expected to integrate materials (mathematics, social studies, and geography) from existing (southern) programmes to compensate for inadequacies in the children's environment.³⁷

To compound the problem, official policy dictated that the teaching programme for Inuit children had to address the

³⁵NAC, MG31 D153/1/165 "Community Schools Northern Style, 7960." J. V. Jacobson, "Community Schools - Northern Style," August, 1960.

³⁶D. K. F. Wattie, "Education in the Canadian Arctic," *Polar Record* 14:90 (1968): 295.

³⁷*Ibid.*

needs of the children who wished to follow the traditional way of life. However, it also had to provide opportunities for those with the ability and interest to pursue more advanced studies.³⁸ All efforts to integrate these requirements into a single standardized curriculum failed to receive official approval. The development of a curriculum which had to incorporate these apparently contradictory requirements and objectives highlighted a basic problem in the northern educational system: the native population could not be accommodated in a single standardized system.

Though no definitive curriculum for northern teaching had been developed, some progress had been made. By 1962 supplementary readers which emphasized northern activities and new courses in social studies, health, and physical education, were produced.³⁹ This was followed by a programme to teach English as a second language and a physical education programme which incorporated Inuit games.⁴⁰ By 1965-1966 at least ten school programmes developed by northern teachers

³⁸NAC, RG 85/2069/160-7 (13) "Economic Development of the North," Address by Arthur Laing to the Annual Meeting of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, October 21, 1965.

³⁹PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "Educational Facilities in the NWT in 1955 and 1965," Education Division; GNWT, *Commissioner of the Northwest Territories Annual Report, Fiscal Year, 1961-1962*, 23; NAC, RG 85/1901/1009-30 (4) "Education Division."

⁴⁰Wattie, "Education in the Canadian Arctic," 295.

were in use and there were 85 curriculum publications specifically designed to assist northern teachers.⁴¹ Although these publications had a northern bias, they still did not directly relate to Inuit culture.

In September, 1967, concern over the northern educational system, in general, and the need for a standardized curriculum, in particular, led the Canadian Teachers' Federation to submit a brief to Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and the Cabinet. One of the recommendations contained in the brief read as follows:

...curriculum in schools in which Indian, Metis and Eskimo children are students should be designed in such a way as to include support for the valuable aspects of their own culture and assist them to interact more effectively in Canadian society.⁴²

In a speech to the 1967 Assembly of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, the Prime Minister stated that he had instructed officials to study the question of developing a proper curriculum "with a view to producing material suitable for use in schools."⁴³

⁴¹PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "Educational Facilities in the NWT in 1955 and 1965," Education Division; NAC, RG 85/1901/1009-30 (4) "Education Division."

⁴²NLWC, No. 512, Brief on Indian, Metis and Eskimo Education.

⁴³*Ibid.*

These statements are symptomatic of the vague nature of pronouncements and promises made in relation to the development of northern education. While allusions were made to the need for studies or actions to be taken, no one provided clear guidelines on the development of the curriculum.

Native peoples continued to be dissatisfied with the curriculum because, despite all statements to the contrary, it was still based on southern standards. Any efforts to incorporate Inuit cultural materials into the teaching programme were left to the initiative of individual teachers.

The component of the educational system that had the greatest influence on Inuit children was the residential school system. These schools were located in larger centres throughout the north. They were intended to provide educational facilities to settlements where the population was too small to justify the construction of a school, to the nomadic populations, and to students attending secondary schools.⁴⁴ In 1960, there were about 230 Inuit from the western Arctic at the two hostels at Inuvik and approximately 82 Inuit from the Keewatin area at the hostel in Chesterfield

⁴⁴NAC, MG 32 B55/227/47 Notes for a talk by Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister, DNANR and Commissioner, NWT, to the Annual Breakfast Meeting of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors, September 20, 1960; NAC, RG 85/1951/A-1000/167 (1) Memorandum for file from C. Baker, April 12, 1966.

Inlet.⁴⁵ More than 100 northern children from all ethnic groups were receiving their education at residential schools.⁴⁶ In 1963-1964, there were 818 Inuit children between the ages of six and 18 in the western Arctic.⁴⁷ Of these, 465 attended school in their respective communities and 353 were in residential schools.⁴⁸

The Inuit from the western Arctic were housed in large dormitories with all amenities associated with a southern urban lifestyle. Their diet was based exclusively on white middle-class standards. The curriculum, based on that of Alberta,⁴⁹ was designed for white Canadians and contained a "pronounced middle class bias." Teachers were prohibited from making any changes to the programme that catered to the needs of the students from the native populations. Moreover, the

⁴⁵NAC, RG 85/1052/A-1012-9 (1) Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, March 3, 1960.

⁴⁶Robert E. Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," *Musk-Ox* 18 (1976): 50.

⁴⁷Charles W. Hobart, "Some Consequences of Residential Schooling of Eskimos in the Canadian Arctic," *Arctic Anthropology* 6:2 (1970): 123.

⁴⁸C.S. Brant and C. W. Hobart, "Native Education Greenland and the Canadian Arctic: A Comparison," *Northian* 5:1 (January, 1968): 31.

⁴⁹As stated previously, schools in the NWT had curricula based on those of the province adjoining the district where the school was located. Thus, the western Arctic used the curriculum of the Alberta school system.

teachers had no training in teaching native or non-English speaking students.

Most of the children who arrived at these facilities had come from traditional lifestyles. As a rule, they had no knowledge of English, had never been separated from their families, and lived largely on a diet of raw meat and tea. Many had never seen modern plumbing.

Generally children found the residential school environment overwhelming and dropped out. For those who did integrate into the system another problem surfaced. The children from isolated settlements returned home unable to re-adjust to the living conditions: the cold, the food, the scant and often unwashed utensils, the crowded, dirty housing and sleeping arrangements; and dirty, ragged clothing.⁵⁰ They were given a "white" education but were compelled to return to their traditional lifestyle. Not surprisingly, many found themselves between two worlds, ill-suited for both. This situation was most common for children from traditional life styles. On the other hand, Inuit children from families who had adopted a white lifestyle often returned home better adjusted than when they left.⁵¹

Officials continued to demonstrate an insensitivity to

⁵⁰Hobart, "Some Consequences of Residential Schooling of Eskimos in the Canadian Arctic," 127.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 132.

Inuit culture and family relationships. One of the complaints of Inuit parents was the reluctance of officials to allow children in residential schools to return home during holiday periods such as Christmas or Easter. The following excerpt from the Administrator of the Mackenzie District encapsulates the thinking of government officials during the mid 1960s.

The problem is an extremely difficult one, since it involves the basis of authority of the parents to decide what is to be done with his own children. Although in the past we have always tried to discourage home visits and confined them to cases of emergency, we now find that the practice has become widespread as transportation facilities are more readily available and money seems to be easier. It is our opinion that it would be virtually impossible to refuse a parent the right to have his youngster return to his home providing the parent is willing to assume costs. Despite our protest on this matter they always manage to introduce some kind of excuse for it, such as illness in the home, or the like, and one simply cannot justify an outright refusal. Certainly if such refusal became a matter of public issue we would be in a rather poor light. If on the other hand, we grant authority to our hostel administrators to give permission for students to come and go from the hostel at various times during the year, it won't be long before chaotic conditions will be created.⁵²

At the time, there were 28 student residences with an

⁵²NAC, RG 85/2075/600-3-4 Letter to F. A. G. Carter from K. W. Hawkins, Administrator of the Mackenzie, Fort Smith, February 11, 1966.

enrolment of 1647 from all ethnic groups in the NWT.⁵³

With the majority of children having access to school facilities, the government turned its attention to developing an educational programme for adults. Until 1960, adult education had been limited to a few vocational programmes designed to allow adults to enter the wage economy.⁵⁴ The government believed that broader exposure to general education would help adult Inuit understand the benefits of education, and give them an appreciation of the process as it related to their children.

In 1960 an adult education service was established with a programme based on local interests. Initially, this makeshift programme depended entirely on the availability of volunteers to serve as instructors. Local teachers were often enlisted to teach adult classes in the evenings or on weekends. From these fledgling beginnings, by 1962-63 formal classes were held in 29 settlements with the courses timed between hunting and trapping seasons.⁵⁵

A supervisor for adult education for the Arctic District

⁵³NAC, RG 85/1901/1009-30 (4) "Education Division."

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵F. I. McKay, "Adult Education," in *Education North of 60* [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964): 58.

was appointed on November 1, 1963.⁵⁶ By 1965, it was apparent that the need for adult education in the NWT was increasing. However, the shortage of staff hampered progress, though courses were prepared using a combination of the native language and English as a second language. These courses were tailored to serve the general interests of the local population.⁵⁷ In 1966, three members of the Adult Education Division were commissioned to work in the north to develop materials for courses on the Inuit language, arithmetic, child development, co-operatives, personal hygiene and sanitation, and the Inuit housing programme.⁵⁸ In the following year, the staff was increased to 17 including 13 new field officers whose duties were to extend services to adults from all native groups in the NWT.⁵⁹

If this programme had a weakness, it was its inability to convey to the Inuit the intrinsic value of education. The Inuit continued to experience difficulties understanding the association between the level of education and the quality of

⁵⁶GNWT, *Commissioner of the Northwest Territories Annual Report, Fiscal Year, 1963-64*, 5.

⁵⁷GNWT, *Commissioner of the Northwest Territories Annual Report, Fiscal Year, 1964-1965*, 16.

⁵⁸NAC, RG 85/1901/1009-30 (4) "Education Division."

⁵⁹DIAND, "Developments in Education, Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, Academic Year 1967-68," *Canadian Education and Research Digest* (June, 1968): 186.

employment, that is, between "learning and earning."⁶⁰ As a result, in spite of the government's efforts to provide adult education, many Inuit did not participate because they did not understand the potential advantages that could accrue to them.

Educational policies until the mid 1960s had been an amalgam of short-term measures to address specific issues as they arose. As a result of this piecemeal approach, by 1965, 25 percent of Inuit children were still not enrolled in school compared with one percent of the non-native population in the NWT.⁶¹ Part of the problem was that over 16 percent of Inuit children still had no access to schools.⁶² On November 22, 1965, the government approved a five-year construction plan to provide primary school facilities for all school-age children

⁶⁰PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." W. Simpson, Assistant Director, Education Branch and K. Bowles, Assistant Chief, Vocational Education Division, DIAND, "Integration of Eskimo Manpower into the Industrial Society Difficulties - Programs - Attitudes," [Report No. 32], Fondation Francaise D'Etudes Nordiques Fourth International Congress "Arctic Development and the Future of Eskimo Societies," Le Harve, November 24-26, 1969.

⁶¹NAC, Sir Alexander Sim Papers, MG 30 D 260/9/9-2 Report of the Executive Director of the Indian Eskimo Association of Canada to the Sixth Annual Meeting, Toronto, October 21, 1965.

⁶²NAC, RG 22/692/"Territorial-Political Administration." Submission of a Five Year Education Plan for the NWT and Northern Quebec, 1965-1970, to Treasury Board from DNANR, October 1, 1965.

in the north before 1970.⁶³ This required the construction of more than 200 classrooms and residences with accommodations for 1000 students.⁶⁴

The same plan focussed upon the causes for the high drop-out rates among Inuit students. The government identified three principal reasons: many Inuit children started school at a later age than normal and had only reached grade four or five when they were well into their teenage years;⁶⁵ most children who entered the system with little or no knowledge of English took two to three years longer than normal to complete eight grades of school; and until 1967 community schools only offered instruction to grade 6.⁶⁶ This meant that to obtain higher education, children had to be separated from their

⁶³NAC, RG 85/2075/600-1-5 (8) Achievement Report Northern Education 5-Year Plan, [approved by Treasury Board November 22, 1965] February 25, 1969. It had been planned that school facilities would be available for all school age children in the NWT by 1968. Because of a curtailment of funds beginning in 1961 this objective could not be realized. GNWT, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the NWT, 1963-64*, 5.

⁶⁴NAC, LACO Hunt Papers, MG 31 C 8/2/3-2a "The Work of the Northern Administration Branch Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development with the Canadian Eskimos," n.d.

⁶⁵NAC, RG 85/2069/160-7 (13) "Economic Development of the North," An Address by Arthur Laing to the Annual Meeting of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Toronto, October 21, 1965.

⁶⁶NAC, MG 31 C 8/2/3-2a "The Work of the Northern Administration Branch Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development with the Canadian Eskimos," n.d.

families. As a consequence, from grade six the drop out rate was unusually high.⁶⁷ To improve this situation, an accelerated academic programme for older students was expanded and additional vocational occupational courses were introduced. Furthermore, a more effective means for teaching English was developed, and plans were initiated to have community schools offer higher grades and experimental programmes for teaching in the Inuit language during the first two years of school.⁶⁸

The 1965 plan also included the introduction of pre-schools to sensitize the children to school regimens and provide exposure to the English language.⁶⁹ The belief was that young children would find it less stressful to adapt to a new environment and a new language. The first pre-school classes opened at Frobisher Bay in September 1966 and quickly extended to other communities including Pond Inlet, Eskimo Point and Baker Lake. Initially, the system was set up for five-year olds and was subsequently extended to four-year olds. By the 1967-68 school year, 260 children were

⁶⁷NAC, RG 85/1901/1009-30 (4) "Education Division."

⁶⁸NAC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "Educational Facilities in the NWT in 1955 and 1965," Education Division, 5; Canadian Education Association, "Canadian Report on Developments in Education, 1965-1966," 92.

⁶⁹Canadian Education Association, "Canadian Report on Developments in Education, 1965-1966," 92.

enrolled.⁷⁰

The 1965 expansion did not radically alter the philosophy or the approach of the federal government toward northern education. Although some new initiatives were introduced, there was still no cohesive plan and measures were implemented in response to specific issues. Any modifications to the educational system were designed to allow northern students to compete economically and socially on an equal basis with other young Canadians.⁷¹ They were not intended to address problems inherent in the system.

The government recognized that the current system was producing a sense of alienation among the Inuit. But, it continued to blame external factors for any problems the Inuit had with the system. Alienation, according to the government, was the result of the increasing numbers of southerners into the north. This situation placed additional pressure on the Inuit to integrate more fully into mainstream society. The fact that the government controlled the educational process, and the development of the north which, in turn, drew southerners into the area was overlooked. The key objective remained to extend education to all northern native peoples

⁷⁰Wattie, "Education in the Canadian Arctic," 293, 295.

⁷¹NAC, RG 22/692/"Territorial Policy Administration." Memorandum for Treasury Board from Arthur Laing, October 1, 1965.

since it was "the most effective means by which people can be equipped with the capacity to adjust to a new environment."⁷²

After 1966, education officials were apparently becoming more sensitive to Inuit concerns. The emphasis on large residential schools began to decline. As an alternative, seven small facilities with nine to twelve beds were constructed in the eastern Arctic to accommodate Inuit children under the supervision of an Inuit house-mother and father.⁷³ While this initiative clearly left the vast majority of Inuit pupils in large residences, it was a step forward.

Furthermore, in 1969 when Inuit parents expressed concerns over the living conditions at the Churchill Vocational Centre, a "parental audit" was initiated. Inuit from various communities elected representatives who attended classes and observed the children for two school days plus a weekend. Even interpreters were provided as required.⁷⁴ Although this type of programme was limited, it provided some Inuit parents with a direct opportunity to assess conditions at residential schools and to report back to their

⁷²PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "The Coming crises in the North," presented by R.G. Robertson, Clerk of the Privy Council, at Trent University, Peterborough, in the Champlain Lectures, November 3, 1966.

⁷³Wattie, "Education in the Canadian Arctic," 297-298.

⁷⁴PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Report to NWT Council, 40th Session, Baker Lake, NWT, October 6-10, 1969.

communities.

The government also announced plans to protect and develop the Inuit culture by recording Inuit legends in their original form.⁷⁵ It supported several projects in an attempt to ensure that schools helped to preserve Inuit culture. Films on the traditional lifestyle were distributed to schools and Inuit elders were invited to tell pupils stories of their ancestors. In some communities informal courses in traditional skills were introduced and the school year was modified so that it did not conflict with the trapping and hunting season. The government also supported the preservation of the Inuit language through the encouragement of publications and small newspapers.⁷⁶

In 1966-1967 there were 3,343 or 85 percent of Inuit school-age children enrolled in schools throughout the North.⁷⁷ One-third were in preschool, primary, grade one, or ungraded vocational training. A total of 164 or five percent were in grades seven to twelve. But, only 26 were in the appropriate

⁷⁵NLWC, No. 867, Extract from an Address by The Honourable Arthur Laing Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the 16th Delegate Assembly of the World Confederation of the Teaching Profession Vancouver, B.C. Tuesday, August 8, 1967.

⁷⁶PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "Is Government Doing Anything About the Preservation of Eskimo Culture?" November 20, 1970.

⁷⁷Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," 51.

grade for their age.⁷⁸ The high concentration of pupils in the elementary grades simply reflected the number who were entering the system for the first time. Regardless of their ages, they were required to start in grade one. It should be noted that those who entered the system as teenagers were placed into accelerated programmes.⁷⁹ Moreover, by 1966, no Inuit had graduated from university.⁸⁰

On April 1, 1969, the NWT government established a Department of Education to assume responsibility for the administration of education in the western Arctic. The transfer of federally operated programmes in the eastern Arctic occurred in the following year.⁸¹ The primary reason for this change was the federal government's desire to transfer responsibility for all facets of administration that were within provincial jurisdiction to the NWT.⁸²

⁷⁸NLWC, Simpson and Wattie, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," 5.

⁷⁹Mouat, "Education in the Arctic District", *Musk-Ox* 7: 3, 6.

⁸⁰PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "The Coming crises in the North," presented by R.G. Robertson, Clerk of the Privy Council, at Trent University, Peterborough, in the Champlain Lectures, November 3, 1966.

⁸¹NAC, Department of National Health and Welfare, RG 29/2611/800-1-X600 (5) "More Administrative Functions Transferred to Territorial Government," Press release, No. 68198, (DIAND), April 1, 1969; DIAND, *Eskimos of Canada* (Ottawa: 1973), 7.

Nevertheless, since the Commissioner of the NWT was accountable to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the federal government maintained indirect control over education.⁸³

After the NWT government assumed responsibility for education, large-scale changes occurred. The federal government announced that its official policy toward the Inuit was to "provide a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents using methods compatible with their preferences and aspirations." The individual's right to choose between "old" and "new" ways was emphasized.⁸⁴

During the same period, Inuit frustrations and concerns with education, the perceived erosion of their culture and languages, and disillusionment with government treatment in general prompted them to organize at the national level. In

⁸²According to Section 93 of the British North America Act, education was within provincial jurisdiction. R. I. Cheffins and P. A. Johnson, *The Revised Canadian Constitution Politics as Law* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1986), 190.

⁸³Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," 52.

⁸⁴PWNHC, "N92-023 "Unsorted." "Northern Canada in the 70's," A Report to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development on the Government's Northern Objectives, Priorities and Strategies for the 70's. Introductory Remarks by Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, March 28, 1972.

August 1971, with the assistance of federal government subsidies, the Inuit formed an official organization, the Inuit Taparistat of Canada (ITC). This organization helped the Inuit gain access to the highest levels of government and allowed them to take the initiative on issues affecting them. From its inception, the ITC concentrated on ensuring that the educational system was more relevant to the Inuit.

These changes marked the beginning of a system that was more responsive to eliminating the cultural barriers in Inuit schools.⁸⁵ By 1971 an estimated 95.6 percent of school age children in the NWT were enrolled in schools.⁸⁶ This allowed the new administration to shift its focus from school construction, which had been the priority for the federal government, to concentrating on the inherent problems within the system as they related to the native population.

During the early 1970s, both the federal and territorial

⁸⁵Derrek J. Allison, "Fourth World Education in Canada and the Faltering Promise of Native Teacher Education Programs," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18:3 (Autumn, 1983): 106.

⁸⁶Del M. Koenig, *Northern People and Higher Education: Realities and Possibilities* [Phase 2 of the University and the Canadian North] (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1985), 155; PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Memorandum to the Advisory Committee on Northern Development from L.A.C.O. Hunt, Secretary [Position Paper], "Steps Taken Toward Achievement of National Objectives for the Canadian North," November 10, 1970; NAC, MG 28 179/132/"St. James Literary Society, 1971." Eric Goudeau, Introductory Notes for the St. James Literary Society, January 12, 1971.

governments (yet again) re-examined the direction of education in the NWT. At the federal level, the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Indian and Inuit Education issued a report in 1971 which found that children in northern schools could not relate to the existing teaching materials. The Committee recommended that native languages be used until grade two and that English and/or French be introduced gradually during this three-year period. It further suggested that courses on the culture of the native peoples should be taught in the native language in the primary grades.⁸⁷

In the meantime, the NWT government conducted a separate examination of the educational system. In the Spring of 1970, the Department of Education surveyed all of its teachers, supervisors, principals and superintendents and examined all aspects of the educational process. In 1972 the government, in its report *A Survey of Education*, defined the role of education in the NWT:

The purpose of education is to provide for all people opportunity for maximum development of their aptitudes, skills, and competencies along with an understanding and appreciation of the sum total of human experience. Such development should enable each individual to choose freely between different courses of

⁸⁷NLWC, No. 1713, Canada, *Report of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, Concerning the Status of Indian and Eskimo Education* 163 (June 30, 1971), 763.

action in such a manner that he can live a satisfying personal life while discharging his responsibilities as a participating member of a complex society.⁸⁸

Territorial officials appeared to have inherited the ability of their federal counterparts to issue elegant but meaningless statements especially in light of the status of the educational system.

Like the federal government report, it also contained recommendations which were designed to reflect the wishes of the northern populations, particularly with reference to language training and the introduction of materials based on Inuit culture into the school system.

In October 1972, the Commissioner of the NWT established a special committee to examine the findings of the survey. As a result, several of the initial recommendations were subsequently incorporated into the educational system. These included the introduction of native language training in the first years of school with English being introduced only after native children had acquired a sound knowledge of their native languages.⁸⁹ In addition, schools in all communities were to

⁸⁸Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," 43.

⁸⁹At the same time the Curriculum Section of the NWT Department of Education issued a handbook entitled *Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories: A Handbook for Curriculum Development*. This document provided a time-table

extend the level of education to grade nine. Finally, school attendance would not be compulsory so that children could accompany their parents on traditional excursions "out on the land." Such trips were to be considered part of the children's education since "it is far more beneficial for children to go with their parents than to stay in school to be taught by white teachers."⁹⁰ This was a significant departure from federal policy and reflected the Inuit's desire to obtain education while maintaining connections to the traditional lifestyles.

Thereafter, there was some improvement in the curricula for northern schools. It was finally accepted that the acquisition of a transplanted southern Canadian education had not solved the problems of the Inuit but added to them.⁹¹ As a result, attempts were made to incorporate materials from the culture of the northern peoples as well as from the south

for daily language instruction. In the first grade the teaching of English was to occupy 10 percent of the school day. The amount of English language instruction was to increase gradually until the seventh grade when it would be used as the language of instruction for 90 percent of school work. Bhattacharya, "Education in the Northwest Territories," *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 19:3 (September, 1973): 245.

⁹⁰As cited in *Ibid.*, 243-45.

⁹¹PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "Eskimos of Canada," Reference Paper, [No. 71] Information Division of External Affairs, Ottawa, July, 1975.

to form the framework of an educational programme that reflected the native people's culture and values. During this period, a draft curriculum for elementary schools was distributed throughout the NWT. This draft was developed in the north and contained materials appropriate to northern social and cultural environments such as film strips, books and stories in the Inuit language.⁹²

Despite all the recommendations, the basic infrastructure of the school system remained unchanged. This limited the implementation of many of the recommendations, particularly those relating to native language instruction and the complete removal of the southern orientation from the curricula.

Although instruction in the native language for the first three years was introduced in some northern schools in 1971-1972 efforts were hampered by the lack of teachers with the requisite language skills.⁹³ Less than ten percent of primary school teachers in the north had any knowledge of local native languages.⁹⁴

Accordingly, the government made plans to expand the

⁹²DIAND, *Eskimos of Canada*, 8.

⁹³PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Letter to Tagak Curley, President, ITC, Edmonton, from B.C. Gillie, Director of Education, Yellowknife, September 30, 1971.

⁹⁴Canada, *Report of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, Concerning the Status of Indian and Eskimo Education*, 768.

Territorial Teacher Education Programme that had been developed in Fort Smith in 1969.⁹⁵ In 1971 there were 10 to 15 native peoples enrolled in the programme. Its graduates became certified teachers who went to work in community schools to provide instruction in the native languages.⁹⁶ In 1974, 15 of them were teaching in territorial schools, and a further 41 were at various stages in their training. By 1977, the number of graduates had increased to 63.⁹⁷ However, many Inuit, who would have been suitable candidates for the programme, either refused to travel the considerable distance from the Arctic to Fort Smith while others dropped out before graduation. As a result, only 12 Inuit were trained between 1972 and 1976.⁹⁸ By 1978, 33 native northerners were teaching in schools and this number increased to 43 in the following year.⁹⁹ Although the introduction of this programme was a

⁹⁵Canadian Association for Indian and Eskimo Education, "Education is Participation," *Proceedings of the 7th Annual Conference*, (May 28-30, 1969), 42.

⁹⁶PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Letter to Tagak Curley, President, ITC, Edmonton, B.C. Gillie, Director of Education, Yellowknife, September 30, 1971.

⁹⁷Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," 55.

⁹⁸Lynn D. Nash, "Drop-out Among Senior High School Inuit Students in Frobisher Bay," *Multiculturalism* 2:2 (1978): 13.

⁹⁹PWNHC, NWT Commissioner, Collector, G79-529/001 File (13)0001, Opening Address of Commissioner Stuart M. Hodgson

positive step, native teachers represented less than nine percent of the total teachers in the NWT almost a decade later.

To bridge the gap, the classroom assistants' programme was intensified.¹⁰⁰ Since its introduction in 1958, the role of these assistants had expanded. They acted as interpreters for teachers and children, helped children to make the transition from the native language to English, explained the actions of school officials to the adult members of the community, reviewed exercises and supervised seating arrangements, and play activities. During the 1961-62 school year, more than ten Inuit were employed either as classroom assistants or special instructors.¹⁰¹ In 1968, there were 39 classroom assistants on the staff of the Arctic and Mackenzie Districts schools of whom 37 were Inuit.¹⁰² A decade later the

to the 64th Session of the Council of the NWT, 1978. This number includes all groups of native peoples in the NWT; DIAND, *Annual Report, 1978-79* (Ottawa: 1979), 51.

¹⁰⁰DIAND, *Annual Report, 1976-77* (Ottawa: 1977), 58.

¹⁰¹NAC, RG 18, Accession 85-86/1962/A1012-3 (1) "Northern Notes," July 26, 1962; NLWC, Simpson and Wattie, "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities," 16; NAC, RG 85/474/160-2 (35) Memorandum to Gordon Robertson from the Acting Director, July 24, 1964.

¹⁰²NAC, RG 85/2068/121-1-3 (5) "Classroom Assistants Program," October, 1968.

number had increased to 128.¹⁰³

Attracting and training teachers with native language skills was a practical problem which affected the implementation of native language instruction in schools. The challenge of attempting to overcome the entrenched attitudes of some government officials and teachers was a far more insidious problem. They considered English to be essential if the Inuit were to be offered equal opportunities. They also believed that the loss of native language capabilities was a consequence of acquiring another language.¹⁰⁴ Thus, despite the acknowledgement within the Department of Education on the necessity of introducing native language training in the north, the status of English remained unchanged. The authors of the 1971 *Handbook* reiterated the prevailing view:

The language by which you "Get Ahead" in the North is English. Whether you want an education, a job, mobility in terms of the larger Canadian society, or what-you-will, in the final analysis what happens to the individual will be almost solely dependent upon his competency in the English language. Certainly from a school point of view alone, the student's success or failure in terms of his education will rest almost entirely on his

¹⁰³PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "The Eskimos of Canada," July 1975; DIAND, *Annual Report, 1978-79*, (Ottawa: 1979), 51.

¹⁰⁴NAC, MG 28 I79/132/"St. James Literary Society, 1971." Eric Goudeau, *Introductory Notes for the St. James Literary Society*, January 12, 1971.

ability to master the English language.¹⁰⁵

Teachers' pre-occupation with teaching English often led them to drastic measures. In one reported case in the eastern Arctic, a teacher slapped an Inuit child for speaking his native language on school grounds.¹⁰⁶ As stated, physical punishment had been widely used in schools, prior to this time, to discourage native children from speaking their own languages.¹⁰⁷ Nor was this practice limited to the north. A survey of Metis and non-status Indians in northern Saskatchewan in 1972 revealed that 20 percent had been punished for using their native language in school.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, the implementation of native language and cultural courses proceeded. By 1978, 30 of the 32 Inuit settlements in the NWT had schools. In 22 of them, children received some native language instruction in pre-school

¹⁰⁵As cited in Bhattacharya, "Education in the Northwest Territories," 246.

¹⁰⁶NAC, MG 28 I79/132/"St. James Literary Society, 1971." Eric Goudeau, Introductory Notes for the St. James Literary Society, January 12, 1971.

¹⁰⁷Annie Manning, "The Inuk Who Became a Teacher," *Inuit Today* 5:11 (December, 1976): 32-35.

¹⁰⁸Linda Tschanz, *Native Languages and Government Policy: An Historical Examination* (London, Ont.: Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages, University of Western Ontario, 1980), 9.

classes.¹⁰⁹ Approximately 40 percent of all Inuit children were receiving "some" instruction in their native languages in the first three grades by then.¹¹⁰

The implementation of native language instruction was expected to help alleviate the high drop out rates, particularly among Inuit students.¹¹¹ In the early 1970s, more than 90 percent of northern native students dropped out of school before Grade 12.¹¹² The government had attempted to respond to this problem with initiatives in 1965, but little had been accomplished because the fundamental problem causing the students' frustration had not been addressed. The government had overlooked a crucial factor: the attitudes of teachers toward Inuit students. To understand these attitudes, it is necessary to examine the composition of the teaching staff, their level of comfort in the north, and their understanding of the native peoples and their culture.

At this time, virtually all teachers in the NWT were recruited from outside the north or even from outside Canada.

¹⁰⁹DIAND, *Eskimos of Canada*, 8.

¹¹⁰DIAND, *Annual Report, 1977-78* (Ottawa: 1978), 45.

¹¹¹PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Eric Gourdeau, "The People of the Canadian North," prepared for the National Workshop on People, Resources and the Environment North of 60, May 1972.

¹¹²*Ibid.*

In 1971-72, 424 of 496 teachers in municipal schools were Canadians, only five of whom had been trained in the NWT. Of the remainder, 47 came from Britain and the United States and 25 from Australia, New Zealand, the Phillipines, India, and Europe.¹¹³

These teachers, prior to moving to the north were given a mere two week orientation course on Arctic conditions. Thus, the fundamental problem was that teachers from southern Canada and abroad received little or no special training on Inuit culture or northern conditions. In the early 1970s, only about 15 percent of teachers serving in northern areas had received any specialized training in teaching children from native populations.¹¹⁴ The severity of the environment combined with the cultural shock resulted in abnormally high turnover rates among teachers, especially in the Arctic District. In the mid 1960s, for example, in the eastern Arctic the official estimate of average teacher turnover rate

¹¹³D. W. Simpson, "Accomodation for Learning and Living," in *Education North of 60* [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), 28; Bhattacharya, "Education in the Northwest Territories," 250.

¹¹⁴NLWC, Canada, *Report of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, Concerning the Status of Indian and Eskimo Education*, 768.

per year was 28 percent.¹¹⁵ In most instances, teachers rarely remained in the north for more than one year and it was exceptional for the stay to be longer than two years. Some did not even complete their first full academic year. In an effort to combat this problem the government initiated a policy of sending two teachers to a new school regardless of the enrolment levels.¹¹⁶

This process of recruiting and "preparing" teachers almost guaranteed that they would not have an appreciation for their students or their way of life. Many of them did not integrate into the communities. Instead, they lived in government housing and maintained a reserved and paternalistic attitude to both the children and their parents. The teachers' lack of appreciation for the social conditions of Inuit children led them to form negative impressions about the Inuit as a people. They assessed children who fell asleep in school as uninterested and inattentive when in reality the children were often tired because they lived in one room houses where parents stayed up late.¹¹⁷ Their lack of respect

¹¹⁵NAC, RG 85/1051/A-610-1 (4) Letter to Mr. Jim McCaughey, Yellowknife from W. G. Booth, Acting District Superintendent of Schools, December 21, 1965.

¹¹⁶Mouat, "Education in the Arctic District," 6.

¹¹⁷Don C. Barnett, "Attitudes of Eskimo School Children," *Integrated Education* (January-February, 1973): 57.

for the culture in which they were teaching led them to believe that the Inuit were backward and lacked intelligence.¹¹⁸ It followed that native students were unsuited for academic training.¹¹⁹ Teachers often held students back in grades for two or three years because they did not deem the children's progress to be adequate.¹²⁰ In many cases, this was the result of the children's inability to communicate in English which some teachers interpreted as a cognitive deficiency.¹²¹

Teachers who did intergrate into communities were looked upon by the Inuit as community leaders. However, in general, the attitudes of teachers alienated and frustrated students. Although the reliance on southern teachers was understandable, an extensive preparatory programme was badly needed. Such a programme might have reduced teacher turnover rates and thus decreased the costs associated with recruiting and transporting teachers. More importantly, it would have

¹¹⁸Joseph F. Krauter and Morris Davis, *Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups* (Toronto: Methuen Publishing Company, 1978), 31.

¹¹⁹Welsman, "Education of Native Peoples in the Northwest Territories: A Model," 32.

¹²⁰Mouat, "Education in the Arctic District," 6.

¹²¹PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Eric Gourdeau, "The People of the Canadian North," Prepared for the National Workshop on People, Resources and the Environment North of 60, May 1972.

improved the relationship between teachers and students and thereby helped to achieve the objective of preparing the Inuit for transition to mainstream society.

In the mid-1970s the goal of the NWT Department of Education, was expressed by Mr. W. G. Devitt, the Assistant Director:

to give all people in the Northwest Territories the opportunity for maximum development of their potential, while we recognize and appreciate cultural differences. Consequently, cultural inclusion experiences requested by the people themselves are emphasized in all aspects of our program from kindergarten to the adult level. Everything possible is done to prepare the people for leadership roles in the development of the Northwest Territories whether they choose to follow traditional pursuits or wage employment.¹²²

It did not seem to occur to the educational authorities that this objective could only be achieved if teachers appreciated the intelligence and cultural heritage of the pupils.

The ITC criticized the continued use of residential schools, stating that "removing children from their parents to attend central schools was destroying parental influence in the outcome of the child's character, which is an essential

¹²²as cited in Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," 55.

part of maintaining the culture."¹²³ The government accepted the validity of the ITC's position, but claimed that it was uneconomical to provide a school in every small community. The government was attempting to provide education up to grade seven and eight at the community level but it was impossible to have high schools in all settlements, especially since some settlements had a total enrolment of 15 students.¹²⁴

In the *Survey of Education* issued in 1972, the Director of Education specifically recommended against the extension of high school programmes to any communities outside the existing facilities in the larger centres in the western Arctic and Frobisher Bay in the eastern Arctic.¹²⁵ At this stage, the expansion of the school system at the lower levels meant that there were fewer than 100 children under ten years of age who had to leave home to attend schools.¹²⁶ The trend of reducing the use of residential schools continued throughout the 1970s.

¹²³PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Letter to Tagak Curley, President, ITC, Edmonton, to B.C. Gillie, Director of Education, Yellowknife, September 30, 1971.

¹²⁴PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Letter to Tagak Curley, President, ITC, Edmonton, to B.C. Gillie, Director of Education, Yellowknife, September 30, 1971.

¹²⁵Del M. Koenig, *Northern People and Higher Education: Realities and Possibilities*, 157.

¹²⁶PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." Letter to Tagak Curley, President, ITC, Edmonton, to B.C. Gillie, Director of Education, Yellowknife, September 30, 1971.

Consequently, the number of students attending them declined from 1180 in 1970 to 515 in 1976 and further to 439 in 1977.¹²⁷

The decision not to extend high school education into local schools contributed to the low level of education among the Inuit since the children found it difficult to be separated from their families.¹²⁸ Therefore, Inuit children in the NWT comprised the majority of all students in grade one but by grade nine were the minority.¹²⁹ As had been the case in the 1960s, many Inuit children decided to leave the school system rather than to leave home.

Even fewer Inuit attended university. Between 1967 and 1971, there was an annual average of approximately 3600 Inuit students in school. Yet, only five, or on average one in each of the years, were enrolled in university.¹³⁰ This trend did

¹²⁷This number includes all native peoples in the NWT. Canada, *North of 60 Facts and Figures Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada 1977), 8; GNWT, *Department of Education Northwest Territories Annual Report, 1976*, (Yellowknife: 1977), 4.

¹²⁸Koenig, *Northern People and Higher Education: Realities and Possibilities*, 190; Annie Manning, "The Inuk who Became a Teacher," *Inuit Today* 5:11 (December, 1976): 33.

¹²⁹Welsman, "Education of Native Peoples in the Northwest Territories: A Model," 30.

¹³⁰Robert Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education: If not Reindeer Herding, How About Small Appliance Repair?" *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 7:1 (1983): 108.

not change appreciably into the early 1980s.¹³¹

It should be noted that the limited progress of the Inuit was not an indication of diminished intellectual ability. Two studies, one in 1962 and the other in the mid 1970s, found that Inuit children had the same cognitive ability as other Canadian children.¹³² This strongly suggests that it was the educational system and not the ability of the Inuit that was at the root of the problem.

By September, 1974 a total of 4,951 Inuit children were enrolled in NWT schools.¹³³ They were served by nearly 700 teachers and classroom assistants.¹³⁴

In August, 1977 a new education ordinance was issued. The NWT Department of Education was reorganized and a Linguistic Programmes Division was established to develop and produce

¹³¹Lee E. Weissling, "Arctic Canada and Zambia: A Comparison of Development Processes in the Fourth and Third Worlds," *Arctic* 42:3 (September, 1989): 212.

¹³²L. J. Taylor and G. R. Skanes, "Cognitive Abilities in Inuit and White Children from Similar Environments," *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 8:1 (1976): 7; Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, "Education in Northern Canada," *Canadian Education and Research Digest* 3:2 (June, 1963): 91.

¹³³Johns, "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.," 55.

¹³⁴Canada, *North of 60 Facts and Figures Northwest Territories*, 8.

learning materials in and for the native languages.¹³⁵ The ordinance contained a recommendation that would give local control over language instruction in schools. However, this legislation did little to change the view of parents that the school system was totally government owned and controlled. Nor did it address the problem of unprepared teachers recruited from other areas.¹³⁶

Throughout the 1970s, the Inuit continued to work in the lower level positions within the wage economy. In the early 1970s, this situation was perhaps understandable. At that time, half the estimated Inuit labour force had no education and in areas along the Arctic Coast and Baffin Island the figure reached nearly 70 percent with less than two percent progressing beyond elementary school.¹³⁷ By 1978, even with the expansion of the education system, employment patterns had not altered much. According to Jens Lyberth, President of the Inuit Development Corporation, there were no Inuit drilling foremen: "...we still haven't got an architect or engineer or

¹³⁵GNWT, *Department of Education Northwest Territories Annual Report, 1977* (Yellowknife: 1978), 1.

¹³⁶Jack Cram, "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools," *McGill Journal of Education: An Inuit Teacher-Training Program* 20:2 (Spring, 1985): 120.

¹³⁷Chun-Yan Kuo, *A Study of Income and Income Distribution in the Arctic Coast and Baffin Regions of Northern Canada* (Ottawa: July, 1973), 9-10.

even a planner....we still haven't produced any of the higher level educated Inuit."¹³⁸ In fact, the only Inuk¹³⁹ at a professional level was a doctor who had graduated in the early 1970s.¹⁴⁰ The reason for this deficit was that the Inuit continued to be placed in courses that prepared them for low-end work. Few, if any, entered and completed certified or apprenticeship programmes.¹⁴¹ The one notable exception was the courses established in 1978 at Canadian Forces Base at Borden, Ontario which trained Inuit students as mechanics and commercial pilots.¹⁴²

Beginning in 1978, initiatives were developed to improve the delivery of education to native peoples in the NWT. The Department of Education, in response to criticism about children having to leave home to receive an education above the grade eight level, set up grade ten programmes in two communities and subsequently extended this programme to others.¹⁴³ The refusal of Inuit students to attend the

¹³⁸As cited in Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education: If not Reindeer Herding, How About Small Appliance Repair?" 109.

¹³⁹"Inuk" is the singular form of "Inuit."

¹⁴⁰DIAND, *Eskimos of Canada*, 7.

¹⁴¹Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education: If not Reindeer Herding, How About Small Appliance Repair?," 109.

¹⁴²DIAND, *Annual Report, 1979-80*, 43.

teacher's college in Fort Smith led to the establishment of the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Programme (EATEP) at Frobisher Bay in 1979. This programme was developed concurrently with another which was designed to upgrade teaching assistants to the level of teachers to serve in the eastern Arctic.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the Education Division concluded, once again, that southern programmes and tests were not suitable for the north. Consequently, it developed new course outlines for grades one to nine for English, science, and social studies.¹⁴⁵ In 1979-1980 new courses in the managerial, administrative, and technical fields were offered. Counselling units were established to assist the 180 Inuit in southern schools.

In summary, the federal government's takeover of the northern educational system in the 1960s shifted its orientation from one based on religious teachings to another

¹⁴³E. Duggan, Dan Johnson and M.S. Naidoo, "Secondary Education in the NWT with Suggestions for the Universities," in *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North* ed. W. Peter Adams [Developed from the Proceedings of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS) meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986], (ACUNS: 1987), 34-35;

¹⁴⁴GNWT, *Annual Report of the Government of the Northwest Territories, 1979*, 5; Cram, "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools," 121.

¹⁴⁵GNWT, *Annual Report of the Government of the Northwest Territories, 1979*, 10.

of single-minded purpose. Without consulting the Inuit, it sought to use education as a way of integrating them into mainstream Canadian society. The objective appears to have been well-intentioned and designed to ensure the Inuit equal opportunity in the development of the north. The weakness in this approach, however, was that all aspects had to comply with the overall objective of ethnic integration. Even when there was clear evidence that the process was having a negative impact on the Inuit, measures to rectify the problem were either half-heartedly implemented or non-existent.

The territorial government's assumption of administrative control over education in 1969-1970 did little to alter the course set by the federal government. New ideas and approaches were proposed but the same officials who had worked within the old system resisted substantive changes that would have made the system responsive to Inuit needs. At best, what developed was an educational system in which most Inuit had some exposure to education but few obtained high level results. The core of the problem was that neither the federal nor territorial governments understood the peoples they were trying to educate.

CHAPTER FIVE

Soviet and Canadian Educational Policies: 1980-1990

By the 1980s, sufficient educational facilities had been established in both Siberia and the Northwest Territories (NWT) to accommodate the aboriginal populations. In Siberia, in 1982 there were 639 schools with an enrolment of more than 30,000 children from the northern native peoples.¹ The Chukchi District had 81 schools, including 37 that were national.² In the first three grades, the curriculum was modified for use in northern schools. In subsequent grades, the schools used the standard curriculum for the Soviet Union, although native language courses formed part of the curriculum and were used in extra-curricular activities.³ In 1980 in the NWT, the government operated 70 schools with an enrolment of 12,958 students and 711 teachers.⁴ As in Siberia, the

¹I. S. Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period* [Ethnic Development of the Peoples of the North in the Soviet Period] (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), 158-59.

²A. I. Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei* (Leningrad: 1987), 219.

³John Hannigan, *Summary Report of a Visit by a Canadian Delegation to the USSR to Study Education of Northern Native Peoples, October 22-November 5, 1986* (Ottawa: Circumpolar Affairs, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (hereafter DIAND), November 28, 1986), 15.

curriculum employed in the primary grades had a northern orientation; in subsequent grades, it reflected the programmes of southern schools.

In Canada, there continued to be high Inuit enrolment rates in the primary grades. Although most Inuit children completed primary school, only 57 percent went on to high school with numbers progressively declining with the increased level of education.⁵ In 1980, there were 4,142 Inuit children enrolled in school.⁶ A total of 192 students from all ethnic groups graduated from high schools in the NWT. Of these persons, 91 qualified for university, four were Inuit.⁷ At that time only one Inuk in Canada was attending university.⁸ Moreover, between 1981 and 1985, only 17 Inuit graduated from

⁴Canada, *Native Peoples and the North: A Profile*, (Ottawa: DIAND, 1982), 32. This figures includes all ethnic groups in the NWT.

⁵J. Iain Prattis and Jean Phillipe Chartrand, *System and Process: Inuktitut - English Bilingualism in the Northwest Territories of Canada* [Creme Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 5] (Ottawa: Centre for Research on Ethnic Minorities, Etc., Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1985), 15.

⁶R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War* (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 125.

⁷Jack Cram, "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools," *McGill Journal of Education: An Inuit Teacher-Training Program* 20:2 (Spring, 1985): 115.

⁸Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War*, 127.

academic and 84 from general programmes at the grade twelve level in the NWT.⁹

A number of problems continued to plague the Inuit educational system. These included a high drop-out rate, poor parent-teacher relations, few native teachers, a lack of community-based high-school facilities, and a "foreign" curriculum.¹⁰ The NWT Legislative Assembly formed a Special Committee on Education in 1980 to study these issues. This study was the first instance in which the Inuit themselves took an active part in the review of educational policies. The report, submitted in March 1982, concluded that part of the failure could be traced to the requirement that students leave home to complete their education. Even so, their community-based grade nine education was equivalent only to grade six or seven in the larger centres. The Committee attributed this "to a conflict among cultural inclusion, language instruction and the acquisition of English language proficiency." Two, out of a total of 49 recommendations

⁹Robert Higgins, "The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada: Bridging the Gap, the Need for New Approaches to Northern Research and Education," in *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North* ed. W. Peter Adams [Developed from the Proceedings of the ACUNS meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986] (ACUNS: 1987), 38.

¹⁰NWT Legislative Assembly Special Committee on Education, *Learning, Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife: 1982), 6.

assigned a more prominent role to Inuit in education: control of education was to be transferred to locally elected school boards and training for native teachers and classroom assistants was to have priority.¹¹

Significantly, the committee found that the few native students who did graduate from high school had not been adequately trained either for traditional occupations or wage employment.¹² As a result, the Inuit generally entered the wage economy at the lowest levels.

In 1981, 48 percent of all Inuit over the age of 15 worked for wages.¹³ In the mid 1980s, Inuit held 45 percent of the jobs with the government of the NWT. However, 73 percent of these jobs were at the two lowest pay levels. Only one Inuk was employed at the senior management level.¹⁴ The extent of the problem can be illustrated by examining the Nunasi Corporation. The Inuit Taparizat of Canada (ITC) formed this company in the mid 1970s to be responsible, *inter*

¹¹NWT Legislative Assembly Special Committee on Education, *Learning, Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*, 18-19.

¹²*Ibid.*, 27-28.

¹³Lee E. Weissling, "Arctic Canada and Zambia: A Comparison of Development Processes in the Fourth and Third Worlds," *Arctic* 42:3 (September, 1989): 212. It should be noted that many Inuit still preferred to live a traditional lifestyle.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 212.

alia, for investing funds that accrued from Inuit land claim settlements. In 1986, only eight percent of its management personnel were Inuit.¹⁵ As a consequence, the Inuit continued to seek improvements in the general educational system.

In Siberia, the 1980s had been preceded by two decades of reforms which had increased the educational levels of the native people. The greatest advances occurred in the 1960s, so that by the late 1970s, the majority of native peoples had not only primary but some secondary education.¹⁶ In 1979, 64 percent of the entire population over age ten had at least seven years of education. One example of the change is reflected in the educational levels within the agricultural sector of Chukotka. In 1982, 92 percent of those under 30 (mostly Chukchi and Eskimosy) had at least seven years of education and 20 percent had higher education.¹⁷ Approximately 55 percent of the Chukchi and 76 percent of the Eskimosy had

¹⁵Abraham Tunraluk, "Managerial Training in Nunasi Corporation," in *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North* ed. W. Peter Adams [Developed from the Proceedings of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS) meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986] (ACUNS: 1987), 101.

¹⁶S. S. Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," [trans] *Polar Record* 19:119 (1978): 138.

¹⁷Arkadi Cherkasov, "The Native Population of the Soviet North: Language, Education, and Employment," *Musk-Ox* 30 (1982): 68.

at least some secondary education.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that between 1970 and the mid 1980s, the percentage of white-collar workers from the native populations increased in Chukotka from nine to 28.1 percent of able-bodied workers.¹⁹

The paucity of teachers from among the native populations was a key problem common to both countries. In the Soviet Union, teacher training programmes for the northern native people had always been an integral part of the educational system. In the Northern Peoples Department of the Herzen Pedagogical Institute, for example, there were 238 aboriginal students in 1981-82. The majority studied methods of teaching the grammar of aboriginal languages and of Russian at the secondary level. Courses were offered in 18 languages, including Chukchi and Eskimosy.²⁰ In spite of many such schools, the supply of native teachers failed to meet the demand.²¹ In 1985 in Chukotka, there were 155 teachers from

¹⁸Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*, 158-59.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 160, 218.

²⁰Dennis and Alice Bartels, "Language Education Programmes for Aboriginal Peoples of the Siberian North: The Soviet Experience," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 16:1 (1989): 25.

²¹Kerstin E. Kuoljok, *The Revolution in the North: Soviet Ethnography and Nationality Policy* (Stockholm: Uppsala, 1985), 64.

the native population.²² Thus, if these teachers all worked in national schools there would be, on average, four native teachers for each national school. Since it was uncommon for "foreign" teachers to learn native languages, this suggests that even in the national schools native language training could not have been widespread.²³ In the NWT, the shortage of teachers from among the native population was even more pronounced, but for a different reason. Government policy dictated that native people could only be trained as teachers when they had completed the same prerequisite education as non-native students (high-school and some university courses). Few Inuit attained this level of education. This, of course, meant that native teachers had to "go through the system" in order to learn how to teach the values and norms of mainstream society. Modification of these rules in the 1970s allowed selected native students who did not possess the requisite education to attend teacher's college. However, only one facility, located at Fort Smith in the western Arctic, had such a programme. The lack of training facilities in the eastern Arctic prevented many

²²Krushanova, *Istoria i kul'tura Chukchei*, 221.

²³Chuner Taksami, "Opening Speech at the Congress of Small Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North," *Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North* [IWGIA Document No 67] (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1990), 37.

"suitable" candidates from entering the field. As of 1982, only 46 of 741 teachers in the NWT were of native origin.²⁴ Consequently, there was a minimum level of native language instruction. The Inuit language was taught in only 27 schools.²⁵

The establishment of the first community-based course under the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Programme (EATEP)/McGill programme provided a partial solution. It was offered at Pangnirtung, on Baffin Island, in 1982 and had an enrolment of 20 students. In 1983 the first six certificates were awarded with eleven more the following year.²⁶ To entice classroom assistants into the programme, those who enrolled received an allowance of 80 percent of their normal salary. In 1984 the enrolment in the EATEP had increased to 100.²⁷

In the fall of 1983 a special ten-week course was set up to train Inuit in *Inuvialuktun*, the Inuit dialect of the western Arctic. The graduates of this course assumed teaching

²⁴Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War*, 122. This statistic includes all groups of aboriginal peoples in the NWT.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Cram, "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools," 122.

²⁷Government of the NWT, (*hereafter GNWT*) *Annual Report, 1981*, 48.

positions in their home communities the following year.²⁸

The teacher education programme in the western Arctic was revised in 1986. This revision represented a radical expansion of the programme with greater emphasis being placed on the training of bilingual teachers at the community level. This was to be accomplished with the support of local language centres located in communities across the NWT.²⁹ In spite of the improvement over the previous decade, the shortage of teachers persisted.

In both Siberia and the NWT, the lack of teachers with an intimate knowledge of the language and culture of the native peoples remains one of the most important obstacles the educational systems have to overcome. They are important because no teaching programme can train "outsiders" to understand a "foreign" culture. This requires teachers who have lived in the culture and have a fundamental understanding not only of what is important but why it is important. Teachers who arrive from outside and view their surroundings as barbaric or alien will not relate to the local culture or the children they are teaching. In both Siberia and the NWT, this shortage of teachers meant that plans to introduce native

²⁸Prattis and Chartrand, *System and Process: Inuktitut - English Bilingualism in the Northwest Territories of Canada*, 26-27.

²⁹GNWT, *Annual Report, 1985*, 26.

language training were often nothing more than good intentions.

The inadequacy of native language instruction in the schools in both Siberia and the NWT, and the emphasis upon Russian and English, respectively, contributed to the erosion of the importance of the native languages. In Siberia, this factor became more pronounced in the 1960s when the language of instruction shifted to Russian at the expense of the native languages.

In Siberia, the decline in the use of native languages, first observed in the 1959 census, continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. From 1979 to 1989 the number of Siberian native peoples who considered Russian their mother tongue increased from 28.5 percent to 36.4 percent. Similarly, the number who considered the language of their nationality to be their mother tongue decreased from 61.7 percent to 52.3 percent.³⁰

³⁰Canada, *Statistics on the Economic and Cultural Development of the Northern Aboriginal People of the USSR for the period 1980-1989* (Ottawa: Circumpolar and Scientific Affairs, DIAND, February, 1991), 13. The 1979 and 1989 censuses asked whether a person could "freely command another language of the peoples of the USSR where "freely command" meant "freely converse." However, no test of ability were given. Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver. "Some Factors in the Linguistic and Ethnic Russification of Soviet Nationalities: Is Everyone Becoming Russian," in *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*. eds. Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990), 96.

The Chukchi and Eskimosy followed this trend. In 1959, 93.3 percent of the Chukchi and 84 percent of Eskimosy considered the language of their nationality to be their mother tongue. By 1989 these figures had decreased to 70.4 percent and 51.6 percent respectively. In contrast, in 1979, 38.2 percent of Eskimosy considered Russian to be their mother tongue and by 1989 the number had increased to 45.9 percent. For the Chukchi, the percentages were 21.2 and 28.3 percent respectively.³¹

The loss of native language ability among the Inuit was not as drastic as in Siberia. This may be attributed to three factors: the Inuit comprised more than 85 percent of the population of the regions they inhabited in the NWT, most Inuit over the age of 35 learned English only as adults, and the Inuit did not begin attending schools en masse until the 1960s.³²

In a 1982 report prepared for the Commissioner of Languages, the Inuit language was judged as one of three of the 150 Canadian aboriginal languages that had a reasonable

³¹Canada, *Statistics on the Economic and Cultural Development of the Northern Aboriginal People of the USSR for the period 1980-1989*, 13.

³²William C. Wonders, "The Changing Role and Significance of Native Peoples in Canada's Northwest Territories," *Polar Record* 23:147 (1987): 664; Alan M. Maslove and David C. Hawkes, *Canada's North: A Profile* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, March, 1990), 21.

chance of survival. This assessment was based upon the actual numbers of native peoples who spoke the language.³³ According to the 1986 census, 85 percent of the Inuit retained their native language.³⁴ The remaining 15 percent represented the younger generation who had been integrated into the school system from an early age. The degree of use of the Inuit language varies widely between regions of the NWT. Although it is still used considerably in the eastern Arctic, by the mid 1970s the majority of Inuit youth in the western Arctic had difficulty speaking their own language.³⁵ Most elders could converse in both English and the native language. Middle-aged persons could speak both but generally preferred English, and children often had only a passing knowledge of their native tongue.³⁶

The reason for the decline in native language use in both Siberia and the NWT stemmed from the early school systems

³³Tony Hall, "Closing an Incomplete Circle of Confederation: A Brief to the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Federal Government on the 1987 Constitutional Accord," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 6:2 (1986): 208.

³⁴Maslove and Hawkes, *Canada's North: A Profile*, 21-24.

³⁵Annie Manning, "The Inuk Who Became a Teacher," *Inuit Today* 5:11 (December, 1976): 35.

³⁶Jean-Phillippe Chartrand, *Inuktitut Language Retention Among Canadian Inuit: An Analysis of 1971 and 1981 Census Data* Ottawa: (Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1985), 12.

which consisted largely of boarding schools. In Canada, the boarding school system, which used only English language, served as the core of the Inuit educational system. Inuit children from the age of six travelled up to 1500 miles to attend these schools. In Siberia, the residential schools were originally established to provide education to children from nomadic groups. Eventually, the network of these schools expanded to include children from settled groups. These schools were so prevalent that virtually all native children attended them at some point in their education.

In both countries, children stayed at residential schools on average from nine to ten months per year.³⁷ During this time, they lived in accordance with the values and customs of mainstream society. They were deprived of parental guidance and knowledge of their cultural heritage. As a consequence, the children drifted away from their traditional lifestyles.³⁸ Their values and expectations, and in some cases, even their

³⁷In Siberia the parents had to turn in their children at the age of one year, first to the nursery, then to kindergartens, then to boarding schools for 6 days a week 24 hours a day while themselves lived in the same village. Nikolai Vakhtin, "Native Peoples of the Russian Far North," (Minority Rights Group International Report, May, 1992), 22.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 22; Kathleen Mihalisko, "Discontent in Taiga and Tundra," *Radio Liberty* 296:98 (July 7, 1988): 3-4;

language differed from those of their parents.³⁹

In Siberia, concern over the issue of native language retention, a symptom of the general problem of alienation, was evident at the end of the 1960s. Teachers and social leaders held meetings in a number of districts to address the issue. The consensus was that native languages had to be retained if alienation between generations was to be avoided. Nevertheless, the emphasis on Russian in schools, at the expense of the native language, continued into the 1980s.⁴⁰ In Canada, the first signs of a gap between generations occurred in the 1970s. At that time, the government recognized that children had surpassed their parents in their understanding of modern life. Consequently, adult education programmes were extended significantly to allow the parents to "catch-up" to their children.⁴¹ These programmes, however, were only partially successful because many Inuit adults failed to understand why they should participate. Although

³⁹Taksami, "Opening Speech at the Congress of Small Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North," 36; Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 22; A. I. Pika and B. B. Prokhorov, "Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov," [Big Problems of Small Peoples] *Kommunist* 16 (1988) 80; Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War*, 125.

⁴⁰Savoskul, "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North," 148.

⁴¹PWNHC, N92-023 "Unsorted." "The Eskimos of Canada," 1976.

both governments recognized that "alienation" was creating significant social problems among the native peoples, for all practical purposes they failed to address the problem.

One of the problems that required immediate attention was a generation of young adults who had contempt for the lifestyles and occupations of their own people. In both countries, the youth aspired to a more sophisticated, urban lifestyle but a general feeling of social and cultural inferiority often prevented them from making a successful transition. In many cases, they were neither prepared to integrate into mainstream society nor did they possess the skills required to return to their traditional lifestyles. This unenviable position created a generation which authorities and parents identified as rebellious or lazy.⁴²

These characteristics are symptoms of a greater problem: the need to provide the current generation of native peoples with an educational system that will allow them to function comfortably in two vastly different cultures. The solution appears to be to provide them with an education in which both the mainstream and native culture and languages are presented

⁴²James Forsyth, "The Indigenous Peoples of Siberia in the Twentieth Century," in *The Development of Siberia: Peoples and Resources* eds. Alan Wood and R. A. French (London: Macmillan Press, 1989), 90; Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War*, 125.

equally. The first step in this direction is the establishment of a bilingual system where neither language takes precedent.

In Siberia, the impact of the existing school system upon young people was reflected in the change in the occupations they entered. In 1959, 70 percent of the native work force entered traditional occupations; by the late 1980s, this had declined to 43 percent.⁴³ This shift should have been indicative of the increased opportunities available to the native peoples. However, they did not possess the necessary training to obtain professional level positions, and had to be satisfied with menial jobs.⁴⁴ In 1959, 13 percent of northern native peoples engaged in unskilled labour; in 1988, it had increased to more than 30 percent.⁴⁵ The paucity of native youth with the necessary training to enter traditional occupations also caused problems within the native economy. For example, the Chukotka Agricultural Board required about 120 new reindeer breeders annually but, on average, could only

⁴³Pita and Prokhorov, "Bolshiye problemy malykh narodov," 77.

⁴⁴Kathleen Mihalisko, "SOS for Native Peoples of Soviet North," *Report on the USSR* 1:5 (1989): 4.

⁴⁵Gurvich, *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnoctei severa v sovetskii period*, 99-100; Pika and Prokhorov, "Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov," 77.

fill one-third of its quota.⁴⁶

In essence, the government did little or nothing to correct this situation. However, in some cases individual teachers on their own initiative attempted to incorporate subjects that related to native culture and work experience into the curriculum. In the Chukotka region, one school recruited native peoples who were specialists in traditional occupations to teach methods of reindeer-breeding and home-economics. In another school, courses in hunting and fishing were introduced.⁴⁷ While these initiatives were a positive step, the need for the teachers to organize and introduce these courses highlights the overall weakness in the system to provide an education that was relevant, even useful, to the native peoples. The government began instituting comparable programmes for instruction in reindeer breeding, hunting, and fur farming in the late 1980s.⁴⁸

In the Canadian north, native peoples generally had lower incomes and higher rates of unemployment than the national average. They also had a greater dependency upon the welfare

⁴⁶Cherkasov, "The Native Population of the Soviet North: Language, Education, and Employment," 71.

⁴⁷V. V. Lebedev, "Education, Employment, Economic Organizations and Health Services in the USSR Far North," *Inuktitut* (Fall, Winter, 1988): 96.

⁴⁸Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 28.

system as their principal source of income.⁴⁹ According to *Statistics Canada*, in 1981, 48.0 percent of Inuit participated in the wage economy; however, this figure did not include those who followed traditional occupations.⁵⁰ In 1984 the NWT government conducted a more relevant survey of 11,164 native peoples in the NWT. This study provided the percentages of native peoples who were involved in the wage economy and in traditional occupations. It also provided some indication of the composition of the Inuit labour force.⁵¹ According to the survey, 41 percent of the able-bodied workers from the native labour force were employed in the wage economy, seven percent were engaged in full-time traditional occupations, 27 percent were occupied in part-time traditional pursuits, and the remaining 25 percent were unemployed.⁵²

In 1989, a NWT Labour Force survey indicated that native unemployment rates were twice as high as the non-native rates.

⁴⁹Maslove and Hawkes, *Canada's North, A Profile*, 8.

⁵⁰Michael S. Whittington, *Native Economic Development Development Corporations: Political and Economic Change in Canada's North* [Prepared for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC)] (Ottawa: CARC, July, 1986), 24-25

⁵¹Given the size of the sample used in this survey, there is no reason to believe that the employment statistics for the Inuit would be substantially different from the above figures.

⁵²Jack C. Stabler, "Jobs, Leisure and Traditional Pursuits: Activities of Native Males in the Northwest Territories," *Polar Record* 25:155 (1989): 295.

If broken down by age, the rate of unemployment for native youth aged 15-24 was four times the non-native rate. Until this time, a consensus existed that native peoples outside the wage economy were unemployed because they wanted to pursue traditional occupations. According to this report, however, 72 percent of unemployed native men and 59 percent of unemployed native women wanted to enter the wage economy.¹

One reason for the poor participation of the native peoples was that the economy did not develop as expected. This contributed to the problem, but it did not explain why 64 percent of all jobs in the NWT were filled by peoples from outside the territory.² The educational system had not properly prepared the native peoples for wage economy.³

¹GNWT, *Health and Health Services in the Northwest Territories* [A Report from the Territorial Hospital Insurance Services Board and the Department of Health] (Yellowknife: October, 1990), 17.

²Peter Allen, "Economic Strategy for the Nineties: A Northwest Territories Approach," in *The Arctic: Canada and the Nordic Countries* ed. Per Seyersted [Proceedings from the Third International Conference of the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies, (hereafter NACS) University of Oslo, 1990] (Lund, Sweden: NACS, 1991), 31.

³For a full discussion of this subject see Robert Carney, "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education: If Not Reindeer Herding, How About Small Appliance Repair?" *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 7:1 (1983): 85-116.

training to assist students in making the transition from academic training to the work force. This included the introduction in all schools of a comprehensive three-year business education course. In Inuvik, additional programmes in health, social services and automotive mechanics were offered. In Frobisher Bay, new courses were limited to carpentry and general mechanics. The new programme at Frobisher Bay was similiar to those initiated in the 1950s and 1960s by the federal government.⁵⁶ Courses in carpentry and mechanics had historically consigned the trainees to low-end jobs. In addition, one may wonder about the utility of auto mechanics courses in the high Arctic. It should have been clear that unless changes were made, the native people's inability to compete would continue.

The educational system needed to be changed to combat high drop out rates, the alienation between generations, and the low participation rates in either traditional or modern occupations. These problems had been created decades before. In Canada, the ingrained colonial-like attitudes of the federal system which lasted until the end of the 1960s were still prevalent within the territorial system. In Siberia, most of the problems could be traced to the russification of the native peoples, the Russian version of colonialism. The

⁵⁶GNWT, *Annual Report, 1982*, 48.

results were quite similar. In both countries the dominant or majority population had imposed an educational system upon a less-developed minority. The governments' pre-occupation with their own objectives precluded the introduction of policies that would have provided a viable educational system for the native peoples. It was not until the mid 1980s that both governments started a new round of initiatives to deal with these problems.

In Canada, one of the most important developments was the creation of local school boards throughout the NWT which were given control over decisions on school organization, finance and curriculum.⁵⁷ A word on the role of communities in the educational process will help illustrate the evolution of the system. There were two types of educational authorities at the local level: societies and committees. Societies were responsible for hiring teachers and were provided with a local budget. The committees made recommendations to the superintendent of schools on local requirements. A number of committees could band together to form a divisional board. These boards, which were answerable to the Department of Education, hired staff, created programmes, selected the language of instruction and determined the timing of the

⁵⁷Geoffrey B. Isherwood, Knute Sorensen and Eric Colbourne, "Educational Development in the North: Preparing Inuit Leaders for School Board Control," *Education Canada* 26:3 (1986): 9-10.

school year.⁵⁸

An equally important step was the creation of the Arctic College in 1984 which provided post-secondary education, adult education and training programmes throughout the NWT.⁵⁹ In 1990 the adult education programme was consolidated as part of the college system so that it administered local learning centres in more than 30 communities.⁶⁰

At the same time, measures were implemented which increased emphasis on native language training in conjunction with English as a second language. The general objective was a bilingual school system. To support the Inuit language programme, sets of readers, pupil workbooks, and a variety of other learning aids in the Inuit language were produced.⁶¹ In addition, a committee of Inuit teachers, representing three regions created an Inuit language curriculum for grades two to

⁵⁸Mark O. Dickerson, *Whose North? Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 130-31.

⁵⁹W. H. Stapleton, "Challenge and Change: The Development of Post Secondary Education in the NWT," in *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North* ed. W. Peter Adams [Developed from the Proceedings of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS) meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986] (ACUNS: 1987), 93.

⁶⁰GNWT, *Northwest Territories Education Annual Report, 1990*, 5.

⁶¹GNWT, *Annual Report, 1980*, 14.

six.⁶² For the teaching of English as a second language, a teacher's guidebook complete with lessons was developed.⁶³ In 1989-1990, there were 6,167 students receiving aboriginal language instruction in either a first language programme, or as a second language.⁶⁴ This was an eight percent increase over 1985-1986.⁶⁵

The Department of Education, in the first major shift in its educational philosophy, began including native cultures as an integral part of the learning process. The first step was the establishment of eleven Teaching and Training Centres across the NWT. Their staff were mandated to obtain information about traditions from the local population in order to create learning materials.⁶⁶ The government announced a new course, to be introduced in 1990, for all high school students. It was designed to give a historical overview of the cultures of aboriginal peoples in the NWT, to discuss contemporary issues such as land claims, and to introduce pupils to one aboriginal language. At the same time, a native

⁶²GNWT, *Annual Report, 1983*, 48.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴This figure includes all ethnic groups in the NWT.

⁶⁵GNWT, *Northwest Territories Education Annual Report, 1989*, 15.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 5.

literature course in *Inuktitut* was introduced for pupils in the eastern Arctic.⁶⁷

To address the drop out problem, the department developed two alternative education programmes for students 15 years or older who did not have grade ten and were considering leaving school. These programmes - the Community Occupational Programme (COP) and the Senior Practical Programme (SPP) - had a total of 45 graduates in 1990.⁶⁸ Concurrently, the government extended the network of high schools into local communities. In 1986 there were 13 schools offering high school programmes. In the following year, the number increased to 16, and by 1989-90 the number had increased further to 18.⁶⁹

A fourteen month school-community counsellor training programme was established at the Arctic College campus in Iqaluit in 1987. Graduates from this programme served in settlements promoting relations between school boards and parents. They were also to help to raise the general awareness among the native peoples of the importance of education and helped students with educational and social

⁶⁷GNWT, *Annual Report, 1988*, 21.

⁶⁸GNWT, *Northwest Territories Education Annual Report, 1990*, 5.

⁶⁹GNWT, *Annual Report, 1987*, 23; GNWT, *Northwest Territories Education Annual Report, 1989*, 11.

problems. The main objective of the programme, however, was to obtain parents' support for having their children remain in school.⁷⁰ The initiatives in the 1980s were efforts to involve the native peoples and to make the educational process more relevant to them. Nevertheless, some of the historic problems remained. The number of Inuit enrolled in post-secondary institutions increased from 28 in 1983-1984 to 162 in 1989-1990.⁷¹ While this represented a five-fold improvement, it was still less than four percent of the total Inuit student population. At the same time, native students received only 31 percent of high school diplomas, though they constituted 70 percent of the entire student population. The native population also had substantially higher rates of illiteracy. In 1989, the national average for people 15 years of age and older was 20 percent, but in the NWT the average was 44 percent. Among the native peoples the level was 72 percent.⁷² It could be argued that insufficient time had passed for these changes to have an impact upon the education of the native peoples. While this position had merit, the

⁷⁰GNWT, *Annual Report, 1986*, 19; GNWT, *Northwest Territories Education Annual Report, 1988*, 5.

⁷¹GNWT, Department of Education, *Facts and Figures, 1990*.

⁷²The completion of grade nine level education was used as the means test for literacy. GNWT, *Health and Health Services in the Northwest Territories*, 17.

more fundamental question remains: why the government persisted in patchwork solutions when a complete redesign of the system was needed. The work orientation programmes at the senior high school level would only reach those native students who had weathered the system and had a reasonable chance of finishing school. What was needed, and continues to be needed, is a bottom-up approach where children upon entering kindergarten are taught the value of education in the context of their environment. An integral part of this solution will require parental involvement in the process of education. This is an area that the NWT government educational programme seems to be addressing with its counsellor programme.

In Siberia, the few changes that were made to the system, occurred in the post *glasnost* period.⁷³ Part of the reason for the lack of meaningful initiatives may be attributed to the centralized decision making process within the Ministry of Education. Between the schools and the actual policy makers were layers of bureaucrats working at both the political and educational levels.⁷⁴ This meant that local schools and executives had little decision making authority and little

⁷³Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 28.

⁷⁴Hannigan, "Summary Report of a Visit by a Canadian Delegation to the USSR to Study Education of Northern Native Peoples, October 22-November 5, 1986," 6.

influence on the direction of education policies. The other factor may be that the Ministry of Education set policies for the 140 million residents of the Russian Republic.

Nevertheless some changes were made to the educational system of Siberia after 1985. The most important was a programme to create national elementary and secondary schools with their own programmes located at production sites and nomad camps.⁷⁵ At the same time a process began to convert some boarding schools into ordinary day schools.⁷⁶ This allowed native school children to remain at home thus potentially alleviating some social problems. Since it cost 3,000 rubles per year to educate a child in residential school and 637 in a day school, a cynic could observe that the move to day schools was financially motivated rather than showing concern for the welfare of the students.⁷⁷ The amounts involved were substantial when one considers that in Chukotka alone in 1985 there were 3360 native students still attending residential schools.⁷⁸

The government also made efforts to improve native

⁷⁵Taksami, "Opening Speech at the Congress of Small Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North," 35.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 37; Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 22.

⁷⁷Krushanova, *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*, 219.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

language training. This included increased native language instruction supported by an increase in teaching materials in the native languages. As a result, between 1980 and 1989 there was an 82 percent increase in the number of native students studying their own language.⁷⁹ By 1989, 45 percent of native children were being taught their native tongues. In addition, alphabets had been published in 17 languages and dictionaries in 16 languages.⁸⁰ In 1989, the Council of Ministers issued a decree that re-instated classes in the Ul'chi, Yukagiry, Itel'meny, Dolgany, and Nivkhi languages.⁸¹ However, this was not an indication that Russian had declined in importance, only that more attention was being given to the instruction of native languages.

These measures, by themselves, were insufficient since other more fundamental problems existed within the system.

Although the languages of the Northern Minorities are taught in the North, education in its present form can provide little or no support for their preservation. There is a shortage of teachers, schools and books. The teachers are often young people who are themselves not proficient in the northern Minority languages while the techniques of teaching them as 'mother-tongues' through

⁷⁹Canada, *Statistics on the Economic and Cultural Development of the Northern Aboriginal People 1980-1989*, 3.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 28.

primers, reading and writing, a technique which was developed in the 1930s, is now hopelessly outdated.⁸²

On March 30-31, 1989, the Native Peoples of Siberia met to establish their first national association, the Congress of Small Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North. This meeting, held in the Kremlin, afforded the native peoples the opportunity to speak for themselves in a national setting.⁸³ The idea was to use this organization to "ensure the perpetuation of their culture and work out a programme for their continued development."⁸⁴

In both Siberia and the NWT, the 1980s marked the beginning of native peoples' active involvement in changes made to their educational systems. In Canada, this process began in the early 1980s, while in Siberia it occurred toward the end of the decade. Clearly, by 1990 the government of the NWT was much more responsive to the problems of its native peoples. In Siberia, for all practical purposes there were few changes during the 1980s. A key difference was the direct participation of the Inuit in the decision-making process

⁸²Vakhtin, *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*, 31.

⁸³Jens Dahl, "Introduction," in *Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North* [IWGIA Document No. 67] (Copenhagen: IWGIA 1990), 11, 19.

⁸⁴Taksami, "Opening Speech at the Congress of Small Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North," 23.

during this period. Thus, the extent of the governments' response to problems of the native peoples is related to the degree of the native peoples' advocacy for change. This underscores the need for native peoples to become active participants in their own educational systems.

In 1980 education in both countries was centrally administered and both had similar problems including native language loss, alienation between generations, high drop out rates and high unemployment. In the NWT, the central authority by 1985 had devolved to some extent to the community level. In Siberia, the centralized bureaucracy remained intact. On balance, the devolution of responsibility to the native peoples in the NWT appears to be slowly producing the desired changes.

CONCLUSION

The development of educational systems for the native peoples of Siberia and the Northwest Territories evolved in response to specific political objectives. In both countries, this translated initially into systems that emphasized government objectives rather than the requirements of the native peoples.

The Siberian system focussed upon instruction in native languages and the training of native teachers. This was an expedient method to inculcate the aboriginal population with socialist values rather than a commitment to the preservation of native cultures. This became most evident in the 1950s when the massive in-migration of Russians provided the impetus to create a school system that mirrored that of central Russia. This time also marked the beginning of a series of vague policy announcements and meaningless reforms in attempts to appease the native peoples. The educational system became a component of the USSR's northern economic strategy. The goal of educators was to ensure a constant flow of necessary workers into industry. The native peoples for the most part became pawns because they were expected to adapt to the system, rather than adapting the system to their requirements.

The Canadian approach had a different orientation. The

government, for all practical purposes, did not get involved in Inuit education until after World War II. Canada faced different problems from the USSR. From the outset, the government's goal was to ensure that the Inuit had equality of opportunity with all other Canadians. At the same time, the Inuit's traditional lifestyles were to be maintained, but they were to be educated in English in accordance with national standards. The basic flaw in this approach was the attempt to impose urban, southern curriculum on students, many of whom still lived in snow houses. This, in effect, was analogous to the approach taken in Siberia. In both countries, the governments wanted the native peoples to assimilate on their terms, and the wishes of the native peoples until recently, were ignored.

The educational policies in Siberia and the Northwest Territories (NWT), however well-intentioned, were initiated without a full understanding of the cultural barriers that existed. As a result, many younger northern peoples in both countries felt isolated and were unable to adapt either to mainstream society or to their own culture. The most important development in the educational systems in the last decade has been the increased responsiveness of the governments to the needs of the native peoples and the increased role the native peoples have taken in their own education. This has led to changes in the system that, in the future, point to the

preservation of cultural heritage as an integral part of both systems.

Notwithstanding the deficiencies and problems associated with the respective educational systems, the native peoples have achieved levels of education in both countries that allow them to assess and increasingly articulate their requirements in national forums. The evidence for this statement is much clearer in Canada where the Inuit have been able to negotiate the creation of a national homeland, *Nunavut*. In Siberia, the task of asserting their rights may be complicated by the current political instability and because, unlike the Inuit, they do not represent a majority of the population in the regions they inhabit.

In the nearly 50 years since World War II, neither the Canadian nor the Russian government has demonstrated a sustained willingness to introduce an educational system that meets the needs of the northern native peoples. In all instances, government educational initiatives have been introduced to facilitate the integration of the native peoples into the existing system. Clearly, this will not change substantially unless the native peoples assume an increased role in and responsibility for the further development of their educational systems. At a minimum, this would entail working with government to design a completely new system

based strictly on the requirements of the native peoples. However, another option would be to give complete authority to the native peoples to permit them to structure a system that they believe will meet their educational requirements. The responsibility then shifts to the native peoples to ensure that this system provides the choices for those who wish to stay within the native culture and for those who wish to integrate into mainstream society. Regardless of who designs the system, it must be done in the same manner as mainstream Russian and Canadian educational systems. It must be based on local values, language and requirements and it must be given time to evolve.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVES OF CANADA AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

National Archives of Canada (NAC)

Federal Archives Division

Department of Health and Welfare Records, Record Group
(RG) 29

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Records
(DIAND), RG 22

Department of Interior Records, RG 15

Northern Affairs Program Records, RG 85

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Records (RCMP), RG 18

Manuscript Division

Arctic Institute of North America Papers, (Manuscript Group)
MG 28 I79

Joseph V. Jacobson and Natalie Jacobson Papers, MG 31 D153
LACO Hunt Papers, MG 31 C 8

Henry Larsen Papers, MG 30 B 75

Rudolf Martin Anderson and Mae Bell Allstrand Papers,
MG 30 B 40

Sir Alexander Sim Papers, MG 30 D 260

Walter Dinsdale Papers, MG 32 B35

PRINCE OF WALES NORTHERN HERITAGE CENTRE (PWNHC)

Government Collection

NWT Commissioner, Collector, G79-529

Non-Government Collection

Alexander Stevenson Papers, N92-023 "Unsorted."

NATIONAL LIBRARY

Whiteside Collection

No. 595. Simpson, D. W. and Wattie, D. K. F. et al. "The Role and Impact of the Educational Program in the Process of Change in Canadian Eskimo Communities." Paper Presented at the 19th Alaskan Science Conference, Whitehorse, August 28-30.

No. 1713. Canada. *Report of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, Concerning the Status*

of Indian and Eskimo Education. 163 June 30, 1971.

No. 136. "Breakthrough in Eskimo Education."

PUBLISHED GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.
*Annual Review of Education in the Northwest Territories
and Arctic Quebec, 1964-65.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer,
1966.

----- . DIAND, *Annual Report.* For years 1977-79.

----- . *Eskimos of Canada.* Ottawa: DIAND, 1973.

----- . *Native Peoples and the North: A Profile.* Ottawa:
DIAND, 1982.

----- . North Pacific Planning Project, Charles Camsell,
Director. *Canada's New Northwest.* Ottawa: King's Printer,
1947.

----- . Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR).
*Annual Review of Education in the Northwest Territories
and Arctic Quebec, 1964-65.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer,
1966.

----- . *Statistics on the Economic and Cultural
Development of the Northern Aboriginal People 1980-1989.*
Ottawa: Circumpolar and Scientific Affairs, DIAND,
February, 1991.

Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). *Annual
Reports.* For years 1979 to 1988.

----- . *Annual Report of the Commissioner.* Ottawa: Queen's
Printer. For years 1961-1962, 1963-1965.

----- . *Health and Health Services in the Northwest
Territories.* [A Report from the Territorial Hospital
Insurance Services Board and the Department of Health].
Yellowknife: October, 1990.

----- . *North of 60 Facts and Figures.* Ottawa: Supply and
Services Canada, 1977.

----- . *Northwest Territories Education Annual Report*. For years 1977, 1989, 1990.

NWT Legislative Assembly Special Committee on Education. *Learning, Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*. Yellowknife: 1982.

Sobranie postanovlenii pravitel'stva Soiuza sovetskikh sotsialisticheskikh respublik. [Collected Resolutions of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics]. No. 7, Kremlin, Moscow. February 7, 1980.

PRIVATE REPORTS

Canadian Association for Indian and Eskimo Education. "Education is Participation." *Proceedings of the 7th Annual Conference*. May 28-30, 1969.

Hannigan, John. *Summary Report of a Visit by a Canadian Delegation to the USSR to Study Education of Northern Native Peoples, October 22-November 5, 1986*. Ottawa: Circumpolar Affairs, DIAND, November 28, 1986.

Inuit Committee on National Issues. *Brief to the Joint Senate and House of Commons Committee on the Constitution*. December 1, 1980. Appendix I [Excerpt from The Royal Proclamation (October 7, 1763)].

Slipchenko, Walter. *Siberia, 1971: A Report on the Visit of the Honourable Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Official Delegation to the Soviet Union, July-August, 1971*. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972.

GENERAL WORKS

Armstrong, Terence. *Russian Settlement in the North*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Armstrong, Terence, George Rogers and Graham Rowley. *The Circumpolar North: A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic*. London: Methuen and Company Ltd, 1978.

Balitskii, V. G. *Ot patriarkhal'no-obshchinnogo stroia k*

- sotsializmu. [From Patriarchal-Communal System To Socialism] Moscow: Mysl', 1969.
- Bethune, W. C. *Canada's Eastern Arctic: Its History, Resources, Population and Administration*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935.
- Bogoras, V. G. *The Chukchee*. [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. VII, reprint of 1904-1909 ed.] New York: AMS Press, 1975.
- Boiko, V. I. *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa*. [Socio-Economic Development of the Peoples of the North] Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1988.
- Bumsted, J. M. *The Peoples of Canada A Post-Confederation History*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Chartrand, Jean-Phillippe. *Inuktitut Language Retention Among Canadian Inuit: An Analysis of 1971 and 1981 Census Data*. Ottawa: Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1985.
- Cheffins, R. I. and P. A. Johnson. *The Revised Canadian Constitution Politics as Law*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1986.
- Chernenko, Konstantin U. *Human Rights in Soviet Society*. New York: International Publishers, 1981.
- Crowe, Keith J. *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada*. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- Dickason, Olive Patricia. *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1992.
- Dickerson, Mark O. *Whose North? Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992.
- Dikov, N. N. *Ocherki istorii Chukotki s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*. [Essays of History of Chukotka from the Most Ancient Times up to the Present Days]. Novosibirsk:

- Nauka, 1974.
- Diubaldo, Richard. *The Government of Canada and the Inuit 1900-1967*. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1985.
- Duffy, R. Quinn. *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War*. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- Ervin, A. M. *New Northern Townsmen in Inuvik*. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, DIAND, May, 1968.
- Finnie, Richard. *Canada Moves North*. London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1944.
- Forsyth, James. *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Grant, Shelagh D. *Sovereignty or Security: Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988.
- Griffiths, Curt Taylor. ed. *Preventing and Responding to Northern Crime*. Vancouver: Simon Fraser University for the Northern Justice Society, 1990.
- Gurvich, I. S. *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodnostei severa v sovetskii period*. [Ethnic Development of the Peoples of the North in the Soviet Period] Moscow: Nauka, 1987.
- Hajda, Lubomyr and Mark Beissinger. eds. *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990.
- Hoey, R. A. *The Year Book of Education, 1949*. London: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1950.
- Isayev, M. I. *National Languages in the USSR: Problems and Solutions*. [trans.] Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977.
- Jenness, Diamond. *Eskimo Administration: II. Canada*. [Technical Paper No. 14] Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, May, 1964.

- Koenig, Del M. *Northern People and Higher Education: Realities and Possibilities*. [Phase 2 of the University and the Canadian North] Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1985.
- Kolarz, Walter. *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East*. Archeon Books, 1969.
- Krauter, Joseph F. and Morris Davis. *Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups*. Toronto: Methuen Publishing Company, 1978.
- Krushanova, A. I. *Istoriia i kul'tura Chukchei*. Leningrad: Nauka, 1987.
- Kuo, Chun-Yan. *A Study of Income and Income Distribution in the Arctic Coast and Baffin Regions of Northern Canada*. Ottawa: July, 1973.
- Kuoljok, Kerstin E. *The Revolution in the North: Soviet Ethnography and Nationality Policy*. Stockholm: Uppsala, 1985.
- Lenin, V. I. *Collected Works*. Vol. 33. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966.
- Leont'ev, V. V. *Khoziaistvo i kul'tura narodov Chukotki, 1958-1970 gg.* [The Economy and Culture of the Peoples of Chukotka, 1958-1970] Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1973.
- Low, A. P. *Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands, 1903-1904*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906.
- Maslove, Alan M. and David C. Hawkes. *Canada's North: A Profile*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, March, 1990.
- J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada Revised Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).
- Morrison, William R. *Under the Flag: Canadian Sovereignty and the Native People in Northern Canada*. Ottawa: DIAND, 1984.
- Oswalt, Wendell H. *Eskimos and Explorers*. Novato, California: Chandler and Sharp Publishers Inc., 1979.

- Paulson, Christina Bratt. ed. *International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- Pennar, Jaan, Ivan I. Bakalo and George Z. Bereday. *Modernization and Diversity in Soviet Education*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.
- Phillips, R. A. J. *Canada's North*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967.
- Prattis, J. Iain and Jean Phillipe Chartrand. *System and Process: Inuktitut - English Bilingualism in the Northwest Territories of Canada*. [Creme Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 5] Ottawa: Centre for Research on Ethnic Minorities, Etc., Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1985.
- Schmitz, Gerald. *Aboriginal Rights and Land Claims*. Ottawa: Political and Social Affairs Division, Research Branch, Library of Parliament, February 9, 1982.
- Sergeev, M. A. *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiia malykh narodov severa*. [Non-Capitalist Path of Development of the Small Peoples of the North] Moscow: Nauka, 1955.
- Slezkine, Yuri. *Russia and the Small Peoples of the North: Arctic Mirrors*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Taracouzio, T. A. *Soviets in the Arctic: An Historical, Economic and Political Study of the Soviet Advance into the Arctic*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1938.
- Tsamerian, I. P., and S. L. Ronin. *Equality of Rights Between Races and Nationalities in the USSR*. Paris: UNESCO, 1962.
- Tschanz, Linda. *Native Languages and Government Policy: An Historical Examination*. London, Ont.: Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages, University of Western Ontario, 1980.
- Uvachan, V. *The Peoples of the North and Their Road to Socialism*. [trans. S. Shcherbovich] Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975.
- Vakhtin, Nikolai. *Native Peoples of the Russian Far North*. Minority Rights Group International Report, 5/92 May,

1992.

Vdovin, I. S. *Ocherki istorii etnografii Chukchei*. [An Outline of the History and Ethnography of the Chukchi] Moscow: Nauka, 1965.

Whittington, Michael S. *Native Economic Development Development Corporations: Political and Economic Change in Canada's North*. [Prepared for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC)] Ottawa: CARC, July, 1986.

ARTICLES AND PERIODICALS

Al'kor, Ia. (Koshkin). "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe." [Tasks of Cultural Construction in the Far North] *Sovetskii sever* 2 (1934): 22-35.

----- . "Zadachi kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na krainem severe." [Tasks of Cultural Construction in the Far North] *Sovetskii sever* 3 (1934): 45-50.

Allen, Peter. "Economic Strategy for the Nineties: A Northwest Territories Approach." In *The Arctic: Canada and the Nordic Countries*. ed. Per Seyersted. [Proceedings from the Third International Conference of the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies, University of Oslo, 1990] Lund, Sweden: Nordic Association for Canadian Studies, 1991: 29-34.

Allison, Derrek J. "Fourth World Education in Canada and the Faltering Promise of Native Teacher Education Programs." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18:3 (Autumn, 1983): 102-118.

Anderson, Barbara A. and Brian D. Silver. "Some Factors in the Linguistic and Ethnic Russification of Soviet Nationalities: Is Everyone Becoming Russian?" In *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*. eds. Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990: 95-130.

Antropova, V. V. "Uchastie etnografov v prakticheskom osushchestvlenii leninskoi natsional'noi politiki na krainem severe (1920-1930 gg)." [The Participation of Ethnographers in the Practical Realization of Leninist Nationality Policy in the Far North (1920-1930)] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 6 (1972): 19-27.

- Antropova, V. V. and V. G. Kuznetsova. "The Chukchi." In *The Peoples of Siberia*. eds. M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov. [trans] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964: 799-835.
- Argunov, I. A. "Some Problems of Rural Youth in Yakutia." *Soviet Sociology* 18:1 (Summer, 1979): 16-24.
- Armstrong, John A. "The Ethnic Scene in the Soviet Union: The View of the Dictatorship." In *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union*. ed. Erich Goldhagen. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968: 3-49.
- Armstrong, Terence. "Administration of Northern Peoples: USSR." In *The Arctic Frontier*. ed. Ronald St. J. Macdonald. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 57-88.
- . "Notes on a Visit to Yatutskaya ASSR, July 1967." *Polar Record* 14:89 (1968): 179-86.
- . "Who are the "Northern Peoples" of the USSR?" in *Consequences of Economic Change in Circumpolar Regions*. eds. Ludger Muller-Wille, Pertti J. Peltó, Linna Muller-Wille and Regna Darnell. [Papers of the Symposium on Unexpected Consequences of Economic Change in Circumpolar Regions at the 34th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Amsterdam, March 21-22, 1975] Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, 1978: 21-26.
- . "Soviet Government Policy Towards Northern Peoples of the USSR." In *Arctic Policy Conference*. ed. M. A. Stenbaek. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1985: 141-154.
- Barnett, Don C. "Attitudes of Eskimo School Children." *Integrated Education* (January-February, 1973): 52-57.
- Bartels, Dennis and Alice. "Language Education Programmes for Aboriginal Peoples of the Siberian North: The Soviet Experience." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 16:1 (1989): 24-36.
- Belenkin, I. F. "Razvitie pechati na iazykakh narodov severa." [Development of Printing in the Languages of Northern Peoples] In *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa*. [Realization of

Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich. Moscow: Nauka, 1971: 117-140.

- Belikov, L. V. "Training of Teachers for the Far North of the USSR." In *Education in the North: Selected Papers of the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations and Related Articles*. ed. Frank Darnell. Arctic Institute of North America and the University of Alaska, 1972: 283-290.
- Bhattacharya, N. C. "Education in the Northwest Territories." *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 19:3 (September, 1973): 242-54.
- Bilinsky, Yaroslav. "The Soviet Education Laws of 1958-59 and Soviet Nationality Policy." *Soviet Studies* 14 (1962-63): 138-157.
- . "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967: An Essay." *Slavic Review* 27:3 (September, 1968) 411-437.
- Boitsova, A. F. "Shkola narodov krainego severa." [School(s) of the Peoples of the Far North] In *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa*. [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies Among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich. Moscow: Nauka, 1971: 141-158.
- Brandon, Lorraine. "A Look Back at Chesterfield Inlet Boarding School." *Inuktitut* (July, 1981): 41-47.
- Brant, C. S. and C. W. Hobart. "Native Education in Greenland and the Canadian Arctic: A Comparison." *Northian* 5:1 (January, 1968): 29-32.
- Bruemmer, Fred. "The Best of Both Worlds." *Weekend Magazine* 24:37 (1974): 2-5.
- Burnaby, Barbara. "Language in Native Education in Canada." In *International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. ed. Christina Bratt Paulson. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988: 141-161.
- Carney, Robert. "The Canadian Inuit and Vocational Education: If Not Reindeer Herding, How About Small Appliance Repair?" *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 7:1 (1983): 85-116.

- Cherkasov, Arkadi. "The Native Population of the Soviet North: Language, Education, and Employment." *Musk-Ox* 30 (1982): 65-72.
- Chernikov, R. K. "The National School Today and Tomorrow: An Interview." *Soviet Sociology* 16:1 (Summer, 1977): 81-92.
- Cram, Jack. "Northern Teachers for Northern Schools." *McGill Journal of Education: An Inuit Teacher-Training Program* 20:2 (Spring, 1985): 113-131.
- Dahl, Jens. "Introduction." In *Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North*. [IWGIA Document No. 67] Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1990: 11-22.
- Danilov, A. "Cultural Situations and Education in the Soviet North." In *Education in the North Selected Papers of the First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations and Related Articles*. ed. Frank Darnell. Arctic Institute of North America and the University of Alaska, 1972: 59-72.
- DIAND. "Developments in Education, Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, Academic Year 1967-68." *Canadian Education and Research Digest* (June, 1968): 186-187.
- DNANR. "Education in Northern Canada." *Canadian Education and Research Digest* 3:2 (June, 1963): 85-91.
- Devitt, W. G. "History of Education in the Northwest Territories." In *Education North of 60*. [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964: 61-71.
- Duggan, E., Dan Johnson and M.S. Naidoo. "Secondary Education in the NWT with Suggestions for the Universities." In *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North*. ed. W. Peter Adams. [Developed from the Proceedings of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS) Meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986] ACUNS: 1987: 33-35.
- Dunn, Ethel. "Educating the Small Peoples of the Soviet North: The Limits of Cultural Change." *Arctic Anthropology* 5:1 (1968): 1-31.

- Dunn, Steven P. and Ethel Dunn. "Transformation of Economy and Culture in the Soviet North." *Arctic Anthropology* 1:2 (1963):1-28.
- . "The Peoples of Siberia and the Far East." In *Russia and Asia: Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples*. ed. Wayne S. Vucinich. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1972: 289-312.
- Ellis, Eleanor A. "Education of the Eskimo for Wage Employment." *Canadian Geographical Journal* 73:5 (November, 1966): 147-155.
- Eremin, S. N. and M. M. Traskunogo, "Problemy vospitaniia i obrazovaniia molodezhi narodnostei severa." [Problems of Upbringing and Education of the Youth of the Peoples of the North] in *Narody Sibiri na sovremennom etape natsional'nye i regional'nye osobennosti razvitiia* [Peoples of Siberia in the Modern Stage of National and Regional Peculiarities of Development] ed. I. S. Shmakov. Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1989: 113-128.
- Fedorov. A. I. "The Contemporary Linguistic Situation in the Non-Russian Regions of Siberia and its Investigations." *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 22:1 (Summer, 1983): 39-50.
- Field, Neil C. "Administrative and Constitutional Changes in Arctic Territories: The USSR." In *The Arctic Frontier*. ed. Ronald St. J. MacDonald. Toronto: University of Toronto, Press 1966: 160-193.
- Frederickson, C. J. "The Curriculum for the Northern Schools." In *Education North of 60*. [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964: 40-54.
- Forsyth, James. "The Indigenous Peoples of Siberia in the Twentieth Century." In *The Development of Siberia: Peoples and Resources*. eds. Alan Wood and R. A. French. London: MacMillan Press, 1989: 72-95.
- Gardanov, V. K., B. O. Dolgikh and T. A. Zhdanko. "Osnovnye napravleniia etnicheskikh protsessov u narodov SSSR." [Basic Direction of Ethnic Processes Among the Peoples of the USSR] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4 (1961): 9-31.

- Grantham, E. N. "Education Goes North." *Canadian Geographical Journal* 42:1 (January, 1951): 45-49.
- Gurvich, I. S. "Ten Years of Activity of the Northern Section, Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences, USSR." *Problems of the North* 11 (1967): 323-358.
- . "Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa SSSR." [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North of the USSR] *Sovetskaia ethografiia* 1 (January-February, 1970): 15-34.
- . "Printsipy leninskoi natsional'noi politiki i primenenie ikh na krainem severe." [The Principles of Leninist Nationality Policies and their Application in the Far North] In *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa*. [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich. Moscow: Nauka, 1971: 9-49.
- . "The Northern Native Groups in the USSR." *Inuktitut* 68 (Fall, 1988): 29-37.
- Hall, Tony. "Closing an Incomplete Circle of Confederation: A Brief to the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Federal Government on the 1987 Constitutional Accord." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 6:2 (1986): 197-221.
- Higgins, Robert. "The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada: Bridging the Gap, the Need for New Approaches to Northern Research and Education." In *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North*. ed. W. Peter Adams. [Developed from the Proceedings of the ACUNS Meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986] ACUNS, 1987: 36-38.
- Hobart, Charles W. "Some Consequences of Residential Schooling of Eskimos in the Canadian Arctic." *Arctic Anthropology* 6:2 (1970): 123-135.
- Howard, Philip G. "History of the Use of Dene languages in Education in the Northwest Territories." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 10:2 (Winter, 1983): 1-17.
- Hughes, Charles Campbell. "Under Four Flags: Recent Culture Change Among the Eskimos." *Current Anthropology* 6:1 (February, 1965): 3-69.

- Immaroitok, Bernadette. "A Visit to the Soviet Union." *Inuktitut* (July, 1981): 48-58.
- Isherwood, Geoffrey B., Knute Sorensen and Eric Colbourne. "Educational Development in the North: Preparing Inuit Leaders for School Board Control." *Education Canada* 26:3 (1986): 9-15.
- Johns, Robert E. "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T." *Musk-Ox* 18 (1976): 42-57.
- Judd, David. "Canada's Northern Policy: Retrospect and Prospect." *Polar Record* 14:92 (1969): 593-603.
- Keenleyside, Anne. "Euro-American Whaling in the Canadian Arctic: Its Effects on Eskimo Health." *Arctic Anthropology* 27:1 (1990): 1-19.
- Keenleyside, David. "The Fallacy of Freedom: Education for the Adult Eskimo." *Continuous Learning* 7:5 (September-October, 1968): 207-212.
- Kiseleva, A. S. "Ocherednye zadachi sovetov na krainem severe." [Foremost Tasks of the Soviets in the Far North] *Sovetskii Sever* 4 (1932): 13-14.
- Komov, N. "Rabota v Chukotskoi shkole." [Work in a Chukotka School] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1933): 72-79.
- Koutaissoff, E. "Literacy and the Place of Russian in the Non-Slav Republics of the USSR." *Soviet Studies* 3:2 (October, 1951): 113-130.
- Krupnik, I. I. and M. A. Chlenov. "Dinamika etnolingvisticheskoi situatsii u Aziatskikh Eskimosov." [Dynamics of the Ethnolinguistic Situation Among Asiatic Eskimos] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 2 (1979): 19-29.
- Lantis, Margaret. "The Administration of Northern Peoples: Canada and Alaska." In *The Arctic Frontier*. ed. Ronald St. J. MacDonald. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966: 89-119.
- Larmour, W. T. "Eskimo Education." *Arctic Circular* 3:5 (November 1950): 50-55.

- Lebedev, V. V. "Education, Employment, Economic Organizations and Health Services in the USSR Far North." *Inuktitut* (Fall, Winter, 1988): 92-103.
- Leont'ev, V. V. "The Indigenous Peoples of the Chukchi National Okrug: Population and Settlement." *Polar Geography* 1:1 (January-March, 1977): 9-22.
- Lepetuk, A. V. "Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo na Kamchatke." [Cultural Construction in Kamchatka] *Voprosy istorii* 8 (August 1970): 20-29.
- Lesage, Jean. "Enter the European." *Beaver* (Spring, 1955): 3-9.
- Liely, Helmut. "Shepherds and Reindeer Nomads in the Soviet Union." *Soviet Studies* 31:3 (July, 1979): 401-16.
- Lipset, Harry. "The Status of National Minority Languages in Soviet Education." *Soviet Studies* 19:2 (October, 1967): 181-189.
- Luks, K. "Problema pis'mennosti u tuzemnykh narodnostei severa." [The Problem of Written Languages Among the Native Peoples of the North] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1930): 38-47.
- Lunacharskii, A. V. "Zadachi Narkomprosa na krainem severe." [Tasks of Narkompros in the Far North] *Severnaia Aziia* 3 (1927): 18-22.
- L'vov, A. K. "Kul'turnye bazy na severe." [Cultural Bases in the North] *Severnaia Aziia* 3 (1926): 29-37.
- Manning, Annie. "The Inuk Who Became a Teacher." *Inuit Today* 5:11 (December, 1976): 32-35.
- McKay, F. I. "Adult Education." In *Education North of 60*. [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964: 55-60.
- Meliakov, N. I. "Leninskaia natsional'naia politika i prosveshchenie narodnostei severa." [Leninist Nationality Policy and the Education of the Peoples of the North] *Letopis' severa* 8 (1977): 37-48.

- Mihalisko, Kathleen. "Discontent in Taiga and Tundra." *Radio Liberty* 296:98 (July 7, 1988): 2-5.
- . "SOS for Native Peoples of Soviet North." *Report on the USSR* 1:5 (1989): 3-6.
- Moore, Andrew. "Survey of Education in the Mackenzie District II." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 11:1 (February, 1945): 61-82.
- Mouat, W. Ivan. "Education in the Arctic District." *Musk-Ox* 7 (1968): 1-9.
- Nash, Lynn D. "Drop-out Among Senior High School Inuit Students in Frobisher Bay." *Multiculturalism* 2:2 (1978): 11-15.
- Naumov, P. N. "Priobshchenie malykh narodov Obskogo severa k sotsialisticheskoi kul'ture," [The Joining of the Small Peoples of the Ob' North to Socialist Culture] *Voprosy istorii* 1 (1974): 31-43.
- Nielson, Poul Thoe. "An Appraisal of the Importance of the National Languages Among the North Siberian Peoples." *Folk* (1972/73): 205-253.
- Oakes, Jill. "Culture: From the Igloo to the Classroom." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 15:2 (1988): 41-48.
- Orlova, E. "K voprosu sozdaniia pis'mennosti u narodov severa." [On the Question of the Creation of Written Languages Among the Peoples of the North] *Sovetskii sever* 4 (1932): 103-105.
- . "Desiat' let sotsial'no-kul'turnogo stroitel'stva na severe DVK." [Ten Years of Socio-Cultural Construction in the North DVK] *Sovetskii sever* 3-4 (1935): 48-55.
- Ornstein, Jacob. "Soviet Language Policy: Continuity and Change." In *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union*. ed. Erich Goldhagen. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968: 121-146.
- Phillips, Robert A. J. "Slum Dwellers of the Wide-Open Spaces." *Weekend Magazine* 9:15 (1959): 19-24.
- Piche, Reverend Paul. O.M.I. "The Educator and the Eskimo." *Northern Affairs Bulletin* (May-June 1959): 8-11.

- Pika A. I. and Prokhorov, B. B. "Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov." [Big Problems of Small Peoples] *Kommunist* 16 (1988): 76-83.
- Potapov, L. P. "Historical-Ethnographic Survey of the Russian Population of Siberia in the Pre-Revolutionary Period." In *The Peoples of Siberia*. eds. M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov. [trans.] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964: 105-199.
- Renaud, Fr. A. O.M.I. "The Boarding School at Chesterfield and the Education of the Eskimo." *Eskimo* (December, 1955): 12-17.
- "Resolution of the Second Plenum of the Interdepartmental Commission on Problems of the North of the Council on the Study of Factors of Production, Gosplan, USSR, June 1-3, 1964." *Problems of the North* 9 (1966): 359-366.
- Robinson, J. Lewis. "Mineral Resources and Mining Activity in the Canadian Eastern Arctic." *Canadian Geographical Journal* 24:2 (August, 1944): 55-75.
- Savoskul, S. S. "Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Peoples of the Soviet North." [trans.] *Polar Record* 19:119 (1978): 129-152.
- "Sed'moi rasshirennyi plenum komiteta severa." [Seventh Extended Plenum of the Committee of the North] *Sovetskaia aziia* 3-4 (1930): 336-341.
- Sergeev, M. A. "Malye narody severa v epokhu sotsializma." [Small Peoples of the North in the Epoch of Socialism] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 4 (1947): 126-158.
- Shimkin, Demitri B. and Shimkin, Edith M. "Population Dynamics in Northeastern Siberia, 1650/1700 to 1970." *Musk-Ox* 16 (1975): 7-23.
- Simpson, D. W. "Accomodation for Learning and Living." In *Education North of 60*. [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964: 22-31.
- Skachko, A. E. "K voprosu prakticheskogo provedeniia leninskoi natsional'noi politiki." [On the Question of the

Practical Realization of the Leninist Nationality Policy] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1931): 5-11.

----- . "Desiat' let raboty komiteta severa." [Ten Years of Work of the Committee of the North] *Sovetskii sever* 2 (1934): 9-21.

----- . "Osvoenie severnykh raionov dal'ne-vostochnogo kraia." [The Opening up of the Northern Districts of the Far Eastern Region] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1934): 92-95.

Sokolova, Z. P. "Postanovleniia partii i pravitel'stva o razvitiikhoziaistva i kul'tury narodov krainego severa." [Resolutions of the Party and Government on the Development of the Economy and Culture of the Peoples of the Far North] In *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa.* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] ed. I. S. Gurvich. Moscow: Nauka, 1971: 66-116.

Stabler, Jack C. "Jobs, Leisure and Traditional Pursuits: Activities of Native Males in the Northwest Territories." *Polar Record* 25:155 (1989): 295-302.

Stapleton, W. H. "Challenge and Change: The Development of Post Secondary Education in the NWT." In *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North.* ed. W. Peter Adams. [Developed from the Proceedings of the ACUNS Meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986] ACUNS: 1987: 92-94.

Suslov, I. M. "Piatnadsat' severnykh kul'tbaz." [Fifteen Northern Cultural Bases] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1934): 28-37.

Taksami, Ch. M. "Izmenenie sotsial'nogo sostava malykh narodov dal'nego vostoka." [Changes in the Social Composition of the Small Peoples of the Far East] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 2 (April-May, 1970): 69-78.

----- . "Podgotovka spetsialistov iz sredy narodov severa." [Preparation of Specialists from Among the Peoples of the North] In *Osushchestvlenie leninskoi natsional'noi politiki u narodov krainego severa.* [Realization of Leninist Nationality Policies among the Peoples of the Far North] I. S. Gurvich. ed. Moscow: Nauka, 1971: 172-187.

- . "Opening Speech at the Congress of Small Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North," *Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North* [IWGIA Document No 67] Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1990: 23-44.
- Taylor, L. J. and G. R. Skanes. "Cognitive Abilities in Inuit and White Children from Similar Environments." *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 8:1 (1976): 1-7.
- Terletskii, P. "Kul'tbazy komiteta severa." [Cultural Bases of the Committee of the North] *Sovetskii sever* 1 (1935): 36-47.
- Thorsteinsson, B. "Education at the Top of the World -- An Overview." In *Education North of 60*. [A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources] *The Canadian Superintendent*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964: 1-10.
- Treude, Edward. "Studies in Settlement Development and Evolution of the Economy in the Eastern Central Canadian Arctic." *Musk-Ox* 16 (1975): 53-66.
- Troshina, T. V. "The Development of Service Industries in the Northern Regions of the Far East." *Problems of the North* 15 (1971): 387-393
- Tunraluk, Abraham. "Managerial Training in Nunasi Corporation." In *Education, Research, Information Systems and the North*. ed. W. Peter Adams. [Developed from the Proceedings of the Association of ACUNS Meetings in Yellowknife, 17-19 April, 1986] *ACUNS*: 1987: 101-102.
- Tynel', L. G. and B. A. Zhuravlev. "Sovershenstvovanie kompetentsii soveta avtonomnogo okruga." [Perfecting the Competence of the Soviet of an Autonomous District] *Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo* 11 (November, 1977): 46-51.
- Uvachan, V. "Perekhod malykh narodov severa ot rodovogo stroia k razvitomu sotsializmu." [Transition of the Small Peoples of the North from Patrimonial Level to the Development of Socialism] *Letopis' severa* 8 (1977): 21-36.
- Vasil'ev, V. A., Iu. B. Simchenko and Z. P. Sokolova. "Problems of the Reconstruction of Daily Life among the

Small Peoples of the Far North." *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 5:2 (Fall, 1966): 11-21.

Vdovin, I. S. "Malye narodnosti severa na sotsialisticheskomi puti razvitiia za 50 let sovetskoi vlasti." [Small Peoples of the North on the Socialist Path of Development after 50 Years of Soviet Power] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 5 (September-October, 1967): 78-91.

-----". "Politique legislative, economique, sociale et culturelle de l'U.R.S.S. en faveur du developpement des Esquimaux et des Tchouktches." [trans.] *Inter Nord* 11 (December 1970): 113-122.

Viucheiskii, I. "Bor'ba za likvidatsiiu negramotnosti v Nenetskom okruge severnogo kraia." [Struggle for the Liquidation of Illiteracy in the Nentsy Okrug of the Northern Region] *Sovetskii sever* 2 (1933): 74-76.

Wattie, D. K. F. "Education in the Canadian Arctic." *Polar Record* 14:90 (1968): 293-304.

Weissling, Lee E. "Arctic Canada and Zambia: A Comparison of Development Processes in the Fourth and Third Worlds." *Arctic* 42:3 (September, 1989): 208-16.

Welsman, Paul. "Education of Native Peoples in the Northwest Territories: A Model." In *The North in Transition*. ed. Nils Orvik and Kirk Patterson. Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1976: 21-47.

Wonders, William C. "The Changing Role and Significance of Native Peoples in Canada's Northwest Territories." *Polar Record* 23:147 (1987): 661-671.

Zaitsev, A. N. "Food Consumption of the People of the Far North and its Effects on Health." *Problems of the North* 19 (1970): 291-98.

Zak, L. and Isaev, M. I. "Problemy pis'mennosti narodov SSSR v kul'turnoi revoliutsii." [Problems of Written Languages for the Peoples of the USSR in the Cultural Revolution] *Voprosy istorii* 2 (1966): 3-20.

Zelenin, D. K. "Narody krainego severa posle velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii." [Peoples of the Far North after the Great October Socialist Revolution] *Sovetskaia etnografiia* 1 (1938): 15-52.