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**AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF
THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION
AND TEACHER EDUCATION IN NUNAVUT**

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Abstract

The focus of this dissertation is the teacher education program of Nunavut, until 1999 the eastern part of the Northwest Territories. Through interviews and personal experience as a participant observer within the program, this longitudinal qualitative case study, influenced by social constructivist theory, of the Nunavut Teacher Education Program attempts to provide an account of the program's growth and development, its strengths and its weaknesses and possibilities for the future. However, in order to locate the program in its time and place, it is necessary to examine the nested contexts of traditional, colonial and post-colonial worlds from which and in which it has developed.

Consequently, I begin by tracing the political and social development of Nunavut to its present day realities, realities that are far from the often overly romantic view of the Canadian arctic. I then outline the impact of colonialism upon the Inuit and their pre-contact traditional lifestyle before reviewing the growth and development of education. I commence with pre-contact traditional education and what it may have been like before embarking upon a description of the education experienced by Inuit, first from the missionaries, and then by the Federal government followed by the Territorial Government of the Northwest Territories and finally by the government of Nunavut. Data for the study was collected, in part, from fifty interviews conducted predominately in Iqaluit, the location of the institutional program.

The Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP) is a key element in the development of education in the territory. There are therefore great expectations put on the program, expectations that may exceed its ability to fulfil them. In my account of the program and its effect, seen through the lens of critical pedagogy, upon students' academic, linguistic and cultural knowledge, I examine the pressures and the tensions caused by these expectations upon on the program and its students.

Résumé

Le but de ce traité est d'examiner le programme d'éducation d'enseignant de Nunavut, jusqu'à 1999 la partie d'est des Territoires Nord-ouest. Par la mise d'entrevues et par expérience personnelle avec ce programme, cette tentative d'étude longitudinale de type qualitatif a pour objectif de fournir un compte rendu de sa croissance, de son développement, ses points forts, ses faiblesses et ses possibilités pour l'avenir. Cependant, afin d'encadrer le programme dans son temps et lieu, il est nécessaire de l'examiner dans un contexte traditionnel, colonial et mondes poste coloniaux dans lequel il a été développé.

Par conséquent, je commence en traçant le développement politique et social de Nunavut à ses réalités actuelles, ses réalités qui sont extrêmes et de la vue trop souvent romantique de l'arctique Canadien. J'esquisse alors l'impact du colonialisme sur le peuple Inuit et leur manière de vie traditionnel pré contacte avant d'examiner la croissance et le développement de l'éducation contemporaine. Je commence avec l'éducation traditionnelle pré contacte, en particulier comment ceci était dans son temps avant d'embarquer sur une description de l'éducation vécue par le peuple Inuit, en premier lieu avec les missionnaires, ensuite par le gouvernement Fédéral suivi par le Gouvernement Territorial des Territoires Nord-ouest et finalement par le gouvernement de Nunavut. Les données pour l'étude proviennent de cinquante entrevues réalisées à Iqaluit, lieu programme institutionnel.

Le Programme d'Education d'Enseignant de Nunavut (NTEP) est un élément significatif dans le développement de l'éducation dans le territoire. Il y a donc de grandes espérances pour le programme, des espérances qui peuvent dépasser son potentiel à les accomplir. Dans mon compte rendu du programme et l'analyse de son impact sur les étudiants de niveau universitaire, la connaissance linguistique et culturel, vu par une lentille de pédagogie critique, j'examine les pressions et les tensions causées par ces espérances sur le programme et ses étudiants.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: The Tip of the Iceberg	1
Introduction	1
Change	4
Formal Education	10
A Provoking Experience	12
Possible Causes of Academic Difficulties	15
Literary Materials	18
Spoken Inuktitut	21
Outline of Dissertation	25
 Chapter 2: Research Methodology	 27
Background and Role of the Researcher	27
Researcher's Role at NTEP	32
Motivation for the Inquiry	33
Choosing the Setting	34
Feasibility and Physical Access	35
Data Collection Process	37
Students Past and Present	37
NTEP Program	37
Staff	38
Other Interested Parties	39
A Centre and a Gateway	39
Access to the Participants	40
The Site	41
Ethics Certificate and Nunavut Licenses	44
Role of the Researcher	46
The Research	48
Ethics	49
Informed Consent	49
Confidentiality	50
Fieldwork and Data Collection	50
The Informants	52
Staff Members	53
Students	53
Others	54
The Interviews	54
The Questions	56
Analysis of Data	57

Chapter 3: Origins and Borders	58
Origins	59
Mythical Stories	59
The Archeological Story	60
Borders	64
The Nunavut Lands Claim Agreement	71
Geography	76
Climate	77
Population	78
Social Conditions	81
Housing	82
Crime	82
The Communities	83
The Government	92
Financing	98
The Economy	98
 Chapter 4: Colonialization	 107
Colonialism in the Arctic	107
Traditional Colonialism	108
Internal colonialism	112
Legitimizing Ideologies	115
Early Contact	120
The Explorers	120
Early Traders	121
The Whalers	123
The Triumvirate	129
The Traders	129
The Missionaries	132
The Police	139
Colonialism and Education	145
 Chapter 5: The Development of Education in the NWT and Nunavut	 150
Traditional Camps	152
Traditional Education	156
Isumaqsayuq	157
i) Ecological culture	158
ii) Social culture	161
iii) Cognitive Culture	163
Ilisayuq	163
Socialization	166

The Missionary Era (1860-1950)	177
The Federal Era (1944-1970)	182
The Territorial Era – Northwest Territories (1970-1999)	189
Nunavut 1999	203
Structure	203
Personnel	204
Legislation	206
Curricula Documents	210
Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)	211
Conclusion	221
Chapter 6: Critical Pedagogy	225
Introduction	225
Critical Teacher Education	233
Teacher Training	235
Chapter 7: Teacher Education	254
The Classroom Assistant Program	255
Teacher Education in the NWT.	259
Training in the Eastern Arctic 1979-1981	264
The Donner Foundation	270
The Program	271
The Field-based Program	272
EATEP: the First Two Years: 1970-1981	274
EATEP 1981-1987	282
The B. Ed. Degree	283
Students	284
Budget	286
Changes 1986: Eatep And Arctic College	288
EATEP 1987-1991	289
Too Few Students	290
A Bad Reputation	290
Family	291
Student Accommodation	292
Community-Based Programs	296
Strengths of Community-based Programs	300
Weaknesses of the Community Programs	307
Community Instructors	315
Setting Up a Community Program	320
Standards	324
Entry Requirements	326
Inuit Staff	334

Program Reviews	335	
Partnership with McGill	337	
Chapter 8: Reflections	338	
Role Models	339	
Teacher Education Program and Critical Education	341	
Recommendations for Further Research	348	
References	350	
List of Figures	ix	
List of Tables	x	
List of Photographs	xi	
List of Appendices		
Appendix A	Glossary of Common Inuktitut Words	374
Appendix B	Certificate of Ethical Acceptability for Research, McGill.	375
Appendix C	Consent form	376
Appendix D1	Scientific Research License, Nunavut, 1996	377
Appendix D2	Scientific Research License, Nunavut, 2002	378
Appendix D3	Scientific Research License, Nunavut, 2002	379
Appendix E	Interview Guide: Combined	380
Appendix F	Nunavut Communities	387
Appendix G	Inuktitut Syllabarium	388
Appendix H	Bathurst Mandate (Education Section)	389
Appendix I	NTEP B.Ed. Program	391
Appendix J	NTEP Community-Based Programs	392

List of Figures

Figure 1:	The New Territorial map.	67
Figure 2:	Major Provisions of the Land Claims Agreement	73
Figure 3:	Nunavut's Territorial boundaries	75
Figure 4:	Relief Map of Nunavut	80
Figure 5:	The Communities of Nunavut	87
Figure 6:	The Three Regions of Nunavut	95
Figure 7:	Smyth's Four Forms of Action	253

List of Tables

Table 1(a): Unemployment Rates: Nunavut 1999	100
Table 1(b): Unemployment Rates - by Ethnicity	100
Table 2: Major Differences between Ilisayuq And Isumaqsayuq	165

List of Photographs

Photo 1:	Tunaanganaqsarvik building, Iqaluit	42
Photo 2:	The community of Clyde River (population 785, 2001)	83
Photo 3:	Water truck collecting its load from the local lake, Sanikiluaq	84
Photo 4:	A typical, newer social housing unit	85
Photo 5:	Social housing units, Iqaluit	85
Photo 6:	Older social housing units, Pangnirtung	85
Photo 7:	A former HAP house	86
Photo 8:	A modern private home	86
Photo 9:	North Mart Store, Sanikiluaq	88
Photo 10:	The Anglican Church, Taloyoak	88
Photo 11:	The Town Office, Taloyoak	88
Photo 12:	NAC centre, Sanikiluaq	88
Photo 13:	The Nursing Station, Sanikiluaq	88
Photo 14:	The Hotel, Pangnirtung	88
Photo 15:	The RCMP station, Sanikiluaq	88
Photo 16:	The Power House, Taloyoak	88
Photo 17:	Downtown Iqaluit, the airstrip in the distance	89
Photo 18:	The North Mart store, Iqaluit	91
Photo 19:	The Nunavut Legislative building, Iqaluit	93

Photo 20:	Iqaluit's 1 st School House	185
Photo 21:	Nakasuk School, Iqaluit	190
Photo 22:	Joamie School, Iqaluit	192
Photo 23:	The Department of Education building, Iqaluit	203
Photo 24:	The DPW building, the former home of EATEP	274
Photo 25:	The Old Butler buildings	292
Photo 26:	The 'Old Res'	293
Photo 27:	The Q units	294
Photo 28:	A section of White Row housing	295
Photo 29:	Pond Inlet NTEP building	309
Photo 30:	Taloyoalk NAC & NTEP centre	309
Photo 31:	Cambridge Bay NAC centre	309
Photo 32:	Sanikiluaq NTEP building	309

Chapter 1:

THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG



Iceberg locked in the frozen sea

INTRODUCTION

In this inquiry, I examine the history and evolution of the teacher education program located in Nunavut in the far north of Canada. I provide a description and analysis of its development and functioning and examine a number of issues regarding the process and goals of Inuit teacher education in Nunavut. A major characteristic of the lives of the Inuit over the last 50 years has been change. I describe and comment on some of the key changes to which the Inuit have been subjected, specifically, though not exclusively, through the development of formal education and teacher training in Nunavut communities.

In doing so I explore the following focal questions:

What role does or may the teacher education program play in producing knowledgeable critical teachers who can promote the language and culture(s) of the Inuit? Does the program ensure that its students receive a

sufficient academic and social education that will allow them to teach their students to be citizens of both Nunavut and the wider world?

Throughout, I provide relevant background information, historic or lexical which is expanded in later chapters (See Appendix A for Inuktitut glossary).

The teacher education program began as the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP) in 1979. EATEP has since become the Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP), the focus of this inquiry. The change in the program's name reflects the recent changes in geographical and political boundaries. NTEP is responsible for the education of Inuit who wish to become teachers in the schools of Nunavut. The program is a department of Nunavut Arctic College (NAC), the territory-wide community college system. NTEP is affiliated with McGill University through the *Office of First Nations and Inuit Education* of the Faculty of Education. The general mandate of the program is to train Inuit to become qualified teachers for the Nunavut school system. Though the focus of the training has been to supply teachers for the primary grades, there is an increasing, yet a largely unfulfilled and unexamined demand, to train teachers for the higher elementary, middle school and secondary grades. Consequently, the program carries great responsibility for the future and quality of teaching in Nunavut.

The administrative and teaching centre of NTEP is located in *Iqaluit* (previously known as Frobisher Bay) a community on the southern tip of Baffin Island. The island was once the extreme eastern part the Northwest Territories. Now, since the division of the Northwest Territories, Iqaluit is the capital city of the new territory of *Nunavut*. The word Nunavut is a composite word in *Inuktitut*, the language of the Inuit, consisting of the root '*nuna*' meaning *land*, and the suffix '*vut*' meaning *our*. Hence, in English,

Nunavut is translated as 'our land'. Kusugak (2000), however, also states that it can mean 'our home', a subtle but important difference. Inuktitut has several jealously guarded dialects used across northern Canada and thus there are often differences in the pronunciation, spelling and meaning of particular terms. The Inuktitut spelling used in this text is the standard spelling, spelling which Inuit from different regions can dispute. The different use of K's and Q's can be particularly bothersome.

Inuk is the Inuktitut for *one* person, *Inuuk* refers to two and *Inuit* is the plural form for more than two people. These terms replace the word Eskimo(s), a word with no definitive origin but which is possibly derived from Algonquin, Montagnais and/or Basque references. This label, Eskimo, is taken to be pejorative by many in Canada. It's popular, though disputed meaning, is 'eaters of raw meat'; however, others believe it is derived from a Montagnais term referring to a method of tying and lacing snowshoes. The term is found in older texts, and is still in acceptable use by indigenous people in parts of Alaska. Throughout the text, I use the modern terms *Inuk* or *Inuit* to describe the indigenous people of Nunavut; yet I keep the term *Eskimo* if that term was used in an older text. Throughout the text there are references to the eastern arctic, referring to the eastern half of the Northwest Territories prior to separation. This is more or less the geographical area of the new Nunavut Territory and the reader may take the two terms as being synonymous.

The word *Qallunaaq* refers to non-Inuit and originally derives from reference to the bushy eyebrows of white people first encountered by the Inuit. Freeman (1978), however, says it is possibly an abbreviation of *qallunaaraalluit* meaning "powerful, avaricious, of materialistic habit, people who tamper with nature" (p. 13). While

undoubtedly that might be a description of some of the people with whom Inuit first came into contact, and perhaps still do, in common usage *Qallunaaq* does not carry Freeman's disparaging meaning but refers generally, but not exclusively, to white, non-Inuit.

The inquiry does not and cannot purport to be the 'master' narrative of NTEP nor the education system of Nunavut for there can never be just one story. It is a narrative as I have experienced the development of this program. I hope to provide some insight into an important institutional program and its relationship to the educational system of Nunavut and the people for whom the system principally exists, the Inuit. It is only the tip of the iceberg.

CHANGE

A primary characteristic of Inuit life experience has been change. It is of course a characteristic of all our lives no matter where we may be from. Societal change is inevitable, whether the cause is environmental or contact (voluntary or involuntary) with different peoples and the new ideas and technologies they introduce. All cultures throughout the world have undergone changes, welcome or otherwise. The Inuit are no exception. Their lives and culture(s), like all peoples, have undergone periods of change, ranging from the slow and incremental to periods that have been both swift and monumental. However, it is the Inuit, perhaps more than any other North American indigenous people, who have experienced, in the last half-century, enormous and fundamental changes to their traditional lifestyles. As one Inuk, John Aulajut of Arviat commented, in a now well-used phrase of uncertain origin, to a colleague a number of years ago, "*We have come from the Stone Age to the Space Age in a matter of fifty years.*"

Not surprisingly, the speed and the extent of these changes have caused considerable social and cultural upheaval that have affected major aspects of the cultures and language of the Inuit, and changed forever their traditional world (Damas, 2002; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994; Hamilton, 1994). Despite claims that they, the Inuit, are and have been an adaptable people, the pace and the pressure brought by many of these changes have been detrimental to the traditional social, linguistic and cultural wellbeing of the Inuit. This is not to say that all change is necessarily inherently negative, damaging or unwelcome, nor that all aspects of Inuit traditional life are desirable. However, the rapidity and scope of the changes has produced a situation in which it has been difficult for Inuit societies and individuals to adjust to the increasing demands of the globalized world. There is a pervading sense among many Inuit, that they have lost not only much of their traditional culture but also control over their own lives. They have changed from being fiercely independent and self-reliant, to becoming a people who have learned to be dependent upon and controlled by an outside culture and its bureaucracy for their validation and very survival.

Canada's Inuit populations stretch from the Mackenzie Delta in the Northwest Territories, across Canada's arctic coast (Nunavut), the islands of the Canadian archipelago, down the western and eastern shores of Hudson Bay and the coastlands of Northern Quebec and Labrador. Clearly, the Inuit of Canada spread over such a wide area share many historical, linguistic and cultural similarities. They also exhibit important differences. They are not an homogenous people and have had different experiences of change and contact with Qallunaaq. These differences among groups of Inuit arise out of their, and their colonizer's, historical experiences of distinct

geographical locations and environments and the different times and kinds of initial and developing contact with non-Inuit. Differences remain extant today depending upon the extent to which communities have adopted or rejected mainstream Euro-American culture and institutions and the varied political and economic milieu in which Inuit now reside.

Fortunately, while change continues unabated, control is being regained. In finding their 'voice' as a people, the Inuit have experienced a growth of political power and sophistication that has ensured a stronger say in the development and implementation of political agreements and policies that affect their lives. This growth in control and political power can be seen in the recent agreements, for example, the 1971 James Bay Agreement, the Inuvailuit settlement of 1984 and, ultimately, the creation of the new territory of Nunavut in 1999 reached between the Inuit and the Federal Government. Though none would say these agreements are perfect, they do illustrate the developing political strength of Inuit across Canada. These major agreements are all the more important because they deal, in part, with the relationship between Inuit and the land, a relationship that was once a fundamental aspect of traditional Inuit life. Although government acts cannot replace this traditional and once intimate relationship to the land, one cannot legislate a return of historical life - the agreements do return control and responsibility to the Inuit, promote more self-reliance and self-determination and acknowledge the historical relationship between the land and the people. Political involvement continues in the political and economic development of Nunavik in northern Quebec, in the Federal/Provincial negotiations with Labrador Inuit, in municipal governments and various non-government Inuit organizations. This political activity,

specifically, the creation of Nunavut, has placed firmly in the hands of the local Inuit responsibility for their own future. Approximately 85% of the 1999 population of 27 000 are Inuit (Hicks & White, 2000).

Naturally, this is a time of both great optimism and hope for the future, accompanied by inevitable doubt about the ability to handle the colossal changes in governance. The advent of Nunavut in 1999 significantly renewed interest from academics and a worldwide general public in Inuit life, both traditional and contemporary. This interest has translated into a considerable amount of study and reflection of both the past and the future of Inuit culture, language and values. The extent of this interest is reflected in the *Letters to the Editor* in the *Nunatsiaq News* (May 02 & May 09, 2003), protesting the possible temporary suspension, as a cost saving measure, of the Inuit Studies program of Nunavut Arctic College. The very idea that the administration of Nunavut Arctic College would attempt to save money by cutting this culturally and linguistic relevant program attests to the political and cultural naivety exhibited by some NAC senior administrative staff. This already under-funded program is responsible for, among other things, the growth of strong relationships between Nunavut Arctic College and a number of southern academic institutions both Canadian and international (for example, Laval University and the University of Paris). This collaboration has resulted in the production of three series of books concerning Inuit culture and cultural change, and the interest and involvement of academics and students from around the world.

Through government and non-government organizations and the work of individuals, Nunavut has created, among Inuit themselves, a need to re-examine the past

and to debate what needs to be done to maintain, reinvigorate and, where possible, to restore their language and cultural knowledge. The 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) realized the need for a concerted effort to examine the state of language, culture and the general social well-being of Inuit and for their involvement in social and cultural programs:

Inuit have the right as set out in this Article to participate in the development of social and cultural policies, and in the design of social and cultural programs and services, including their method of delivery, within the Nunavut Settlement Area. (NLCA, article 32.1.1, 1993)

Government obligations under the NLCA Act are fulfilled by the following:

- (a) providing Inuit with an opportunity to participate in the development of social and cultural policies, and in the design of social and cultural programs and services, including their method of delivery, in the Nunavut Settlement Area; and
- (b) endeavouring to reflect Inuit goals and objectives where it puts in place such social and cultural policies, programs and services in the Nunavut Settlement Area.

To facilitate the above obligations the NLCA established the Nunavut Social Development Council (NSDC). The mandate of this council was described thus:

The Council shall assist Inuit to define and promote their social and cultural development goals and objectives and shall encourage Government to design and implement social and cultural development policies and programs appropriate to Inuit. Accordingly, the Council may:

- (a) conduct research on social and cultural issues;

- (b) publish and distribute information on social and cultural issues to Inuit, governments and the public;
- (c) consult and work in collaboration with community, regional, territorial, federal and other bodies and agencies involved in social and cultural issues;
- (d) advise Inuit and governments on social and cultural policies, programs and services that relate to the Nunavut Settlement Area; and
- (e) undertake other activities relating to social and cultural issues in the Nunavut Settlement Area. (NLCA, article 32. 3. 3, 1993)

In the spring of 2002, Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated (NTI), the land agreement's watchdog organization revoked the standing of the NSDC as a designated Inuit organization. NTI apparently believed the organization was not performing the functions outlined in Article 32 of the NLCA. Towtowgie, the then president of NTI is quoted as saying:

We know, within Nunavut there are suicides, murders. These are social development issues right now. Nunavut has the highest rate of suicide – 15 percent of Inuit. It has the highest birthrate and the shortest life span. We do not really have social development in place right now.
(D'Souza, 2002, March 8)

Clearly, internal politics were involved in the somewhat acrimonious debate between the boards of the NSDC and that NTI (D'Souza, 2002, March 8). Whether or not the reorganization will positively effect the social development of Nunavut remains to be seen. Idlout, the former executive director of the NSDC at the time of disbandment, projected that guidance and immediate goals will be lost within the larger organization of NTI. However, regardless of political infighting, and political agendas between

organizations what remains clear is that cultural, linguistic and social issues remain, in the rhetoric at least, of great concern to Inuit organizations.

In 1999 the Nunavut government created a *Ministry of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth*. Like the old NSDC this ministry has also had some difficulties. Frequent staff changes, including ministerial ones, have caused a lack of continuity, and this has perhaps hindered the ministry's ability to carry out its mandate in an efficient and effective way. While politicians often refer to the importance of the ministry, it is the smallest and least funded of Nunavut Government departments.

FORMAL EDUCATION

One of the major changes that has greatly affected Inuit life, has been the introduction of a formal and western education system. This system has, gradually at the outset, and then with increasing speed, irrevocably replaced traditional forms of education and introduced new knowledge and values initially irrelevant and counter to traditional Inuit beliefs and values. For example, the development of formal education systems to which Inuit across Canada have been subject have had an interesting if not always flattering history. The system has changed and developed considerably (paralleling the growth of political awareness) in the latter half of the 20th century and continues to do so in the 21st. All Inuit groups have experienced the introduction of a formal educational system. Yet, depending upon geographic location and thus the political realities of the area in which they live, they have experienced this formal system in differing ways. Consequently, there is not one history of the development of formal education for the Inuit, but a number of histories sharing common core elements.

There is considerable pressure on the educational system of Nunavut to provide the necessary trained personnel to occupy the numerous government and private positions that have arisen from the creation of Nunavut. There are also the accompanying, and sometimes differing expectations of the Department of Education, School Operations, local cultural and educational organizations, parents and various individuals who have an interest in education. All these entities expect that the present educational system will ensure the strengthening of Inuktitut and the traditional culture. Other and often competing pressures are coming from some Inuit and non-Inuit alike who want assurance that their children's education is not compromised by any changes in the present system. There is thus the real possibility that schools and their teachers will be asked, once again, to be responsible for tasks for which they are not presently trained and, which some may perceive as not being part of a school's area of responsibility. These pressures will put more stress upon the teacher education program, its graduates and students, as they try to keep up with the expectations and promises of changing political agendas.

There are, at the moment, discouraging signs that neither the elementary schools nor the high schools are graduating Inuit children who are fluent in either Inuktitut or English or who are deemed to be knowledgeable and informed about their own culture. A quotation from Dorais and Sammons, in a recent publication, *Language in Nunavut: Discourse and Identity in the Baffin Region* (2002) illustrates the difficulties that are being faced in Nunavut schools in this regard:

Although the Nunavut Government has espoused the importance of language and culture, very few concrete steps have been taken to make this a reality. In many respects, even less is being done to strengthen Inuktitut in the schools since Nunavut became a territory in 1999. (p. 60)

This, of course, greatly affects both Inuit children's general success in school and their self-esteem. The graduation rates for students in Nunavut, while improving, are far behind those in other areas of Canada.

In order for the Inuit language and culture to be maintained, strengthened and promoted in schools, as well as the competent teaching of regular content areas, there are important issues that must be examined. While there is a great and understandable desire and necessity to have more Inuit teachers teach Inuit children, there are a number of questions surrounding the training of Inuit teachers that have to be addressed. For example, what kind of teacher education would be appropriate for Inuit student teachers to experience? Stairs (1988) points to the range between an extrinsic cultural-inclusion model and an intrinsic cultural-base model of educational development. Where does the present NTEP program fall within this range and what are the merits of each model for the needs of the Nunavut and its education system? Does the program produce knowledgeable, critical teachers who can ensure democratic education in schools? On a broader base, what support exists, beyond sloganeering, for cultural awareness and linguistic proficiency in language and cultural teaching? Where are the necessary teaching and learning materials and resources required to undertake such teaching?

A PROVOKING EXPERIENCE

"You just want to make me like a Qallunaaq." (a student teacher)

These words caught me by surprise when I heard them and still cause uneasiness now when I recall them. A second year student, Joanne, directed those words to me a

number of years ago. She was experiencing some difficulties with the new ideas and vocabulary presented during a reading course I was teaching. I was sitting with her at her desk while the rest of the students worked independently. Her textbook and notes were at hand and she was trying, with my help, to complete a task I had set the class to aid in understanding the particular concepts under discussion. Finally, after some minutes she looked at me and made, with a little anger and a lot of frustration in her voice, the above comment.

At the time, I was quite taken aback by the comment and felt accused of committing some unthinkable transgression. Though I was not sure about the complete sense of the comment, I recognized I was being chastised and responded truthfully with a gentle denial and an explanation of what I thought I had been doing-which was to help her understand the concepts and vocabulary under discussion. Certainly, I had no conscious intention of making her 'like a Qallunaaq' -like me-a white person who had grown up in a western culture.

Although I was uncertain of her meaning, I interpreted her words to mean something like this - *The work is giving me trouble. I don't understand it. It doesn't seem to have anything to do with me. I feel uncomfortable and frustrated and you're no help at the moment. Leave me alone for now.* I certainly did not discern any underlying meaning in her comment or what really may have induced it until later when I reflected on the incident and discussed it with a colleague. But the words were certainly intriguing. Where did they come from?

Why should Joanne's words continue to cause uneasiness when they come to mind? They were, after all, born of difficulty and frustration and were neither calculated

nor malicious. Why do they persist in being more than just a brief discordant interaction between a student and teacher, one of the many interactions (the vast majority being cordial) that happen during a typical day, a course, a program? Is it perhaps because those words and the meaning that is embedded in them may have been true? This possibility is disturbing. To understand and explain what may lie behind this exclamation is a central aim of this inquiry. It calls into question the kind relationship that has existed and still exists, for the most part, between Qallunaaq and Inuit, between southern (western) society and Inuit society.

The student's statement, *"You just want to make me like a Qallunaaq."* prompts two lines of investigation. The first is to examine what might be the root causes that lie behind this and other students' academic difficulties and frustrations. For while the comment emerges from one student, the difficulties and frustration she was experiencing are common to other students in both her and many other Nunavut Arctic College programs. In fact, the majority of students in the teacher education program experience problems in understanding new ideas, vocabulary and concepts that they meet in the numerous courses they take. While these problems are certainly not unique to the students of NTEP and the north, they do exist within a student body and an environment that have quite different histories from those experienced by the majority of mainstream southern students. The second line of questioning, and perhaps the more interesting one is, of course, what meaning was embedded in her statement and what experiences, individual and societal, lie behind it?

There are many factors that influence students' school and college experiences. For example, the historical relationship between school/college and community, family

attitudes towards and understanding of schooling, the school's attitude towards the community, and community and family health are just some of the important factors influencing the level of success students have at school. These societal and individual conditions will be explored later in the text. However, there are, I hypothesize, two main reasons, from an academic point of view, why student teachers in NTEP experience difficulties and the concomitant frustration in dealing with the content and expectations of the program.

POSSIBLE CAUSES of ACADEMIC DIFFICULTIES

The first is the lack of mainstream background information and experience. The majority of students still do not have the required academic background, the formal educational experiences or the expectations generally required of university students (NTEP students are, de facto, university students as each NTEP course leads towards a McGill University B. Ed. degree). From a Qallunaaq's perspective the background educational experiences of the majority of NTEP students, both past and present, have been neither rigorous nor long. While a growing number of students in the program have completed high school, they have generally graduated with a non-academic diploma, the majority of the NTEP students have not completed high school. Older students often have not attended school beyond grade 6 to 8. Consequently, much of the background knowledge and many of the necessary skills and thought processes needed to understand course content have not been introduced.

The second main reason for academic difficulties is that the majority of students have to work extensively in their second language, English, a language that has not been

learned or practiced in many cases much beyond the general level of interpersonal communication. The irony here is that most of the students' formal education will have been in English. This is, in part, an indictment of the education they have received. There is little evidence, from my and my colleagues experience and observations, of any substantial development of either the skills of reading or the love of reading that is required for critical or extensive reading for pleasure or information in either English *or* Inuktitut in the students of NTEP. It is not uncommon to hear students express that they do not read or their dislike of reading as they look at a course reading list for the first time. Sadly, in a substantial number of cases, it cannot be assumed that students' written or oral Inuktitut is automatically stronger than their English. In a simple Inuktitut literacy test (Dorais and Sammons, 2002), a short paragraph written in syllabics, the Inuktitut writing system, followed by five easy comprehension questions, only 72% of Nunavut Arctic College students tested in Iqaluit scored higher than 70%. While all of the NTEP (and nursing) students who participated in the test scored above the 70% mark, it must be remembered that 70% was the score considered by the administrators to be the threshold of literacy. The same test was administered to 180 students in Inuksuk High School in Iqaluit, where only 82 felt at ease taking the written test, the remainder participated in an oral form of the test. Of the 82 who took the written test, 51 (62%) were considered by the test administrators to be illiterate or semi-illiterate (D'Souza, Sept. 27, 2002). Of the 35 Grade 10 students who took the test, 23 students (66%) scored less than 50% and 23% of the students could not speak the language (Dorais and Sammons, 2002).

While from the standpoint of professional research the test and its administration could be criticized, (The Deputy Minister of Education at the time objected to the test on

a number of grounds), it was a very uncomplicated test and does indicate, at the very least, that there are severe problems with Inuktitut literacy for a considerable proportion of the school and college population of Iqaluit. Would the same results be found in other communities, communities where there is far less influence from a large Qallunaaq population? The answer, according to Sammons, one of the researchers, is that “The fact is we do not know” (D’Souza, 2002). In smaller communities it is the accepted wisdom, due in part to the presence of fewer Qallunaaq, that Inuktitut is much stronger and more fluent than that found in the three largest communities, Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay (this community is almost all English speaking). That the researchers did not have the confidence to say that is revealing. Clearly, more comprehensive research is needed, research that would require considerable funding from the Department of Education. Bell, in a critical editorial dated May 16, 2003, sums up the results of the test and the reaction of the Department as:

... predictably pathetic. More than 60 percent of those tested couldn’t answer a set of simple questions aimed at testing how well they understood a short Inuktitut reading exercise. Did school officials respond with a commitment to improve the quality of Inuktitut instruction in Nunavut schools? No. Did they respond with a commitment to produce better Inuktitut curricula? No. This is Nunavut, where ignorance reigns and silence pays. Their response was a ban on research at Inuksuk High School.

The staff of the college program who were responsible for the literacy test were also forbidden to give further interviews to news agencies after the results appeared in one Canadian newspaper.

Inuktitut as a written language has a history of only just over a hundred years with the publication of the Bible in syllabics. The Bible remained the principle text

written in Inuktitut until about forty years ago. Even now, there is little for adults or children to read in order to develop a love of reading or to practice reading in their daily lives. For example, there are approximately three hundred children's books (mostly, short picture books) written and published in Inuktitut in Nunavut. These books, produced since the mid of the 1980s, many of them emanating from the work of students in the NTEP program, including the handful of short novels aimed at older readers, are the only literature resources specifically for students to read and teachers to work with over the twelve years of schooling. Adults and older students have additional access to a weekly bilingual newspaper, a bilingual magazine, *Inuktitut*, and various, but limited, radio and television programs.

Despite the dedicated work of a small number of people, the production of literary and curricula materials, due in part to the lack of political will and insufficient funding, has been limited and far below the amount needed for Inuktitut school programs and a vibrant Inuktitut literature. There is unfortunately no other source in Canada for Inuktitut materials except perhaps the small amount produced in Nunavik. Northern Quebec. Greenland, with its relatively long literary history, and abundance of Greenlandic as well as foreign literature (even Harry Potter has been translated into Greenlandic) has frequently been seen as a possible source of Inuktitut materials. Yet, adoption of materials from Greenland faces two obstacles, orthography and dialect.

LITERARY MATERIALS

There are a number of problems associated with the creation or use of literature and curricula materials in Inuktitut. Orthography and dialect are perhaps the most

discussed. Nunavut has two official orthographies for Inuktitut, the syllabic and the Roman (see chapter 5). While the majority of Inuit write in syllabics, two communities, Kugluktuk and Cambridge Bay in the Kitikmeot region use Roman orthography, though the actual number of speakers of the dialect written in Roman orthography, Inuinaqtun, is very small. The majority of this regional population speak English as their first language.

The second major difficulty concerns dialect. Local dialects are passionately defended by those who speak them. There is no real problem, with some effort, in understanding other dialects, with the possible exception of Inuinaqtun, which as I have mentioned in practice is spoken by very few Inuit. Yet there is unwillingness in many to learn or accommodate dialects from other regions and this inhibits the use and acceptance of materials produced. I have seen, for example, books written in Inuktitut sitting on shelves in pristine condition in an NTEP community classroom clearly having not been used by the NTEP students. Upon asking why they haven't been used, I received the reply that they were in the wrong dialect and they, the students, were waiting for the English versions, specifically not sent by the program to encourage the reading of Inuktitut!

Conversations regarding dialect and orthography will no doubt continue until the political will is there to take the bold steps already suggested by some, to use one orthography and one standard written dialect. Until these two conditions are met and there is a willingness in the population in general to accept the dialects of others, the idea that material from Greenland, with its Roman orthography and different dialect, can quickly and easily be used in Nunavut will remain an optimistic notion at best.

There are, of course, reasons other than the complications of orthography and dialect for the dearth of materials in Inuktitut. If it is expensive to produce materials for such a small population, it is prohibitive to produce materials in two orthographies and a number of dialects.

While literacy may be over one hundred years old in Nunavut, exposure to literature, other than the Bible, is much shorter. The formal school system is only just over fifty years of age and it would be foolish to believe that a literary tradition can be created in so short a time. Most Inuktitut books produced have been created in the formal atmosphere of the Nunavut Arctic College classroom, either in NTEP, or in the case of books on Inuit culture, in the Inuit Studies Program. There have also been a small number of specially arranged workshops that have been designed to produce materials in Inuktitut, once again often in connection with the two programs mentioned above. But even within these formal situations we have expected the production of literary work from people who have little experience of reading literature, in the case of NTEP students, of even children's or young adult literature. There continues to be very little, spontaneous writing in Inuktitut taking place.

The creation of curricula materials takes time, expertise, funding and drive. In reality there has only been time. Expertise and funding have been sadly lacking and in many cases so has the drive except from a few dedicated, mostly southern teachers. And this too is a factor of time and ownership in the process. If Inuit feel as though they will never be fully responsible for the world in which they find themselves, feel no real attachment to the education process or confidence in their ability to produce what is necessary then they may always be waiting for some one else to solve the problems.

SPOKEN INUKTITUT

There is also a grave concern for spoken Inuktitut. The reality is that schooling is still predominately in English, and the relentless power and persuasion of the English language mass media is affecting the development and maintenance of Inuktitut oral language abilities among the younger generation. Inuktitut, both written and oral is, in short, hampered by the lack of materials, the lack of teachers, outside societal pressures such as those exerted by the mass media and the lack of political and societal will. Certainly, since I arrived in the north in 1987 I have heard from a number of Inuit sources criticism of the quality of spoken Inuktitut by the younger people as being akin to *baby Inuktitut*, in that it lacks the sophistication and vocabulary of the language used by elders. Ironically, the younger people often blame the absence of help from the elders for this lack of sophistication. The use of more Inuktitut, especially as a symbol of independence and sense of self as an Inuk, cannot be under-estimated as, for many, language is the focal point of Inuit identity. I am not suggesting here that, beyond the personal responsibilities of any student, the challenges faced by these and other aboriginal students rest within aboriginal people and their cultures. Rather, the problems, as Perley (1993) points out, lie with the educational and social system in which the students are located.

Joanne's comments, like those of many students, seem to express an honest sense of frustration and resentment with the constant insistence and pressure, not necessarily conscious or overt, that is continually applied by Qallunaaq for Inuit to conform to *their* language, *their* ways of doing and thinking about things and to adopt *their* values and beliefs. In short, to adopt whether they want to or not, the Qallunaaq way of life.

Success comes to be measured and judged by the standards and values developed by Qallunaaq. To be seen as successful requires that Inuit value and achieve what it is that Qallunaaq believe are worth valuing and achieving. This pressure to adopt the mores of another society devalues the Inuit language, Inuit values and beliefs and ways of thinking and doing things and thus marginalizes them. To marginalize is to be made to feel *less than*. The conflict between what Inuit feel and believe and know about themselves and what they perceive Qallunaaq believe about them causes individual and societal tension. This tension becomes acute when Inuit begin to internalize the Qallunaaq view of themselves. Clearly, Qallunaaq expectations may not be what Inuit used to think of as being important and our ways of thinking may have been in the recent past incompatible with traditional ways. For example, questioning, a valued skill for Qallunaaq, was at one time not encouraged among Inuit and thus when asked to question children (and adults) NTEP students were being asked to ignore a then deeply engrained cultural more. The effect of this devaluation of, and change in, traditional life and the tensions that arise in the collective psyche of Inuit has had, over time, numerous negative consequences, evident in the high suicide rate, increasing crime rates and the increasing number of dysfunctional families.

In Joanne's class, what I wanted the students to learn and understand was knowledge far removed from their traditional cultural knowledge or even perhaps their former everyday needs as teachers in the classroom. I was asking them to learn concepts in ways not previously valued by them, and to think in ways unpractised and perhaps previously unnecessary to their lives. I wanted them to learn in a non-traditional setting - a college classroom - far from their communities *and* I wanted them to respond, to know

and to learn in English, their second language. I wanted them to value what I had experienced and valued. These are all defensible aims, I believe. Yet, defensible or not, they can cause discord and discomfort with previously held ways of “thinking and doing” and take Inuit further away from what they consider their traditional lives, lives now more perceived than lived as only a few remaining elders have experienced what may be perceived as a traditional lifestyle or more accurately a contact-traditional lifestyle. And so, perhaps, the statement, “You just want to make me like a Qallunaaq” was true. Among the many things this statement may imply, it certainly implies change, imposed and perhaps unwelcome, but change. The student and her contemporaries were born in a time when change was so overwhelming and rapid that it was often incomprehensible to them.

Nonetheless, one must not underestimate how easily and enthusiastically Inuit have adopted much of modern western culture. Even in the smaller communities, traditional clothing is seen less and less and those who can make it are becoming fewer and fewer. Though we now witness ‘fashion shows’ modelling clothes made from skins and many an MLA is seen sporting a seal-skin waistcoat, only amautis (coats with large hoods used for carrying babies, traditionally made from skin but now generally from cloth) and kamiks (seal-skin or caribou skin boots) are still worn and even these are declining in popularity. A tale of 1978 recounted by Peter, a former school supervisor illustrates the speed and acceptability of this kind of change:

For the first couple of years I was teaching at the high-school, I was in the music room, which is a larger classroom with very poor ventilation and no windows...Thirty kids would come in at a time into the classes and almost every one would have on a new pair of kamiks. And, of course October being a kind of wet month anyway, you’d have 30 pairs of wet kamiks

coming into your classroom. And of course I had never smelled anything like this before. And gee, I just gagged, I mean it was a very pungent odour!

Well, the last year I taught in the classroom before I went on leave in 1988, 10 years later, I was with my grade 7 class on an April day, and at recess, I took them...we went outside, I went with them, we had a snowball fight, and we all got soaked. So we came back into the classroom, we were doing math after the break, you know, it was late afternoon, and it was nice, it was a very nice moment in the classroom, you know the teapot was on and kids were making tea and they were listening to Mozart and they were doing math and so I did my day book...All of a sudden, one of the kids in the class kind of sat up and went "sniff, sniff" and he looks and says, "Hey, who's wearing Kamiks?" And I looked and said, "What's the problem? You're wearing Kamiks." And I said, I really didn't have to look, I just saw out of the corner of my eyes, the kids were looking around and, you know, the next thing you know they are all looking at me and they're giggling. I said, "What's the problem?" And they said, "You're wearing Kamiks."

My Kamiks were stinking wet, and they smelled like pungent seal skins. And I looked over my desk and I looked down, and I just hadn't even realised this, but there were 30 pairs of Reeboks. There wasn't a kamik to be seen, except the ones I was wearing. (Interview, 1996)

Western clothing, music, food, transport, technology and "ways of doing things" are all replacing or have already replaced many traditional artifacts and customs. This is not only because of the sheer predominance of these things or the commercialism to which we all are exposed but also because of a genuine desire to have them. As these cultural changes take place, education and schools cannot be seen any longer as merely foreign ideas and locations forced upon a bewildered population but an integral part of contemporary Inuit life that needs to be examined.

What this dissertation sets out to do is to position the teacher education program within this field of change and to document and suggest its place in this evolving world of the Inuit of Nunavut.

OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

In Chapter 2, I provide a description of the methodology, methods and data analysis I used for this inquiry.

In Chapter 3, I present relevant background information that will help create a picture of where this narrative inquiry takes place. I describe the history of occupation from the first nomadic peoples of the area to the Inuit of the present era. I outline the political and societal changes that led to the creation of the new geographical and political territory of Nunavut. Finally, the chapter sketches elements of life in the new territory, the environment, the weather, the communities, the government structure and the economy.

In Chapter 4, I critically examine the essential characteristics of colonialism and internal colonialism and its effect upon the Inuit. I trace the development of colonialism in Arctic Canada and discuss the Inuit experience of colonialism and its effect upon traditional and modern life. In particular, I discuss colonialism's effect upon education in the north.

In order to understand the present perception many Inuit have towards education, it is necessary to examine the history of schooling in the Northwest Territories. In this examination, in chapter 5 I reveal some disturbing attitudes and politically and pedagogically questionable practices about language and culture from some of those who were entrusted to educate the Inuit in the early days of the system. I also illustrate how the early school system was an agent of the government attempting to impose an inappropriate, mainstream, southern culture upon the Inuit in order to assimilate them into the mainstream Canadian culture. In this chapter, I also attempt to describe

traditional education, and then proceed to a description of the increasingly formal education and schooling system provided, successively, by the missionaries, the federal government, the Government of the Northwest Territories and finally by the Government of Nunavut.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the origins and characteristics of critical pedagogy, the need for a critical approach to education, and the relevance of the theory for Nunavut.

In Chapter 7, I begin by tracing the development of the teacher education program in Nunavut. I follow with a description of the program, its affiliations, student body and administration. I compare the practices of the program with the demands of the schools and the political direction of government policy. I analyze the results of the research interviews and relate them to the program. Finally, I relate the tenets of critical pedagogy to the research question in the context of the teacher education program.

In Chapter 8, I reflect and make recommendations in light of the analysis of the teacher education program in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2:

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY



Arctic Cotton, Baffin Island

In this chapter I describe the methodology and the methods I use to examine the growth of both the Nunavut education system and, the focus of this dissertation, the historical development of the Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP). Since 1979 this program has been responsible for the education and training of the vast majority of Inuit teachers who work, or have worked in the schools of Nunavut and the Inuit communities of the Northwest Territories.

BACKGROUND AND ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

I begin with a brief personal narrative outlining my background as a classroom teacher in a variety of cross-cultural situations. I then, describe my involvement and the varying roles I have played within the NTEP program. It is this long and continuing involvement that allows me to have an interesting and ambiguous role as, even now, a continuing observer and participant in the program under study. I outline the reasons that

motivated me to embark upon this inquiry, reasons that others, who have had different experiences of the program, could contest. I am aware of the existence of alternative views and voices. I hope that I have allowed, through the words of those who have been interviewed or quoted from other sources, that these voices are heard, sometimes contested, and when their ideas and observations have been overpowering, graciously accepted.

Our knowledge of the context, whether it be geographical, historical, cultural, political, social or, in this case educational and any combination of these nested contexts (Maguire, 1994) in which an event takes place, or exists, is crucial to our understanding of it, this no less so for our understanding of the modern northern world of Canada. I describe the setting in which the major site of the research, the institutional teacher education program in Iqaluit, exists and functions as well as the issues of feasibility, time, economic constraints and the accessibility of the site.

I examine my role as the researcher in this inquiry as well as that of a long-time instructor in the program itself. I question whether these two concurrent roles conflict or complement each other and what possible effect they may have upon my examination and interpretation of the data. Central to this questioning is the role of ethics in research, a role that is examined, in this case, in light of the small size of the program in terms of student numbers and staff-student ratios and the intimacy that this engenders between staff and students.

I then discuss the epistemological principles that guide the study and examine and justify the reasons for my choice of methodology. I conclude the chapter with a

description of the participants and how I chose them and the methods I used in data-collection and analysis.

In qualitative inquiry it is common, especially when dealing with cross-cultural issues, to begin by describing a little of one's background, presumably to allow the reader to see any possible historical or other reasons, professional or personal for any biases that may arise in the work under discussion. While attempting to present a view that is at least as fair and measured as one can, I am a product of my particular upbringing, education and experiences. I cannot hide from these nor, I hope, do I make too much of them.

I was born in Britain in 1949, I am male, middle-aged, white and Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, the last only loosely, by upbringing and lapsed by choice. I spent my secondary school years in a boarding school. Since the age of 26, and for my entire teaching career, I have lived and worked in situations that were culturally and linguistically different from my initial experiences and mainstream middle-class British upbringing. Sometimes the differences may have been minor; often they have been profound. Each situation has added dimensions of experience and knowledge that have, I believe, enabled me to live, for the most part, comfortably, in linguistically, culturally and racially different worlds.

Yet, one does not live a neutral existence. Each new cross-cultural experience and the knowledge it brings is continually mediated through previously learned experiences and understandings. The preconceptions, misconceptions, and prejudices and personal opinions that develop with each encounter with other cultures need to be continuously reflected upon, filtered and tested through discourse with *and* observation of

members of new cultural communities, as well as members of one's own, in order to create as accurate a portrait of that culture as possible. A portrait that balances the hopelessly romantic and falsely "factual" images of that society needs to be developed. I hope that in this study I have been able to maintain that balance by countering my voice with those others heard in this dissertation.

After immigrating to Canada in 1975, I was immersed in French-Canadian culture and politics when I arrived in Trois Rivieres, a logging town midway between Montreal and Quebec City, to teach grade 5 at the English *Trois Rivieres High School*. Despite the name of the school, nearly half of the children in the class were of French-Canadian heritage. After spending a year there, I moved to Montreal and taught grade six to classes of multicultural children for four years in Chateaugay, a small town south of the city. Itchy feet took me to a Canadian company school (Atomic Energy of Canada) located by a small Korean village, Nah Re, overlooking the Sea of Japan. I spent a further four years there immersed in a new and different world while teaching Canadian children ranging from grades 1 to 8 and in the final year of the school (1984) tutoring the few remaining High School students taking Ontario correspondence courses. From the relative quiet of the AECL town-site, my South Korean wife and I spent almost a year in among the crowds, the noise and vibrant colours of Hong Kong. I taught English as a second language, primarily with the British Council and the Hong Kong Academy of Arts but also as a private tutor, ironically, to two Korean children trying to gain access to an international school in Hong Kong; they did.

Upon returning to Canada I embarked upon an M. Ed. degree at McGill University. After a year and a half, upon the completion of all the course work, it became

clear that I needed to work again and so I began to make inquiries. A fellow student, an instructor at the Eastern Education Teacher Program and her husband, the then director of the Baffin Divisional School Board, both studying at McGill at the time, suggested that I apply for work in the eastern arctic. I did and secured a six-month position in the elementary school in Iqaluit, a school whose odd design still never ceases to amaze me. I began my job in the school, as a grade 3/4 teacher in early January 1987.

All the children were Inuit and I was blissfully and regrettably unaware of everything I should have been aware of culturally and educationally that would have helped me better understand the children and the position in which we found ourselves. How much easier it would have been for the children and my patience if someone had told me that raised eyebrows signified 'yes' and a wrinkled nose 'no', or that an "ee" sound was in fact not a sound of distaste (depending upon the tone of delivery) but the word for 'yes'. How many times in the first days I looked at children, asking them over and over again a simple question, and getting the simple reply, raised eyebrows or a wrinkled nose and not understanding that they had answered my question. I can remember clearly asking myself at the end of one of these fruitless exchanges, "What is it they don't understand?" It didn't take too long to realize that they were looking at me and thinking, "What is it he doesn't understand?" Still, I would like to think the children survived my ignorance more or less undamaged and we learned something; I know I did.

At the end of the six months, I gladly accepted a new and indeterminate position at the school. However, I was also asked if I was interested in an instructor's position at the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program. I accepted and have remained with the program for the last seventeen years.

RESEARCHER'S ROLES IN NTEP

As an instructor, I have been responsible for planning, delivering and evaluating courses both at the main campus in Iqaluit and at a number of other communities in the territory. While my primary teaching responsibilities began and remain in the area of language arts, young adult and children's literature, it is perhaps typical of small programs like NTEP that necessity often forces instructors to teach outside their immediate area of specialization. Thus, I have had to teach and become knowledgeable in other areas of teacher education. For example, during my seventeen years with NTEP, I have taught courses in curriculum and practicum preparation as well as courses in educational administration in the Nunavut/NWT, social studies, software applications, introductory teaching methods, issues on aboriginal education, and even background geometry. It does not take long before an instructor's 'area of specialty' is enlarged. I have also been involved in preparing students for their practicum experiences as well as organizing the school placements, arranging supervisory visits and evaluating the performances of both students and the practica.

In the 1994/5 academic year, I was the first NTEP Coordinator of Community Programs. I assisted in establishing the programs, administering the coordination of courses, supporting students and staff and supervising the academic records for the five existing programs then in the Baffin and Kitikmeot regions (at the time Igloolik, Arctic Bay, Pangnirtung, Cambridge Bay and Kugluktuk).

From October 2000 to June of 2001, I was the acting principal of the program. While in this position I had also to assume, due to staff resignations, the role of coordinator of community programs as well as continue to be responsible for teaching or

facilitating the teaching of a number of courses. The principal's duties included staff supervision, the day-to-day running of the program, the preparation for new community programs and the closing of existing ones as well as the hiring of new staff. The program has a long connection with McGill University and throughout this time my duties have included various kinds of liaison with the University in the area of student records and profiles. Basically, I have had experience of nearly all aspects of the program. The only major omission would be that while I have taught in community-based programs I have never been a community-based instructor and thus lack the experience of living in a small arctic community. However, numerous visits to them, coupled with long conversations with the community-based instructors over the years, have given me worthwhile real and vicarious experiences of them.

MOTIVATION FOR THE INQUIRY

In 1995 I had been a member of the NTEP staff for approximately eight years and believed I knew and understood the program and the students well. Yet, I began to have feelings of dissatisfaction with what the program was doing and achieving. I was no longer sure we were providing the best program for the students. I had concerns about the level of the students' academic and practical abilities both on entrance to and exit from the program. I began to have doubts that the program was actually achieving what we said we were achieving. I felt there to be a growing gap between the rhetoric and the actualities of the program. We were delivering McGill courses to our students and they were receiving a certificate and finally a B. Ed. degree from McGill. But were they actually achieving the level of understanding generally expected of a B. Ed. graduate?

Were the standards being asked by NTEP equivalent to those being asked of the students who attend McGill or other universities? This same question was being asked by other members of staff and by some students themselves. On more than one occasion in staff and student meetings, the question of whether or not this was a 'real' degree was raised. And while reassuring answers were given, I began to feel uneasy about our responses.

Consequently, I decided to examine the program and, if unable to find answers to those questions, at least have the opportunity to write my interpretation of the issues. There are always tensions surrounding environments that are culturally and racially mixed; and these may not always be transparent. The results of an inquiry into a program such as NTEP is bound to cause some concern and certain ideas and commentary will no doubt prove to be contentious. However, this is the risk I took in trying to document the Nunavut Teacher Education Program.

CHOOSING THE SETTING

There is a relationship between a location and the kinds of information and events that will come within his line of sight. (Schatzman & Stauss, 1973, p 40)

The Nunavut Teacher Education Program began, and has maintained its institutional program in Iqaluit since its conception in 1979. It has also conducted, and continues to conduct, a growing number of full-length programs (3 or 4 years in length) in communities located across the three regions of Nunavut. Thus, the number of settings and the populations from which I could draw a sample for this inquiry are spread over an enormous area of land. While it would have been ideal to conduct this study in a number

of these settings, in reality this was impractical for many reasons. One prime reason is the financial constraints, air travel to and accommodation in communities is prohibitively expensive.

Mason (1996) lists a number of criteria that can be used to judge the suitability of a context or setting for a research inquiry: a) it must be feasibly and physically accessible, b) it must be a location from which the researcher will be able to generate relevant data and, c) the researcher must be able to access the targeted population. Left with the practical choice of one setting that would fulfil Mason's (1996) criteria it was not difficult for me to choose which community I would access. Iqaluit, the largest community in the territory, was the natural and practical choice for the following reasons I discuss in the next section.

Feasibility and Physical Access

As mentioned, a major reason for not selecting any of the smaller NTEP communities as settings in the study is the cost, in time and money that such a choice would have entailed. Because of the huge distances involved and the relatively small number of people available to support air routes, travel in the north is notoriously expensive and sometimes, due to the weather or planes going 'mechanical', time consuming. Delays can cause significant increases in the total cost of the travel. All Northerners have anecdotes to tell about travel and accommodations in Nunavut and its startling costs.

Being at school in Montreal at the initiation of the study, travel to Iqaluit itself would be expensive enough – further travel to the communities, prohibitive. To illustrate the high costs of travel to the north and northern travel itself, the *lowest* return fares from

Montreal to Iqaluit and Iqaluit to some of the communities in which NTEP has programs are approximately as follows: Montreal>Iqaluit \$1530, Iqaluit>Taloyoak \$3423 (plus 2 nights in Yellowknife, @ approximately \$130), Iqaluit>Arviat \$1560. Accommodation costs in most arctic communities start from around \$120 a night; Taloyoak's less than comfortable hotel, is currently \$180 without meals. Meal costs can add up to \$60-\$70 a day to the bill for very ordinary food. Travelling during late spring and early fall practically guarantees the sharing of rooms due to construction crews in the communities. A number of hotels still have shared washroom facilities.

While accommodation in Iqaluit is not cheap, there is a variety from which to choose. The city has, at present, four hotels and a growing number of Bed and Breakfast establishments. It is also my home community. Thus, I would be able to rely upon the hospitality of friends to provide free accommodation during my data collection period while I lived in Montreal. As my home community it would, of course, be accessible to me upon my return to the north.

Iqaluit was, without doubt, taking into consideration transport costs and accommodation, the most feasible and physically accessible of all the communities and thus satisfies Mason's (1996) first criterion reasonably well. Its status as both the capital and the largest community in Nunavut also allows more leverage in access to participants and thus the potential for the generation of relevant data, Mason's (1996) second criterion.

DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

The ability to collect relevant data for this research depended upon the presence of two populations. The first was an NTEP student population that includes both past and present students. The second was the availability of NTEP staff and others, for example, members of school or Inuit organisations, interested in teacher education in Nunavut. Observations from both these groups were integral to the research.

Students Past and Present

Student information and experiences form an essential part of the data gleaned from interviews and so it was necessary to have many students available from which the participants could be selected. Iqaluit is the Qikiqtani (Baffin Island) regional centre for Nunavut Arctic College and the institutional NTEP program. Consequently, it has the largest number of current education students from which to select interview participants. As a small number of students do not return to their community and elect to stay and work in Iqaluit after graduation, it also has a number of former students who work in schools and for other organisations or the Government of Nunavut.

NTEP Programs

Unlike the community NTEP programs that, while offering a full certificate program, have only one intake of students and thus work their way through the program one year at a time, Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit may have all four years running simultaneously. The four years consisting of the three years of the Diploma program plus, a fourth year, termed, the 'B. Ed.' year, an additional year, which allows students to obtain the final credits for that degree. This is fully described in the chapter on NTEP

itself. Thus, I had access to a greater number of students with different experiences and histories within the program from which to select participants. In addition, the B. Ed. year attracts students who may have had their initial education in a community program but come to the institutional one, often a number of years later, to earn their B. Ed degree. These students then have had a certain amount of classroom experience after their initial training and before taking their B. Ed. year. Their presence adds yet another dimension to the program in Iqaluit. The diploma students, those in years one to three, will themselves come from a number of communities across the territory. Thus, the institutional program has a population that appears to have many of the attributes of the larger widely distributed NTEP student population. It has students in all years of the program, students from many communities and students who have experienced both the community and institutional programs.

Typically, the institutional program will have around 25-30 students in any given year. A community program may begin with as many as 15 but most function with considerably less than that after the first year. This number decreases as the program progresses because students leave for a number of reasons, such as personal family difficulties. While there may be a similar reduction in the institutional program, each year will see a new intake of students so the numbers of active students tends to remain relatively constant.

Staff

Normally, a community program will have only one residential instructor. Contract, or Iqaluit staff fly in to teach a certain number of courses during a year. The institutional program normally has a staff of six; presently, it has a staff of seven.

Further, a number of former instructors of the program have remained residents of the city and are also therefore accessible. Since many community based staff also pass through Iqaluit as they go to their own communities, or fly south, they too became possible participants for inclusion in the study. Further, the ‘older’ members, the NTEP staff who reside in Iqaluit, are very much holders of institutional and community ‘program memory’ and were great sources of information about the history and early development of NTEP.

Other Interested Parties

The capital city Iqaluit is now the seat of the Nunavut Government and, despite decentralization, hosts a number of government organisations including the Department of Education. Prior to Nunavut, the Baffin Regional School Board based in Iqaluit had a great interest in the students of NTEP and provided me with access to a number of informants before its disappearance through reorganisation by the Department of Education. Iqaluit is also the headquarters for a number of non-governmental Inuit organisations, among them Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated (NTI), an independent organisation that oversees the Nunavut Land claims Agreement, and the now defunct, Nunavut Implementation Committee (NIC), which oversaw the creation of Nunavut. Both of these organisations allowed me access to informants.

A Centre and a Gateway

Since the creation of Nunavut and the fact Iqaluit was chosen as its capital, the city has grown enormously, attracting, as all larger centres do, populations from the smaller communities where there are fewer opportunities and less amenities. It is the seat

of government and the regional medical centre; Nunavut's only hospital is located here. It is also the gateway to Montreal and Ottawa for other communities. Therefore, it offers certain opportunities to connect with people who are 'passing through' or visiting the city. Clearly, Iqaluit satisfies Mason's (1996) second criterion of being a location able to provide relevant data for the study.

Access to the Participants

Iqaluit is the community in which I live and work, and this allowed me an ease of movement and contact that would have been difficult as a short-term visitor to another community. I am familiar with the city and its people and, of course, NTEP. I personally knew a number of possible informants outside the program and had access to others through my personal and professional connections. Northerners are particularly easy to access even without prior personal connections. For example, it is not difficult to phone, with relatively little notice, say, the Minister Education and ask him to come to the college to speak to a class on a particular topic. I know, I have done it. They will inevitably do their best to come through. Consequently, I faced no real 'gatekeeper' problems, either from those who may claim to be legitimate gatekeepers or those who Seidman (1991) calls the 'self-declared' gatekeepers. The principals (there were two from whom permission had to be obtained) of the program gave me all the access and support I needed in my visits to Iqaluit. I experienced no difficulties with the college administration in accessing documents and had free and open access to all the college facilities. The only awkward 'gate-keeping' experience came from the Nunavut Research Institute and this was administrative rather than substantive and is explained later in this chapter.

The different lives and experiences of the NTEP student and staff population located in Iqaluit, I believe, allowed for a certain level of compensation for not being able to visit students in the community programs. While, in retrospect, I often wished I could have visited particular communities during the project, I did see the definite and beneficial relationship between this location and the kinds of information and events that emerged from my particular vantage point. I had to learn to live with my decision.

While telephone interviews would have been possible and far cheaper, I wanted the closeness and immediacy of face-to-face interviews with the participants in my inquiry as much as possible. Iqaluit provided this opportunity more than any other community could have done. However, as described later, two telephone interviews did become part of the study.

The Site

The research took place at the Nunatta Campus of Nunavut Arctic College (Silattuqsarvik –the place where you wise) located in Iqaluit. The campus stretches across the Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin) region of Nunavut. The place where the interviews were carried out, the home of the institutional NTEP is the Tunaanganaqsarvik Building (the place where you feel welcome). Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit is by far the largest and busiest of the three regional centres. Tunnganaqsarvik opened in 1988 and remains one of the more attractive buildings in Iqaluit. Though the building is fifteen years old, there has been little deterioration and it remains in good condition inside and out. NTEP relocated to this building, from its previous location in the DPW building in 1988. The college programs in Iqaluit are split between Tunnganaqsarvik and the North Forty, the common name for the old army residence.



Photo 1: Tunaanganaqsarvik Building, Iqaluit

Plans are being developed for a new academic building, family units and a single residence, all to be built adjacent to Tunnganaqsarvik. The problem, as always, centres on funding, though construction for the residential units may start by 2006.

The college itself came into existence after recommendations made in the 1982 Special Committee Report on Education, *Learning, Tradition and Change in the NWT* for a decentralized post-secondary college. NTEP, or EATEP as it was then, predates the college by nine years. Nunatta Campus came into existence in 1987, other regional centres in the east opened the following year (NAC Corporate Plan, 2000-2005). The college is responsible for all tertiary education within the territory. In preparation for Nunavut in 1999, the GNWT passed the 1995 Public College Act, which divided the college in two the eastern part became, *Nunavut Arctic College*. While at the program level the college has done well for a new institution, there are questions about how it has been administrated. A report on the college is about to be released and it promises to be critical.

As you enter Tunnganaqsarvik you are faced with a large space-consuming staircase leading to the first floor. On your right is a counter behind which the

administrative and financial offices are located. Directly in front of you and behind the staircase is the entrance to the library. Though very small by college/university standards it is the largest academic library in Nunavut. It also has a wide selection of books devoted to the north that have been donated to the library from private collections.

On your left, down a corridor just past the security guard's desk, are the offices of the registrar, the Director of Students and the Senior Instructor of Academic Studies. A parallel corridor a few feet further into the college again leads to the left and the classrooms of the Academic Studies program, a classroom devoted to the nursing program, a teaching kitchen, the office of the councillor, the literacy drop-in centre, one or two staff offices and storage rooms, and what used to be the staff room but is now the location of the access year for the Nursing Program.

At the end of this corridor, a stairwell leads to an outside, unofficial smoking area and the first floor and the classrooms of NTEP, the nursing and law programs. These programs are affiliated with the Universities of McGill, Dalhousie and Victoria respectively. NTEP, the largest program, is allocated four classrooms, one for each year of the program. Two Dell computer labs occupy the remaining two classrooms. As you leave the classroom area you arrive at the head of the main staircase. On your left a door leads to program offices, which surround that corner of the building and on your right is the small cafeteria and lounge area.

The building maintains a pleasant atmosphere and is an agreeable place to work, though some would say many of the staff offices are too small.

Ethics Certificate and Nunavut Licenses

The McGill University Faculty of Education Review Committee responsible for the approval of the applications for the *Certificate of Ethical Acceptability for Research Involving Human Subjects* approved my application in October of 1996. An extension to the Ethics Certificate was granted in the fall of 2001 to enable me to return to Iqaluit and conduct an additional number of interviews in the spring of 2002. The McGill Certificate of Ethical acceptability is included as Appendix B.

Partially in response to some negative experiences, communities and individuals have had in the past regarding researchers and their research, it is now necessary to make a formal application in order to conduct research in Nunavut. All proposed research has to receive a research license from the *Nunavut Research Institute* (NRI) that administers and enforces the Nunavut Scientists Act and acts as an intermediary between Nunavut community groups and individuals. Its mission is, “to provide leadership in developing, facilitating, and promoting traditional knowledge, science, research and technology as a resource for the well-being of people in Nunavut knowledge” (NRI Mission Statement, 2002).

An application to the NRI includes, as well as the submission of normal applicant information, a list of any organisations associated with the research, the required permits, the locations and dates of the project, and a non-technical 300 word proposal summary in both English and Inuktitut. This proposal must include brief descriptions of the purposes and goals of the project, the methodology, and data collection methods, a list of proposed questions, the accessibility of collected data, a description of how an informant’s identity will be protected and a brief description as to how the results will be reported. Ethical

review documents must also be included in the application. Participant consent forms (in English and Inuktitut –Appendix C) must include the title and a description of the project, information with regard to the researcher, a statement of informant rights, the form the interview will take and the name and signature of the participant, a witnesses' signature and the relevant date. As well, the applicant must describe any involvement with local people or employment opportunities that may arise from the project.

My first application (which was not as constraining as the new form described above) was submitted to that organisation in September, 1996 and approved in October upon receipt of the *Certificate of Ethical Acceptability for Research Involving Human Subjects* from McGill. Approval for research from the NRI is obtained after institutions and organisations (or individual persons in them) related to the research topic in the community in which the research is to take place have reviewed and sanctioned the application (see Appendix D1-3 for NRI licenses). For example, when I applied for a new license in the Winter of 2002, the license application was sent for approval to the *Mayor of the Municipality of Iqaluit (the community in which the research was done)*, the *Director of Policy and Programming of the Department of Education of the Nunavut Government*, the *Qikiqtani Inuit Association*, the *Nunavut Social Development Council*, and finally to the *Nunavut Teacher Education Program*. A multiple site study would have also necessitated separate applications for research licenses for each site.

Obtaining a license can be a time consuming and frustrating business. While the process for the 1996 application went relatively smoothly, one individual held up approval for a short while. When I queried the delay, the individual expressed her concern that Inuit were not doing such research. Approval was quickly given after a brief

personal conversation with this individual in which the project was discussed. Acquiring the second license (one was necessary as the approving organisations had changed in the interim) proved to be far more frustrating for me. The frustration I felt came not from the approving agencies but from the NRI itself. The causes stem from a lack of communication from the NRI regarding the process of application. This may have been the result of temporary staff shortages in the organisation. However, once new staff was hired communication improved substantially and a license was issued. A further licence granted in August of 2002 was done quickly and efficiently. Generally, researchers must allow ample time for the submission and approval of research licenses.

ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

It is difficult to speak of the fieldwork involved in this study as taking place at specific times as my various positions in the program, principally as an instructor, have allowed me to observe and participate over a period of eighteen years in the daily workings of the program. It has also allowed me to be there when important changes and innovations have taken place. I have witnessed all but the first seven years of a twenty-five year old program.

Patton (2002) writes:

A participant observer shares as intimately as possible in the life and activities of the setting under study in order to develop an *insider's* view of what is happening, the *emic* perspective. This means that the participant observer not only sees what is happening but feels what it is like to be part of the setting or program (p. 268).

A case study is a primary vehicle for emic inquiry (Stake, 1985). I think I have some claim to being a participant observer having developed an insider's perspective of the program and the people involved, a perspective that has grown and developed over the years. However, I am also aware that I remain culturally and linguistically different from the students, and no matter how well I think I know them I will always remain to some degree an outsider, always different and separate. This forces some distance from which to observe and take a more *etic* stance, to be, as Pike, cited in Patton (2002) describes, "standing far enough away from or outside of a particular culture to see its separate events, primarily in relation to their similarities and their differences as compared to events in other cultures" (p. 268).

I do not believe there have been any conflicts between my roles as a researcher and an instructor in the program. In fact, my tenure in the program has facilitated much of the research. For example, there was no extensive amount of time spent developing trust between the informants and myself. That had, in most incidences, already been developed through existing personal knowledge of each other or through the student grapevine.

Though in certain circumstances I will always be an outsider, my insider's knowledge, coupled with an ongoing dialogue with other instructors (and on occasion some students), enabled me to be both to reflect and be reflexive about the program. Whether this has been wholly successful or not, it has counted the development of a viewpoint that is both unbalanced and biased.

I approach this research from a social constructivist epistemology: a belief that the knowledge of the world, or what is counted as knowledge, is created through the

“collective generation of meaning as shaped by conventions of language and other processes” (Schwandt, 1994, p. 127). Knowledge is a product of humanity and is socially and culturally constructed. As reality is socially constructed it is open to multiple, sometimes conflicting, interpretations (Schwandt, 1994). I attempt to weave the interpretations of the informants with my own in the hope of better understanding the case, NTEP, within the cultural and contextual space it occupies.

THE RESEARCH

After working in the NTEP program for so long, it became necessary for me to try to attain a fuller understanding of the program, to see how others, especially the students and other members of the staff perceived the program, to trace its development, examine its shortcomings and its strengths, and to try and discern what it was we were actually doing above and beyond the rhetoric. Yin (1994) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (p. 13). Merriam defines a qualitative case study as “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit” (p. 27). These definitions seem to describe what I wanted my inquiry into NTEP to be. I wanted in Merriam's words, “to achieve as full an understanding of the phenomenon as possible” (p. 28). Does, however; NTEP qualify as a case? A case, according to Merriam (1998) is a “single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries. I can ‘fence in’ what I am going to study” (p. 27). This notion of boundedness (Stake, 1995) limits case studies to be concerned with objects rather than processes; a case is an integrated system regardless of how well it may or may not work. I was satisfied that the NTEP program qualified as a case. Qualitative case

studies have been described in a number of ways, each having its own particular characteristics (Merriam, 1998; Stake 1995; Bogdan & Biklin, 1992). Merriam (1998) describes case studies as being particularistic, descriptive or heuristic. Bogdan & Biklen (1992) categorise them as historical organizational, observational or life stories. This intrinsic case study of NTEP (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Stake, 1995, 2000) has qualities of the historical organizational, descriptive and heuristic in that it seeks to trace the development of the programme as well as provide a rich description of it while attempting explain to the directions it has taken and to suggest possible alternatives.

Ethics

Christians (2000) and Punch (1994) warn of the inherent political nature of field research and warn that researchers need to take care to maintain an ethical stance that considers his or her social and moral conduct in the field and the possible effect the research may have upon the informant. Kvale (1996) and Bogdan & Biklen (1992) emphasise the two dominant issues concerned with ethics in research: a) informed consent and b) the protection of the informants, specifically concerned with confidentiality.

Informed Consent

Each informant in this study was asked to sign a consent form written in both English and Inuktitut. Before signing, I carefully explained the nature of the research, its purpose and its format to ensure that they understood fully what they were volunteering to be involved in. They understood that they could withdraw at any time from the study and could ask for their contribution not to be included. The consent form gave the

informant the opportunity to be either known by a pseudonym or to have their real name used.

Confidentiality

In dealing with any small population it is imperative that the confidentiality of the informants be well guarded. Yet, the focus of this study is deliberately revealed, and even if it wasn't it still couldn't become an anonymous teacher education program as it might in a large province like Ontario where references to it could be circumvented. This allows for the possibility of easy recognition of some informants. The participants were given a choice of having their real names used or be known by a pseudonym. The vast majority asked for the use of a pseudonym. Such a large majority in fact, that I thought it might be best to use pseudonyms for all the informants. However, this would be at best a very transparent attempt at anonymity and might encourage erroneous guessing of an informant's identity where he/she could be one of only a very few people, and so I decided to use the real names of those who approved. In these cases the informant is referred to be either his/her first and surname or just the surname. For those informants who wished to remain anonymous I gave first names only. Though a number of the names used are unusual and a reader may think the person easily recognisable, it is not so as they do not refer to their actual owner. No informant, other than those who wished their real names to be used, has his or her own name.

Fieldwork and Data Collection

The specific fieldwork that led to most of the interviews took place on two occasions a number of years apart. The first was in the spring of 1996 when I visited

Iqaluit while on leave studying at McGill University. On this occasion I recorded twenty-eight interviews. The second series of interviews took place in the winter of 2002 when, once again, while on leave in Montreal I returned to Iqaluit to conduct a further sixteen interviews. A further six interviews were recorded in 2003 by third-year students of the program as part of their course work. A total of fifty interviews contributed to the inquiry.

Gillham (2000) asserts that all evidence is of use to the case study researcher and he/she must be conscious of the multiple sources of data that may be used. Lancy (2001) agrees with Merriam (1988) who is cited as saying that case studies have no techniques of data collection or analysis particular to them. Yin (1984, 1994) outlines three principles of data collection as: using multiple sources of data, creating a case study database and maintaining a chain of evidence to increase reliability. He describes six sources of evidence that, linked together, form a *chain of evidence* to support the research. The six sources are, documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participatory observation, and physical artefacts. In this research I used, in varying degrees, all of Yin's six sources. Documentation and archival records need no further explanation and they are clearly referenced in the text. Artefacts appear, in a weak sense, as photos depicting geographical locations and buildings related to the program. Direct, passive observation of, for example, day-to-day college activities and the actions of the administration took place almost constantly. The two remaining sources of evidence, interviews and participant observation need some elaboration.

THE INFORMANTS

Patton (2002) describes purposeful sampling focussing “on selecting information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study” (p. 231). Due to time, distance and cost limitations it was necessary to be able to identify a group of information-rich informants both quickly and carefully. To try to achieve Merriam’s (1998) level of understanding of the phenomenon under study, I needed informants who were familiar with the program from a variety of viewpoints and experiences and who would be willing to talk about their experiences with or within the program. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) write that informants should typify a range of experiences with the phenomenon. From my insider’s experience and knowledge I already had a list of potential key people. Yet, before travelling north I wished to check the soundness of my choice and see if colleagues and students suggested other possible informants. I embarked upon a limited form of snowball sampling (Patton, 2002), first calling a colleague in Iqaluit and asking for his suggestions of whom to interview and thus checking my tentative list. When my choices to a large extent were confirmed new ones were added as possible informants. While interviewing in Iqaluit the snowball effect continued as people suggested other potential informants, once again some new, but many affirming choices already made thus there was a convergence of possibilities.

There was never any intention of having as many as fifty interviews. The number rose as the situation lent itself to some opportunistic sampling (Patton, 2002) and because of the continuing recommendation of others that this person or that should be interviewed. There were also a number of informants who were on the initial list but who were unavailable at the time and so were dropped but then later returned to Iqaluit or

were passing through when I was there and so were interviewed. The result is that the data collected comes from the entire spectrum of NTEP experiences.

Staff Members

The interviews included eighteen past and present staff members of NTEP. Ten were Qallunaaq and included two former principals, one former director, four members who had served as community instructors only and one who had experience of both the institutional and community programs. The remaining two instructors were based at the institution. All but one instructor had experience in teaching courses in both the institutional and community programs.

The eight Inuit staff interviewed had, of course, also been students in the program. Four had been students in a number of my classes. Of those eight, two had served as principals of the program, two as community coordinators, one of whom was later to become principal. At the time of the interviews no Inuk instructor had taught in a community program except as a visiting instructor.

Students

Nineteen full-time students were interviewed. As might be expected from snowball sampling those known were suggested and so twelve of the students were in their final and B. Ed. year of the program in Iqaluit. Six of these students had their initial teacher education in their communities. All completed the McGill Certificate there except one who came to Iqaluit after the community program in which she was enrolled was closed. Three of the remaining students were in their 3rd year, two in their 2nd and

two in their 1st year. Typical of the proportion of females to males within the program, only one of the students interviewed is a male.

Others

The thirteen others came from a variety of backgrounds. Seven were long time educators and held or had held positions in schools, the college or a school board. Two were prominent Inuit leaders, one of whom had been on the Board of Governors of a school board. All appeared on the key informants list. The others are examples of Patton's (2002) opportunistic or emergent samples as they were elders who were interviewed by students (known by them as key informants in the community) as part of an NTEP course and their interviews revealed interesting information.

THE INTERVIEWS

Of the fifty interviews all but three were face-to face-encounters. Of these three, two were long-distance telephone interviews and two informants preferred to write their responses to the questions and then submit them to me. While this prevented any immediate probing or confirmation of statements, I respected their choice.

Seidman (1991) suggests a three step, phenomenologically based, interview strategy. The first interview is focussed upon the life history of the informant; the second develops the details of the present experience of the informant and the third reflects upon the meaning of their experience. Unfortunately, the time factor made it impossible to conduct the interviews in the fashion described by Seidman, as he suggests each interview is held three days to a week apart, though he does allow certain flexibility in

the approach. The interviews, that I conducted had within them elements of the structure of the three interview approach in that I began with questions dealing with the life-history of the informant before asking for details about present experiences and reflections upon them.

Each interview had no predestined time frame. Only one person of the fifty interviewed stopped the interview before it was complete. The informants were allowed to take as long as required to complete the interview. As a rule of thumb, I imagined each interview lasting approximately ninety minutes. This in fact turned out to be the case in only a relatively small proportion of the interviews. Most lasted an hour. Those that lasted longer were predominately, though not exclusively, with Qallunaaq informants. I suspect this was influenced by a number of factors, for example, differing familiarity with the interview process, varying levels of English fluency, and different levels of critical and reflective thought among the informants illustrating cultural and educational differences.

The interviews took place in a variety of situations ranging from the plush offices of an Inuit organization, offices of a school board, private homes, college classrooms, the borrowed office of an NTEP instructor (the most used) and the lounge area of a sports club. No matter the location, all the interviews were conducted in a relaxed fashion with both parties being comfortable. The only one exception to this was the interview that was cut short by the interviewee, ostensibly for work related reasons.

All interviews (with the exception of the written two) were taped and transcribed. Half of the interviews were transcribed professionally, the remainder by me. While transcription is a long and tiring job, and it seemed to be ideal that someone else would

do it, in retrospect, I would have preferred to do it myself, ensuring a closer intimacy with the work. I would also have been better placed to understand and transcribe many items that appeared in the transcripts as a question mark. The quotations taken from the interviews have on occasion had their grammar corrected to promote readability. However, many idiosyncratic constructions remain, giving a flavour of the English spoken. I have also put the quotations from Inuit, whether originally from interviews or documents, into italics.

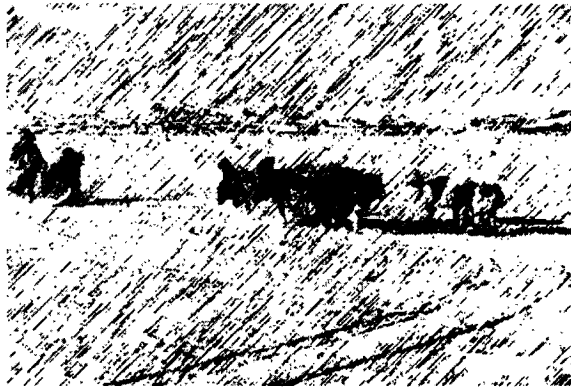
The Questions

The interviews were semi-structured in format. An interview guide (Patton, 2002) was developed that listed topics and accompanying questions that I wished to be covered and to ensure a similar pattern for the interviews. At first I attempted to ask a few key questions in exactly the same way but I found that this was not practical as I constantly had to rephrase the questions depending on the informant. Frequently, the responses led to strands of inquiry that were not on the guide or were listed in another area of the interview. Thus, the interviews developed into semi-structured negotiated conversations with the informants as we tried to make sense of the topics. While maintaining the basic lines of inquiry, the interview guide frequently was modified as I learned more from the informants as to how to better approach different subject areas. There were three similar guides constructed, one for students, one for NTEP staff and one for other educational personnel (Appendix E).

Analysis of Data

The raw data consisted of the interviews, observations and documentary records. All the transcripts of the interviews were read again to reacquaint myself with them, to get a sense of the kind and quality of data collected, and a feel for the rhythm of the interviews. During this process, information that clearly would be of little use was marked. During the second and third reading, the different topics were classified and colour coded and collated. Quotations within each topic area were compared, patterns looked for and redundancies eliminated. The selected quotations were then fitted together with documentary and observational evidence. This then formed the case record and the material from which the drafts and the final case study was written.

Chapter 3: ORIGINS AND BORDERS



Dog Team, Sea Ice

“ the Inuit live on the edge of the inhabited
and the brink of the uninhabitable”
(Morrison & Wilson, eds. 1995)

Historically, the survival of Inuit depended solely upon the land and waters and the wildlife that they provide. The relationship between Inuit and the land was one, like a newborn baby to her mother Today, the connection between Inuit and the land has weakened, and the Inuit struggle with their identity: the Inuit's latest challenge in a land that has always been challenging
(Aglukark, B, 1999, P. 49)

Educational development, like all forms of development, does not take place in a vacuum. It is built upon and takes place within historical, social, political, geographic and temporal realities. These realities constantly change. Perhaps nowhere in Canada have these changes been so acute and hurried as those that have taken place and continue to take place in Canada's north. In this inquiry, I deal with educational changes specifically in the realm of Inuit teacher education in Canada's newest territory, Nunavut. It is therefore important that the past realities of the people of Nunavut are examined in

some detail. It is necessary to do this in order to begin to understand how these conditions have shaped and continue to shape the current political, social and educational realities. In this chapter, I give the reader a sketch of what life is like in the Nunavut today and how Nunavutmiut arrived here.

ORIGINS

Mythical Stories

There was once a world before this, and in it lived people who were not of our tribe. But the pillars of the earth collapsed, and all were destroyed. Then two men grew up from a hummock of earth. They were born and fully grown all at once. And they wished to have children. A magic song changed one of them into a woman, and they had children. These were our earliest forefathers, and from them all the lands were peopled.
(Tuglik, Igloolik area, 1922)

A more colourful rendition:

It is said that once upon a time the world fell to pieces, and every living thing was destroyed. There came a mighty downpour of rain from the heavens, and the earth itself was destroyed. Afterwards, two men appeared on earth. They were fully grown when they emerged from the ground. They lived together as man and wife, and soon one of them was with child. The one who had been the husband sang a magic song:

A human being here

A penis here.

May its opening be wide

And roomy.

Opening, opening, opening!

When these words were sung, the man's penis split with a loud noise and he became a woman, and he gave birth to a child. From these three mankind grew to be many.

and

*When the raven became aware of himself,
Light came into the world,
And grass tussocks turned into men*

These three eastern arctic stories, the first from McGhee (1990, p. 1), the second and third from Petrone's (1988, p. 51) *Northern Voices* illustrate just three variants of the rich, and quite similar, stories and creation myths found across the arctic. These old stories, while they once may have adequately described the creation of the world from an early Inuit perspective, do not account for actual human development in Canada's arctic. For that we must turn to the far more prosaic, though no less interesting, stories from modern archaeology-stories that are still developing with each discovery made.

The Archeological Story

The image of the north and its inhabitants depicted by the press and the early adventurers involved stereotypical images of the *igloo*, the snow house, skin clothing and the hunt. The Inuit were, in Fagan's (1995) words, "...seen as happy, optimistic hunters dressed in cozy furs, despite a harsh life of never-ending work and fatalism in an environment of impossible terrain and intolerable weather" (p. 169). These images belie the cultural differences among the various peoples who have occupied and continue to occupy the northern land over the last 10 000 years.

No archeological evidence has been found of pre-modern humans in the Americas (McMillan, 1995) and so it is certain that the first hunting people who roamed the vast areas of arctic land, leaving little trace of their existence, originated outside of what is now known as the Americas. And there appears to be no problem with this actuality for the Inuit. There is no sign of the Inuit being "offended by this anthropological belief of migration from Asia (McMillan, 1995, p. 21) as some First Nations may purport to be. There were, of course, some novel ideas about these peoples' origins. For example, McMillan (1995) argues that some writers, not wishing to acknowledge the existence of

people not mentioned in the bible believed they were related to the Egyptians and Phoenicians or, even the lost tribe of Israel. McGhee (1990), points out that some nineteenth-century scholars, seeing similarities between the Eskimo and the Upper Paleolithic caribou hunters of Europe believed that they followed the retreating glaciers northwards and eastwards eventually reaching the Bering Sea and then North America. The Russian ambassador to London protested that the three Inuit that Martin Frobisher brought back to England after his 1576 voyage were Tartars, Mongolians of the Russian empire that had been abducted (Dorais, 1993). Later in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was suggested that the Eskimos were related to the North American Indian; thus their origins began in sub-arctic Canada as a tribe of Indians who had migrated north of the tree line to the arctic (McGhee, 1990).

As McGhee (1990) points out, recent archeological and anthropological research does not support any of these theories. Ancestors of the Eskimos, appeared to have crossed over the Bering Strait Land Bridge (Beringia) less than 10 000 years ago in a second migration of people, the first being the ancestors of the American Indians, the Paleolithic Siberian hunters (McGhee, 1990, Fagan, 1995).

There were four major migrations into the arctic regions. Each migration brought with it new technology, different kinds of dwellings, hunting techniques and tools. There are also different forms of social arrangements, art and ritualistic beliefs associated with the different groups.

The first inhabitants of what is now Nunavut, the paleo-eskimos arrived roughly 4 000 years ago. These people, known as the arctic small tool tradition (ASTt) may or may not have been Eskimo at all but they did occupy most of arctic Canada and parts of the

coastline of Greenland from 2000BC- 800BC (McGhee, 1990). ASTt people are comprised of two major variants, the first, the Independence 1 culture, occupied the high arctic and appear to have become extinct after 1700 BC. The second, the pre-Dorset culture who occupied the low arctic islands and the main land lived in an environment richer in game than the Independence 1 group. They were more numerous too, numbering approximately 1000 - 3000 people in the central area (McGhee, 1990). They were also more efficient in their adaptation to the environment thus enjoying a more developed economy than the Independence 1 people. Remains of this pre-Dorset culture can be found across the Canadian north. It is hypothesized that the pre-Dorset culture died out around 800 BC due largely to their dependence upon a single species, on caribou, whose migration habits proved unreliable.

Evidence of a new culture, what became known as the Dorset culture (800 BC- 1000 AD), is discovered by Diamond Jenness near the community of Cape Dorset, in 1927. The Dorset people, the second major occupants of the northern land established themselves across arctic Canada, Greenland, and into Newfoundland. It is believed that this culture developed from the pre-Dorset culture of the core area of the Hudson Bay, Foxe Basin and the Hudson Strait. (McGhee, 1990). The Dorset culture proved to be more successful than the pre-Dorset and may have numbered anywhere from 2000–5000 people. It is this group of people who is remembered in Inuit legend as the Tunit. They seem to have disappeared fairly quickly either because of the effects of rapid warming and thus a change in the environment for which they were unprepared or because of the migration of the Thule who, according to legend, drove away the Dorset people.

The Thule migrated from Alaska, possibly helped by a warming trend which caused ice-free summer months on the arctic coast allowing the Thule to follow the whales eastwards across the north of Canada. By the 13th century these large sea mammal hunters had settled the arctic coast, the high arctic and spread as far east as Greenland. The first European contact came in the form of the Norsemen who around 1000 AD were traveling westwards from Greenland trading iron tools, smelted copper and cloth for such goods as furs and walrus ivory. This trade with the Norsemen appears to have ended around 1450 not to recommence until the arrival of Frobisher in 1576 (Fagan, 1995). The Thule culture changes considerably around the ‘little ice age’ that occurred between 1600 –1850. The colder climate caused the collapse of the whale hunt, the migration of people and establishment of smaller cultural groups that became increasingly different from each other. In fact the culture almost seems to become less sophisticated:

The Inuit cultures described by later explorers, however, seem less complex than the Thule. Their technology is simpler and the way of life less secure... While the historic Inuit are clearly the inheritors of a rich Thule tradition, not all of this legacy survived the colder climate. (McMillan, 1995, p. 268).

At the time of European contact the Inuit were semi-nomadic hunters, living off the land, or more accurately, the sea, as the majority of them depended upon the marine mammals for food and clothing. Living in small groups, governing themselves by consensus they lived, according to Creery, “a precarious existence, sensing themselves best by natural and supernatural forces which they could not control” (1983, p. 3). I expand on aspects of European and Inuit contact in Chapter 4 on colonialism.

BORDERS

The political map of Canada changed considerably on April 1st, 1999 with the creation of the Nunavut Territory, a result of the largest land claims agreement in Canadian history. While the history of Nunavut might still seem to be, and is in the making, the actual making of Nunavut has had, if we start from the birth of a small group of politically active young Inuit, a history of nearly forty years. In this next section I describe some of the milestones in a long, complicated and difficult process often referred to as the 'road to Nunavut', ironically southern imagery.

Ironically, given the current criticism of residential schools, it was in the 1960s that two of these schools, the Churchill Vocational Centre (1964-1974), located in Churchill, Manitoba and Yellowknife's, Sir John Franklin School (1958-), provided places for embryonic political thought about Nunavut to mature. These schools fostered the meeting and mixing of young Inuit and other native peoples such as the First Nations groups of the Mackenzie Delta, from different northern regions and thus provided for Inuit youth the opportunity to reflect upon and discuss the problems that were beginning to crystallize and that many Inuit seemed to be facing. These discussions led to the creation of a group of young Inuit dedicated to "a commitment to the politics of change" (ITK 2002, p. 1). This generation of "better educated and less timid young Inuit activists" (Amagoalik, 1998, p. 101) was to become the driving force behind the creation of Inuit political organizations and the eventual birth of Nunavut, as reflected in the following passage from Inuit Taparit Kanatami (formally the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, ITC):

Looking back on these events, we now realize that this first generation of new political leadership made incredible progress against very difficult odds. What this first generation of our political leaders could not possibly know at the time, was that they were about to set in motion a process that would eventually lead to land claims and to the creation of strong self-governing regions: even to the redrawing the political map of Canada. (ITK, 2002, p. 2)

In the late 1960s, an organization called the *Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA)* was formed to examine the rights of Canada's native peoples and to assist native groups in becoming involved in the process of identifying aboriginal land and resource rights as they may apply to each particular group. In 1969, Canada had a Commissioner of Native Claims whose responsibility was to provide funding for native organizations such as the IEA to aid First Nations and Inuit in formulating and presenting their specific cases. While the Inuit were represented in the IEA, they felt that their situation regarding language, land use, resource management, education, health, governmental relationships and future development was in many cases so specific to their world that they wanted an Inuit organization to represent all of them at the national level. Tagak Curley, the Inuit representative on the IEA, best expresses this felt need in a speech at a February 1971 Toronto meeting of seven Inuit following an earlier IEA conference (ITK, 2002, p. 2):

The situation right now as far as Inuit are concerned is that communications are very poor. The Inuit at this moment are split into four regions- the Mackenzie Delta, Keewatin, Baffin and Arctic Quebec and have never attempted to unite with each other. We should no longer let this nonsupport amongst Inuit continue; we must now unite and support each other as Inuit. Just because Quebec is not a part of the Northwest Territories, we should not overlook the Inuit there. We should all become one group, the Inuit.

There have been problems in Arctic Quebec as we have heard in bits and pieces in other Inuit settlements; but just because it was part of Quebec we have not been able to give them help or advice. But we should not let any problems or anything interfere with our future. If we are to

concern ourselves with our own little region, we will never grow or become self-supporting people. The Inuit first of all must join together.

At the same conference, Jacob Oweetaluktuk, a representative from Port Harrison, Quebec, offered this viewpoint:

Our culture is still here, but in the near future it is not going to be the same as it used to be. If this continues too long from now into the future, there won't be any power left in us. The white people will be overflowing our culture and there won't be anything left that we can do if it continues this way. But if we say right now that we want the government to handle our problems, our affairs and our lives, we will never be able to do things on our own, like decision making, if we let the government continue to look after us.

So we have now to find an organized voice amongst ourselves so we may direct our lives the way we want them to be. Maybe we should have something like an Inuit organization. Right now it is time to act so we may control ourselves in the kind of life we would like to have in the future. It is for these main reasons I think we are here at this very moment. (ITK, 2002, p. 2)

Clearly, these two speakers expressed a strong desire for the autonomy of the Inuit and saw the urgency in uniting to gain that autonomy. From this meeting of seven Inuit in February, 1971, the issues a new organization would take as its mandate were formulated. In August that year, once again in Toronto, the federally funded *Inuit Tapirisat of Canada* (ITC), the organization whose purpose was to unite and represent Inuit concerns and interests (e.g. their aboriginal rights, small and large scale development) across Canada at the national level, had its founding conference. Tagak Curley, the organization's first president, refers to its mandate as concerning *"the life and death issues that we can only overcome if we are a united people. ITC is part of a new way of life that is needed to help us protect an ancient way of life"* (ITK, 2002).

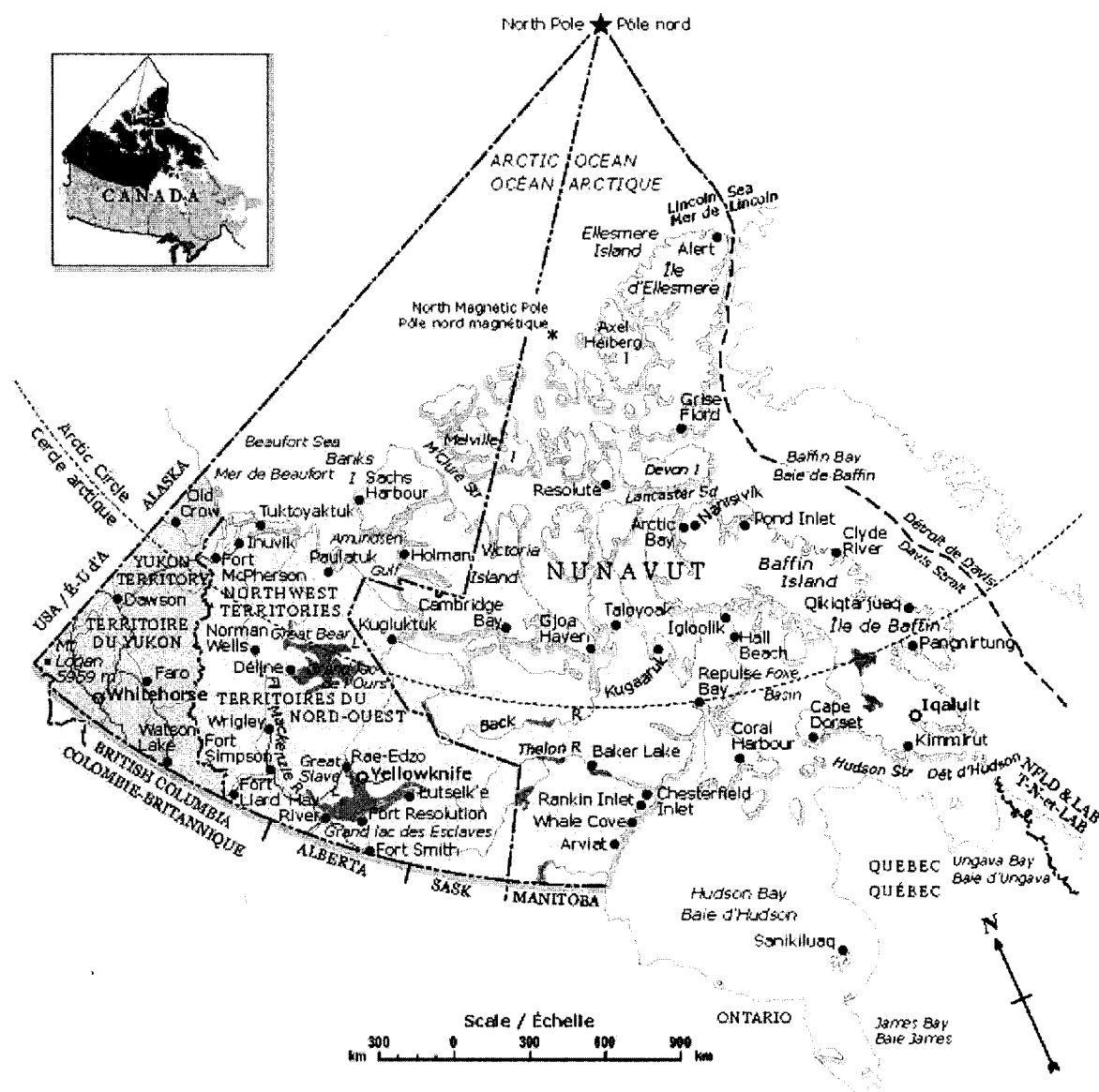


Figure 1: The new territorial map

The main goals of the organization were:

- to promote awareness of Inuit rights in Canadian society;
- to inform Inuit on government plans, their aboriginal rights and any legal matters pertaining to these;
- to aid in the preservation of Inuit language and culture and to promote dignity and pride in their Inuit heritage;
- to help Inuit participate fully in Canadian society allowing them to determine those social, economic, educational and political factors which will affect them and their future generations and;
- to unite all Inuit and speak for them in matters of public support and publicity. (ITK, 2002)

However, while ITC was to represent all Inuit groups, bringing federal, territorial, provincial governments, as well as Inuit from Labrador, Quebec and the NWT together to negotiate one claim for all the Inuit, proved to be too difficult. Separate regional negotiations then became the method by which land claim agreements were conducted (e.g. the 1971 James Bay Agreement in Quebec and the Inuvailuit settlement of 1984).

Impetus for proposals from such organizations as ITC was promoted by the success of the 1971 Alaska Native claims agreement, which gave Alaskan native peoples 180 000 square kilometres of land and US\$962 million. Also, three court decisions in 1973, (particularly the Nishga 'Calder case' which brought the terms 'aboriginal rights ' and 'land agreements' into the public forum), recognized aboriginal title arising out of long-term land use and occupation of lands prior to the European arrival (Crowe, 1999).

Only five years after its inception ITC presented, in 1976, the Federal Government with the first Nunavut Land Claim. A basic goal was to "preserve Inuit identity and the traditional way of life so far as possible" and to enable the Inuit "to be equal and meaningful participants in changing the North and in Canadian society" (Duffy, 1988, p 236). An integral and crucial part of this proposal was the development of a new territory in which Inuit identity and rights could be protected and administered by Inuit. This first proposal was withdrawn, partially due to the fact some sections of it were unworkable, and also to enable ITC to more fully discuss the protection of rights and the political structure for the proposed territory (Duffy, 1988). A new proposal, with a list of eleven principles of self-government (with the concept of a new territory still intact) was submitted in 1977.

Despite the fact negotiations were slow, protracted, sometimes at an impasse, sometimes postponed and often complicated, the difficulties were eventually overcome. Hicks and White (2000) describe them as being "slow and unspectacular", Duffy (1988) says the negotiations moved at times with "glacial slowness" (P. 239). However, the negotiations came with a sometimes terrible cost for some Inuit involved. Simon Awa, presently the Deputy Minister for the Department of Environment and formerly the Land Claims Commissioner of ITC, commented, in a presentation to Nunavut Arctic College in the spring of 2004, how the negotiations had a devastating personal effect upon a number of the Inuit involved. Throughout this process, and contrary to the Federal Government's position, the Inuit *consistently* linked any land claims agreement with the vision of a new territory.

A key member of the Inuit organization's negotiating team, John Meritt, characterizes the negotiations as moments of:

Crisis and drama notwithstanding, the story of the twenty year old 'Nunavut project' is best described as a process of consistent effort, endless negotiation, and detailed text. Unlike other negotiations involving aboriginal peoples that have sometimes captured intensive but fleeting attention, the 'Nunavut project'...followed a slow but comparatively steady course. (quoted in Hicks & White, 2000, p 55)

In 1979, a seat for the Federal riding of Nunatsiak was created in the House of Commons. The boundaries covered approximately the area of land that would become Nunavut. By 1980, after three years of difficulties, (caused largely by the Inuit demand for political autonomy and the Federal Government's reluctance to discuss political issues at a land claims table) negotiations appeared to get back on track. ITC submitted *Parnagujuk*, a plan that reinterpreted early positions and removed some of the fundamental stumbling blocks for the Federal Government (Duffy, 1988). In that same year and after many hostile debates, the NWT Legislative Assembly voted in favour of dividing the territory. Noteworthy is that in 1963 the Federal Government introduced legislation to divide the NWT. However, this legislation died on the order paper and later in 1966 the Carrothers Commission advised against division for at least ten years but acknowledged the inevitability of future division.

The question of dividing the NWT was put before the electorate in a 1982 plebiscite. While the Inuit population voted 90% for the motion, the final territory-wide result showed only 56.5% of the population favoured division. In the same year, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) was formed to represent the Inuit in the negotiations and took its mandate from the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (TFN was itself

succeeded by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated in 1993). In 1990, after continual negotiations and a final acceptance by the Federal Government of the future existence of a new territory the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement-in-Principle was completed and formalised in the document, *The Nunavut Political Accord*. The Inuit ratified this accord with an 87.7% vote in favour in 1992.

Predictably, drawing the boundary between the two territories proved difficult. In fact, there are still some areas of contention that have yet to be resolved. After years of '*sometimes acrimonious debate*' regarding the boundary (Amagoalik 1998, p. 103), a compromise was made, and the population of the Northwest Territories approved the borders for the division of the NWT in 1992. The Inuit accepted the boundary, the Dene and Métis opposed it and the final result was close.

In 1993, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), a private corporation representing the interests of over 21 000 Inuit, was set up to ensure that the promises of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* were and are implemented and followed. In the same year the Federal government enacted both the *Nunavut Act* to create the new territory and government, and the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*, ratifying the land claim settlement.

THE NUNAVUT LANDS CLAIM AGREEMENT

The final Nunavut Land Agreement was signed in Iqaluit on May 25, 1993. The fundamental principal in the accord is the acknowledgement of an exchange between the Crown and the Inuit of Nunavut for the surrendering of 'claims, rights, title and interests based on their assertion of an aboriginal title' (Hicks & White, 2000, Kusugak, 2000).

In 1994, the Nunavut Implementation Committee (NIC) was created to advise, primarily, on how the government of Nunavut should be designed. It was composed of nine members, eight of which were Inuit, seven of these eight were men. All resided in Nunavut. The detailed recommendations outlining, for example, how the government will be organized, recruitment, language concerns and infrastructure were published in *Footprints in New Snow* (1995) and *Footprints 2* (1996). Iqaluit, located on Frobisher Bay, was chosen by public vote to be the new capital.

In 1997, the NIC proposal that each of the 19 ridings in Nunavut have two members of the Legislative Assembly - one male and one female - was defeated. In the same year, the Commissioner was named, his mandate being to recruit a public service and to follow-up on the work of the NIC. Nunavut's first election was held in February, 1999, followed by the inauguration of the territory on April 1st.

Kusugak (2000) outlined the significance the agreement can have for other aboriginal Canadians. First, the agreement shows the possibility of concluding an agreement with the Federal Government that transfers real powers to aboriginal people. Second, any agreements concerning self-determination and land rights should fit the particular circumstances of the group concerned. He mentions that the notion of 'public government' for Nunavut works because of the make-up of the population. Inuit in Nunavut are not, nor have they ever been, a minority in the area. The third element described by Kusugak is the importance of getting the support and understanding of non-aboriginals.

- Of the 1 994 000 square kilometres of the territory Inuit are to have title over 355 842 square kilometres and sub-surface mineral rights over 35 275 square kilometres of this area.
- A capital transfer payment of \$1.148 billion payable over 14 years commencing 1993. (This money is handled by a Nunavut Trust fund on behalf of NTI- the money is to provide collective, not individual, benefits for Inuit beneficiaries).
- A training fund of \$13 million.
- The right to harvest wildlife on land and water throughout the Nunavut settlement area for domestic, sports and commercial purposes.
- A 5% share of royalties from revenue generated from oil, gas and mineral resource development on Crown land.
- Establishment of a number of co-management boards created to manage the lands, waters and wildlife in the Nunavut area. e.g. the Wildlife Management board and the Nunavut Planning Commission. These co-management boards are seen by some as an optimal way of bringing traditional Inuit knowledge together with western bureaucracy (Hicks & White, 2000).
- Preference policies that ensure federal and territorial governments increase the proportion of Inuit firms contracted for Nunavut projects (necessary training and education to be provided). The labour force must reflect the proportion of Inuit population. (eventually, 85% of government positions must be held by Inuit).
- The establishment of three national parks.
- Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements must be negotiated in advance of major projects to determine detrimental or beneficial effects to Inuit.
- The creation of Nunavut out of the central and eastern area of the Northwest Territories.

Figure 2: Major provisions of the Land Claims Agreement

As much as the creation of Nunavut was celebrated in the north it was not without its detractors. Howard & Widdowson (1999) in their article *The Disaster of Nunavut* criticize the very notion of Nunavut as a place that will “enable the Inuit to assert more control over their lives and thereby improve social conditions in their communities” (p. 1). Rather they see it as a failing proposition describing it as “economically unviable and culturally isolationist, and therefore cannot solve Inuit problems” (p. 4). Whether this is so only time will tell, but the article is full of commentary that has been agreed to by a number of Inuit students who have read and discussed the paper in classes. Clearly, there remains room for discussion about Nunavut but what is mentioned in the paper and which I believe true is the “widespread reluctance to criticize the creation of Nunavut, for the fear that this will be deemed hostile to Inuit aspirations” (p. 3). What is important is that this reluctance can be seen in areas, the NTEP program for example, where it might be hoped there would be a willingness to be critical and reflective. I shall return to this topic in chapter 7.

This description of the creation of Nunavut presents the major details of a complicated process. What follows is a description of what Nunavut actually is.

Inuit have had and continue to have, though today to far lesser degree, a special relationship to the land. In the next section I describe the geography, the population, the economics, the politics and the communities of the land encompassed by the Nunavut Agreement.

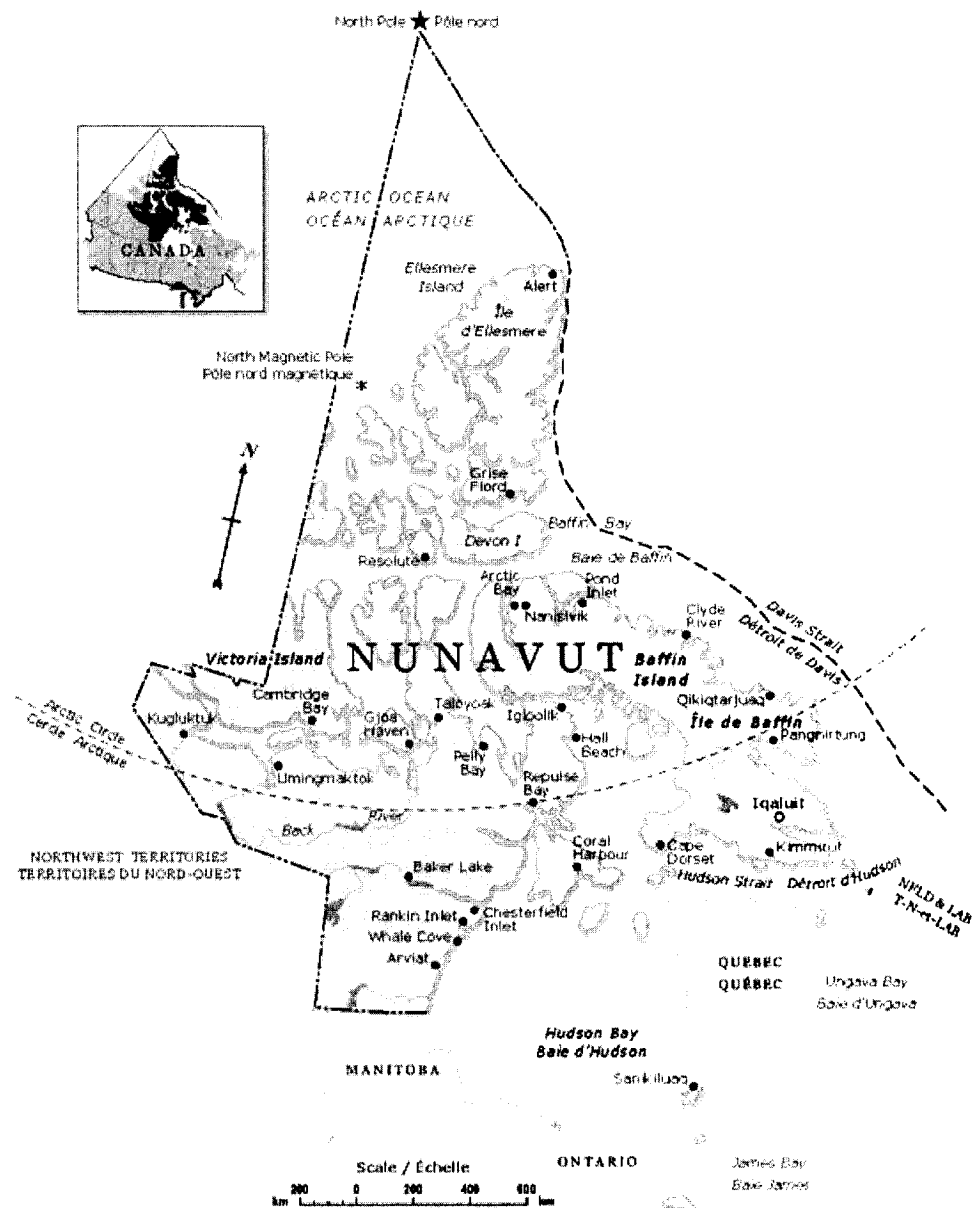


Figure 3: Nunavut's territorial boundaries

GEOGRAPHY

The boundaries of the territory were determined by historical traditional land use of the Inuit - decided after consultation with Inuit elders and negotiations with the Northwest Territories over conflicting areas of traditional Dene and Metis land use. The opposing claims of the Dene and the Metis and the Inuvialuit (the Mackenzie river Inuit) land claim caused the odd shape of the western boundary. Dene of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories used some areas of land now included in Nunavut (Hicks & White, 2000). Parts of the border, despite the agreement, are still being disputed today.

Modern borders are, to a greater or lesser degree, artificial and often controversial. This is no less so for the borders of Nunavut. Nunavut does not represent all the lands upon which Inuit of the past hunted and lived. It does not include Nunavik, northern Quebec or Labrador. Nor does it include the land of the Inuvialut designated under the Inuvialut Land Agreement (1985) in the northwestern part of the Northwest Territories. Further, the Inuit of what is now Nunavut, once ventured into northern Manitoba and into lands that are now part of the Northwest Territories.

The territory covers an area of 1, 994 000 square kilometres (136 000 square miles), approximately one fifth of the size of Canada. Starting from the North Pole, its eastern border follows the east coast of Ellesmere Island through the Davis Strait (dividing Nunavut/Canada from Greenland) and west through the Hudson Strait into Hudson Bay. The numerous islands of the Hudson Bay - the largest being the Belcher Islands where the southern most community of Nunavut, Sanikiluaq (56° 32N - 79° 14'

W) is located, also fall under the jurisdiction of Nunavut. This eastern border is the same as the pre-division Northwest Territories.

The southern border follows the 60th N parallel westwards across the top of Manitoba until it reaches the intersection of the borders of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories at 102° W longitude. It turns due northward until it reaches 64° 50' latitude, approximately the south shore of Thelon River. It then roughly follows the tree-line until it reaches the arctic ocean at Amunsden Gulf. From there, the border turns easterly until it reaches almost midway across Victoria Island where it once again turns North (102° longitude) crossing Melville Island and a number of smaller islands on its way back to the north Pole. These islands share jurisdiction with the Northwest Territories.

The mountainous areas of Nunavut are concentrated on Baffin and Ellesmere Islands. Ranging from the eastern coast of Baffin Island at Cape Dyer to Ellesmere Island, the highlands have numerous peaks reaching 1500 - 2000 metres. The highest peak, Mount Barbeau, rises 2616 metres, and is found at the north end of Ellesmere Island. Over 150 000 square kilometres of Nunavut are covered by glaciers and ice caps. The mainland, part of the Canadian Shield, as is Baffin Island, is generally flat tundra, rarely reaching altitudes of 300 metres above sea level.

CLIMATE

The climate of Nunavut has, like the land, been one of the governing factors of Inuit life and development. The weather is harsh for eight to nine months of the year, always staying below zero °C for that period. The permafrost thaws between only 15 -150

cm during the summer months. The average January temperature is -32°C , while the average July temperature is 5°C . Southern Baffin Island has mean winter and summer temperatures of -20°C and 10°C respectively, whereas northern Ellesmere Island's January mean is -37°C and July's is 2°C .

Of course, the territory being so large, individual temperature can vary considerably. For example, Kugluktuk, on the arctic coast, once recorded a summer temperature of 43°C and Pelly Bay, a winter temperature of -92°C . However, these are *not* typical temperatures. Generally only June, July and August will be free of snow. Sea ice will not typically break up until mid-July/August. Global warming is having an effect upon the climate of Nunavut and this is seen in changing sea ice conditions reported by Inuit in a number of communities.

Generally precipitation, like the temperature, varies - from 100mm to 600mm. However, little of the territory receives more than 300mm a year. While the land is usually covered in snow, it is a mistake to think that the snow is deep; it rarely is.

POPULATION

The population of Nunavut is distributed throughout twenty-eight communities spread over the territory (see Appendix F for a list of the communities). Of these, twenty five are incorporated - twenty-four hamlets and the newly incorporated city of Iqaluit, the capital. The remaining three communities consist of two large permanent 'camps' in the Kitikmeot region, Bathurst Inlet (pop. 18) and Umingmaktok (Pop. 51), and the now closed mining community of Nanisivik on Baffin Island. developed as part of the infrastructure of the mine, (pop. once 287, 84% non-Inuit). All the communities are

located next to the sea, with the exception of Baker Lake in the central Keewatin. A small number of Inuit live in outpost camps situated at a distance from the regular communities.

The population of Nunavut is very small but it is increasing at an alarming rate. A 2002 Nunavut Bureau of Statistics (NBS) news release shows a 71% increase in population in the 20 year span from 1981-2001. The Territories population growth between the 1996 and 2001 census was 8.1% (NBS, 2002). All but one community (and the two major camps – Bathurst Inlet & Umingmaktok) have increased in size, some considerably so, since the last census in 1996. Iqaluit, for example, witnessed an unprecedented population growth of 24.1% since the 1996 census. Population forecasts predict that, at the current rate of growth, Nunavut's population will increase to approximately 41 000 by the year 2025. This represents approximately a 47% increase in 25 years.

At present, there are officially 26 745 people living in the territory (NBS, 2002). Approximately, 85% (22 733) are Inuit. The population density is only 0.01 person per square kilometre (compared with Canada 3.1 & the US 29.1, Statistics Canada, 1999). The populations of the incorporated communities range from Iqaluit, 5236 (actual population estimated to be over 6 000 now) to Grise Fiord, Nunavut's most northerly community with 163 (NBS, 2002). Two communities have populations over 2 000, eight over 1000, a further eight over 500 and the remaining ten with less than 500. With the exception of Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay, two regional centres, where the concentration of non-Inuit is the highest, many of the other communities have an Inuit population of over 95% (Hicks & White, 2000).

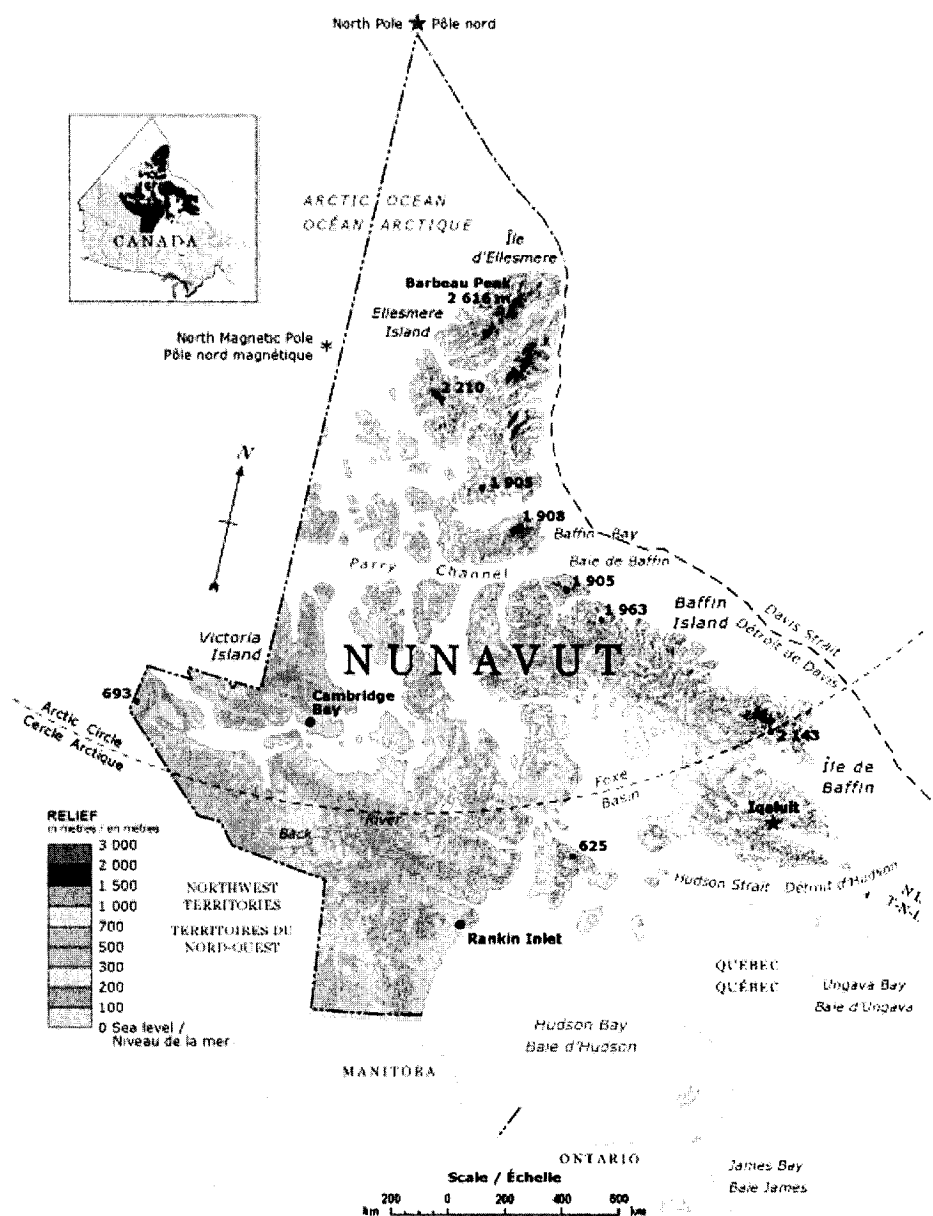


Figure 4: Relief map of Nunavut

The demographics of Nunavut are changing considerably and differ from the rest of Canada as a whole. While Canada's population is aging, Nunavut's population is young. For example, 38% of the population is under 14 (CF Canada, 20%), 56% are under 25 (CF Canada 38%). The upper age brackets show the reverse, whereas Canada has 12% of its population over the age of 62, Nunavut has only 3% (Department of Education, 2001).

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The following quotation from *Ihumaliurhimajaptingnik: On our own Terms –The state of Inuit Society* the Nunavut Social Development Council Report (2000) sums up the enormous social problems faced by the territory

Today, we Inuit face many problems. Our population is growing rapidly. We have high levels of unemployment. Too many of our young people have low levels of education. We have a high birthrate, the number of young people coming to school is taxing our education system. Our health system is inadequate. There is severe shortage of adequate housing across Nunavut, particularly for people with low income. Our economy is growing, but not growing sufficiently enough to provide employment for our young people. Alcoholism and suicide are endemic. (p. 71)

Concerns expressed in the above statement are mirrored in the article titles from the local newspapers. The local newspapers constantly remind the public of our weaknesses and deficiencies and the unenviable records the territories hold. Here is a random selection from *Nunatsiaq News* since 1991, "The Crisis in Nunavut Schools", 1/02/01, "Crimes skyrocket in Nunavut's capital last year". 26/01/01 "Low education

plagues promising job market,” 21/03/03, “Nunavut’s housing crisis by the numbers” 07/05/04, “Nunavut Crime Rate keeps soaring” 06/08/04.

Problems in social conditions, for example, mental illness, suicide, crime, housing etc., are all interrelated. As an example of just two of the interrelated problem areas here are the current statistics for housing and crime.

Housing

Current population increases put a huge strain on resources for the territories as a whole and the communities in particular. In the area of housing, Kaludjak, the NTI president, in a presentation to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs on April 19, 2004 presented the following statistics: Nunavut is in need of 3 000 housing units merely to satisfy the present demand; 250 new units required each year to keep up with new demand (presently, 160 units are being built over the next two years with a one-time-only Federal government grant); and the proportion of Inuit living in overcrowded conditions is 54%. To illustrate the impact upon severe overcrowding on health, Kaludjak stated that the rate of TB attributed to overcrowding is 25 times higher in Nunavut than the national average. (Bell, 2004).

Crime

Crime in Nunavut has risen dramatically since the creation of the territory. Recent statistics show that Nunavut has the highest rate of violent crime in the country - nine times the national rate. The high numbers of sexual assaults and family violence fuels this high rate. Charges for violent crimes have risen from 630 in 1999 to 1 047 in

2004; sexual assault from 92 in 1999 to 166 in 2004 (Bell, 2004). Since 1999 the total number of reported crime incidents has risen from 5 187 in that year to 10 724 in 2004.

A recent study by the Conference Board of Canada links overcrowding to violent crime, “Family violence and other forms of assault are serious problems in Nunavut....Over crowding no doubt adds to the problems” (Johnson, 2004, February 13).

It is obvious from the previous statistics that there are grave problems with the social conditions under which many Nunavutmiut live. These conditions touch the lives of all who live here.

THE COMMUNITIES

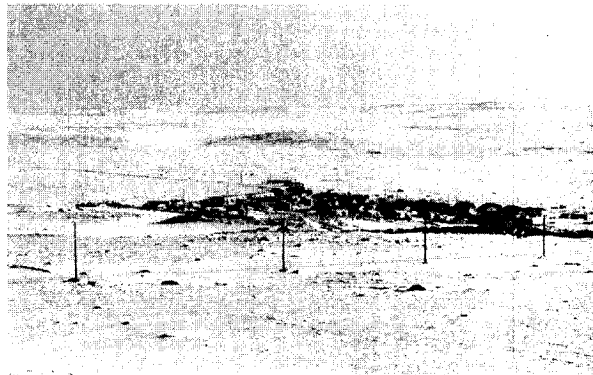


Photo 2: The community of Clyde River (population 785, 2001)

While most communities do not have close neighbours and are connected only by air and water and, if close enough, by skidoo in the winter, there are, if we ignore geographical differences, remarkable similarities among them. In building the communities, the immediate fragile tundra has been destroyed. Consequently during the summer months the land is generally a uniform, dirt brown. With the exception of Iqaluit, there are no paved roads. Water is delivered and sewage removed by truck

except in Iqaluit, Resolute Bay and Rankin where there is limited utilidor piping which provides water and sewage delivery and removal. Goods, oil, building materials are delivered to the communities by boat or barge during the ice-free months roughly from July to October. The far more expensive air-cargo is used for the rest of the year, primarily for food deliveries.

A limited number of house designs is found all over the territory. The designs range from the original 'matchbox' houses and 6, 12's - 612 square feet in area (now more difficult to find), to houses that would not be out of place in a southern town and in some cases an upper class neighbourhood in Toronto. However, the one-story social housing projects of various designs and HAP houses (an old government house ownership programme offering few models) are ubiquitous.



Photo 3: Water truck collecting its load from the local lake, Sanikiluaq

Home ownership has been encouraged with, at various times, \$15 000 government contributions towards ownership, and the sale of government housing to government tenants. The previously mentioned housing crisis is no more acute than in Iqaluit where presently there is a lack of social housing, a lack of government housing (housing designated for government employees), and little suitable land (ironically) to be built



Photo 4: A typical, newer, social housing unit.

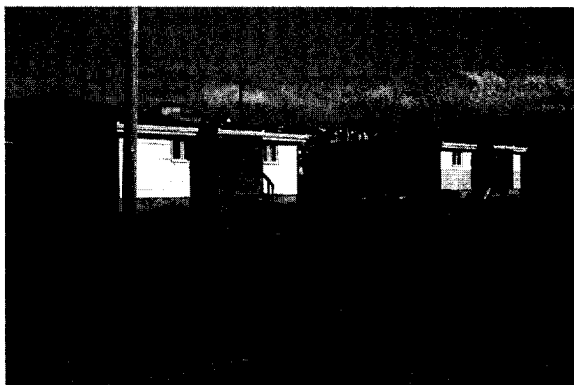


Photo 5: Social housing units, Iqaluit



Photo 6: Older social housing units, Pangnirtung

Photos 4-6 Examples of Social Housing Units

upon. Land lots, which can never be owned, are costing as much as \$75 000 plus the cost of materials and construction. House prices have increased dramatically in the last few years. An ordinary three-bedroom house can cost as much as \$350 000. Kaludjak estimates that the cost of a single unit of social housing, modest units not built with the best materials, are averaging \$250 000 (Bell, 2004).

Owner-designed houses, though relatively rare, are beginning to be found in the larger centres of Iqaluit, Cambridge Bay and Rankin Inlet.



Photo 7: A former HAP house



Photo 8: A modern private home

All of these buildings are on metal pilings to keep them off the permafrost. Every community has; a nursing station, a school (two in larger communities), a Nunavut Arctic College Learning Centre, a power station, a North Mart Store (formerly the Hudson's Bay Co.) and many have a rival Co-op store, a small airstrip, an hotel, a municipal office/town hall, a Hunters and Trappers Association, a port office usually inside the North Mart Store) and finally, the majority will have an RCMP station. With the advent of Nunavut, new buildings belonging to either Inuit organizations like NTI or the government are appearing in larger communities. Most communities will also have an indoor winter arena. Typically, there may be a 'snack bar' with video games, larger communities may have an independent restaurant or the hotel dining-room may act as one.

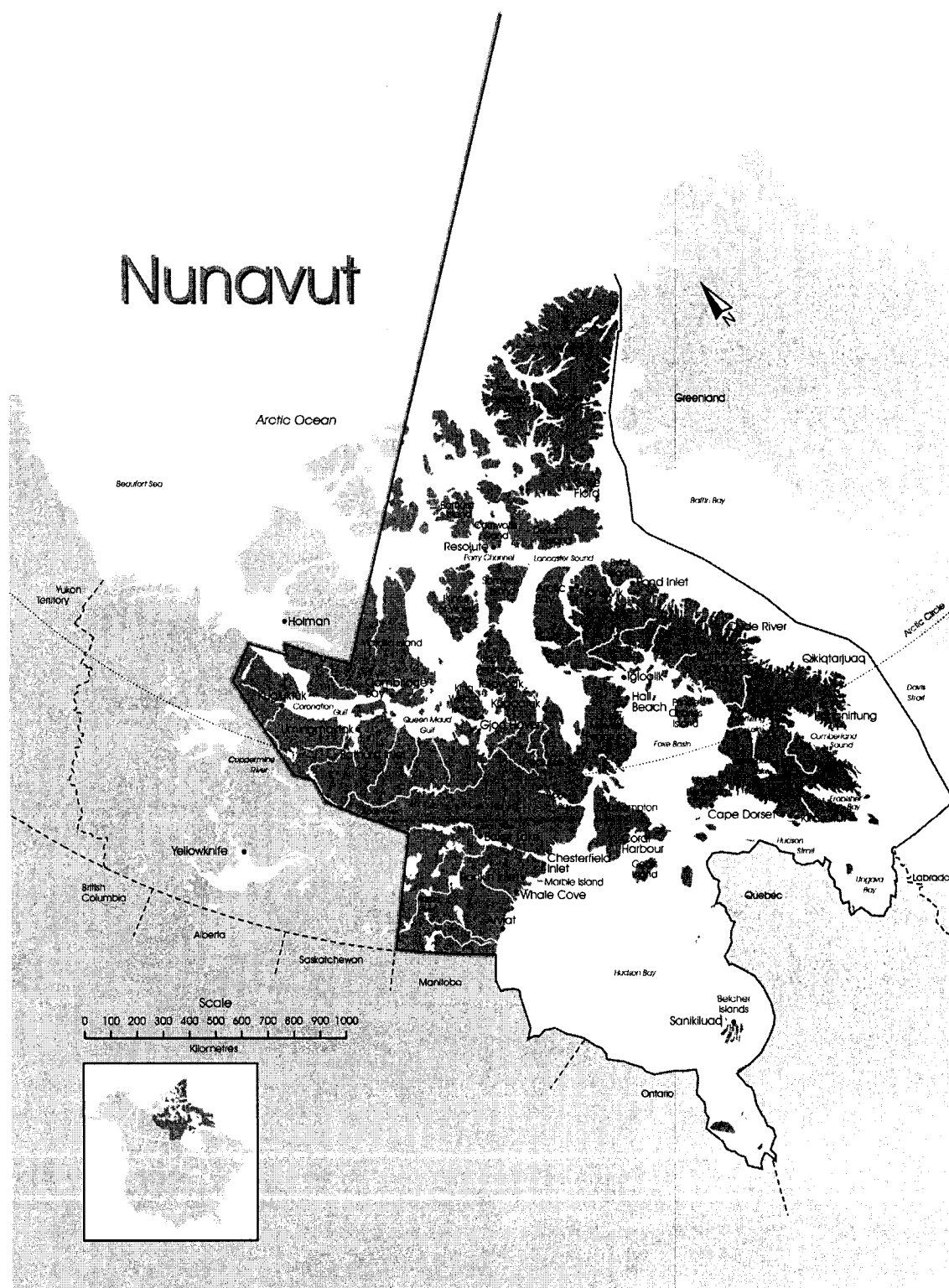


Figure 5: The communities of Nunavut

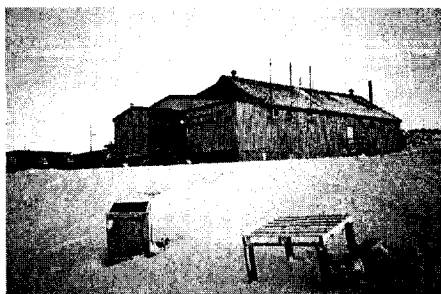


Photo 9: North Mart Store, Sanikiluaq



Photo 10: Anglican church, Taloyoak



Photo 11: Town Office, Taloyoak

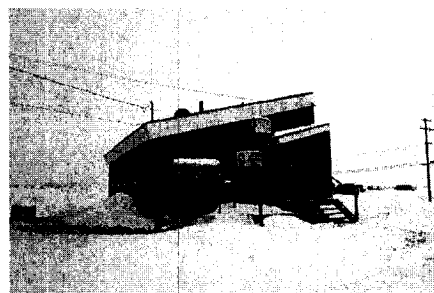


Photo 12: NAC Centre, Sanikiluaq



Photo 13: Nursing Station, Sanikiluaq



Photo 14: Hotel, Pangnirtung



Photo 15: RCMP, Sanikiluaq



Photo 16: Power House, Taloyoak

Photos 9-16: Some typical community buildings

Iqaluit (*the place of many fish*) is the capital and the setting of the research, and it really is quite different from all the other communities. Its present population of approximately 6 000 people make it three times larger than any other community. It has considerable amenities for a town of its size and location, far exceeding most other towns and cities of its size the south. For example, it now has two arenas, a cinema, swimming pool, two high-rises, several hotels and restaurants, squash and curling clubs, numerous small businesses and considerable new housing and office developments. The Legislative Assembly, the accompanying Federal buildings, and the main campus of Nunavut Arctic College are located here as well as the territory's hospital.



Photo 17: Downtown Iqaluit, the airstrip in the distance

Since becoming the capital Iqaluit has attracted Inuit from the other communities as well as many southerners ready to fill positions that Inuit cannot or will not occupy at the present time. The southerners are mainly young, like the population of Iqaluit itself, and they are here to work and save and, no doubt, some will stay far longer than they ever planned. They are ordinary, unlike Rasmussen's (2001) deliberately inflationary description of the southerners as "print-obsessed, currency driven asocial human atoms" who "flood the north proselytizing the superiority of their homeless, rootless civilization"

(p. 113). While some may see themselves as "rescuers" of the Inuit (Rasmussen, 2001), the far larger majority are here to work and have little real interest in world of the Inuit.

Iqaluit is the only community in Nunavut in which you can buy alcohol in the restaurants, hotels, Royal Canadian Legion (the busiest in Canada) and private clubs like the Racquet Club. However, like all the other communities, there is no liquor commission from which to buy alcohol for home consumption. In Iqaluit alcohol for home consumption has to be ordered from the south or Yellowknife. The remaining communities are either dry i.e. no alcohol is allowed at all (this is decided by the community itself) or one can order alcohol from a warehouse in Iqaluit with permission from the community liquor committee. The dry communities are often humourously and accurately labeled as being 'damp' by the RCMP as of course there is bootlegged alcohol or members of the community bring in alcohol quietly for home consumption.

Reflecting its size and population, there is far more entrepreneurship to be found here than in the small communities. The number of cars increases each year to the point that there can actually be a traffic jam at lunchtime, yet we do not have any sidewalks nor traffic lights. The cars themselves mirror the growing sophistication of the city, the disappearing old battered government pick-ups have been replaced by the most sophisticated trucks and a myriad of SUVs as well as motor scooters, four-wheelers and, of course, in winter, the skidoo. The *Northmart Store* is understandably the largest in the region and differs from the community stores both, *North Mart* and *Co-op*, in its size and variety of goods. The town also has another large store, Arctic Ventures, as well as three satellite *Quickstop* convenience stores owned by *Northmart*.



Photo 18: The North Mart Store, Iqaluit.

There has been considerable development in Iqaluit just prior to 1999. Areas of land that were once tundra are now sub-divisions of ill-matched houses encompassing the whole gamut of design (or non-design) without any regard, it seems, for landscaping. The cost of land lots have soared as has the price of housing. Land lots have risen from approximately \$26 000 to as much as \$70 000 per lot. To illustrate the rise in house prices a Hap house for example (*Photo 7*), built cheaply and quickly in the past is presently on sale for \$340 000.00 without any regard to construction, size or quality of materials.

The population of Iqaluit is made up from approximately 50% Inuit and 50% Qallunaaq from all over the world. While the largest percentage of Qallunaaq are English speaking, there is a vibrant French-Canadian community here as well as representatives from all over the world. While perhaps not New York, Paris or London, Iqaluit's young tend to sport their version of modern fashions from skull caps to baggy trousers, listen to the latest rap, and now are beginning to ride around in cars, windows open and music blaring going nowhere.

It wouldn't be unfair to say that most northern communities are generally ugly and poorly planned but their beauty lies in their location. The endless flat tundra of the

Keewatin region to the mountainous fiords of Baffin Island can do a lot to make up for man's follies.

All communities now have some form of cable television and all are able to receive CBC radio. Communities may use the service to broadcast local radio, which would include such things as phone-in programmes, bingo, and the relaying of messages to other community members. Internet services are part of almost every community now though the quality and cost of the service varies depending upon the location of the community. Iqaluit, for example, now boasts hi-speed personal internet services. Broadband is scheduled to be introduced into a number of communities in late 2004, early 2005.

THE GOVERNMENT

The government of Nunavut is not a form of self-government but a public government with all residents having equal representation. The rights and responsibilities of the residents, like all other Canadians, are defined in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The idea of negotiating for an 'Inuit' government for the new territory of Nunavut was abandoned by the Inuit negotiators early in the negotiating process. Practically, they knew it would not be acceptable to the federal negotiators and people of Canada. However, with the Inuit comprising 85% of the population, by definition, the government will reflect that reality. As previously stated, the design of the government was proposed in the Nunavut Implementation Committee (NIC) documents *Footprints in New Snow* and *Footprints 2*.

Differing from all other Canadian legislatures (except that of the NWT) the government of Nunavut is a 'consensus' government. Members do not represent political parties. A simple majority, through consensual agreement, makes decisions. The Nunavut Electoral Boundaries Commission recommended a legislature of between the 10 or 11 dual member or 20-22 single member electoral districts. In 1997, NIC, in order to ensure full participation of women, suggested each of the 10 or 11 suggested electoral districts elect one man and one woman to represent it. Each voter would in effect choose from the list of male and female candidates, one from each. This original notion caused much debate and much misunderstanding on behalf of the electorate and when put to a vote the idea of a gender parity legislative assembly was defeated 53% to 47%.

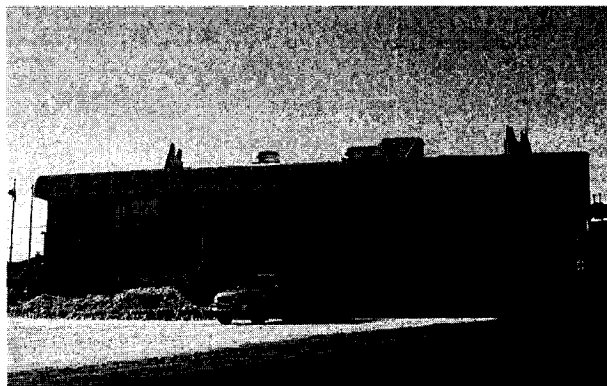


Photo 19: The Nunavut Legislative building, Iqaluit.

The final decision was for 19 single seat electoral districts. Iqaluit would have three of these seats, the remainder distributed throughout the rest of the territory. The nineteen members elect the premier and vote for members of Cabinet by secret ballot. The Premier assigns the ministers their portfolios. Those not in the cabinet act as the opposition.

The Nunavut Government is also different from other provincial and territorial governments in that the workings of the government are linked to the Land Claim Agreement in a number of areas. An important example of this would be the requirement in the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (Article 23) for the government to eventually employ Inuit in the proportion that they are found in the society (85%). The government of Nunavut participates with the Federal Government in a number of negotiated areas that are, for the other territories, the responsibility of the Federal Government. These are the co-management boards mentioned earlier when discussing the major provisions of the Land Claim Agreement: the Wildlife Management Board, Nunavut Planning Commission, the Nunavut Water Board and the Nunavut Surface Rights Tribunal.

Among the many goals of the government that Helen Maksagak, the first commissioner of the territory, enunciated in the first throne speech, is the intent to have a government that is 'closer to the people'.

Other changes that our government is committed to making include bringing government closer to the people. We are committed to decentralization of government operations. We are committed to creating a government that is easily accessed and is approachable. We are committed to providing a government that people and communities can identify with. (Extract from the Throne Speech, May 12, 1999)

The government is guided by *The Bathurst Mandate - Pinasuaqtavut: that which we have set out to do*. This document outlines four areas of priorities for Nunavut to the year 2020:

- i) Healthy communities.
- ii) Simplicity and Unity,
- iii) Self-reliance *and*
- iv) Continuing learning.

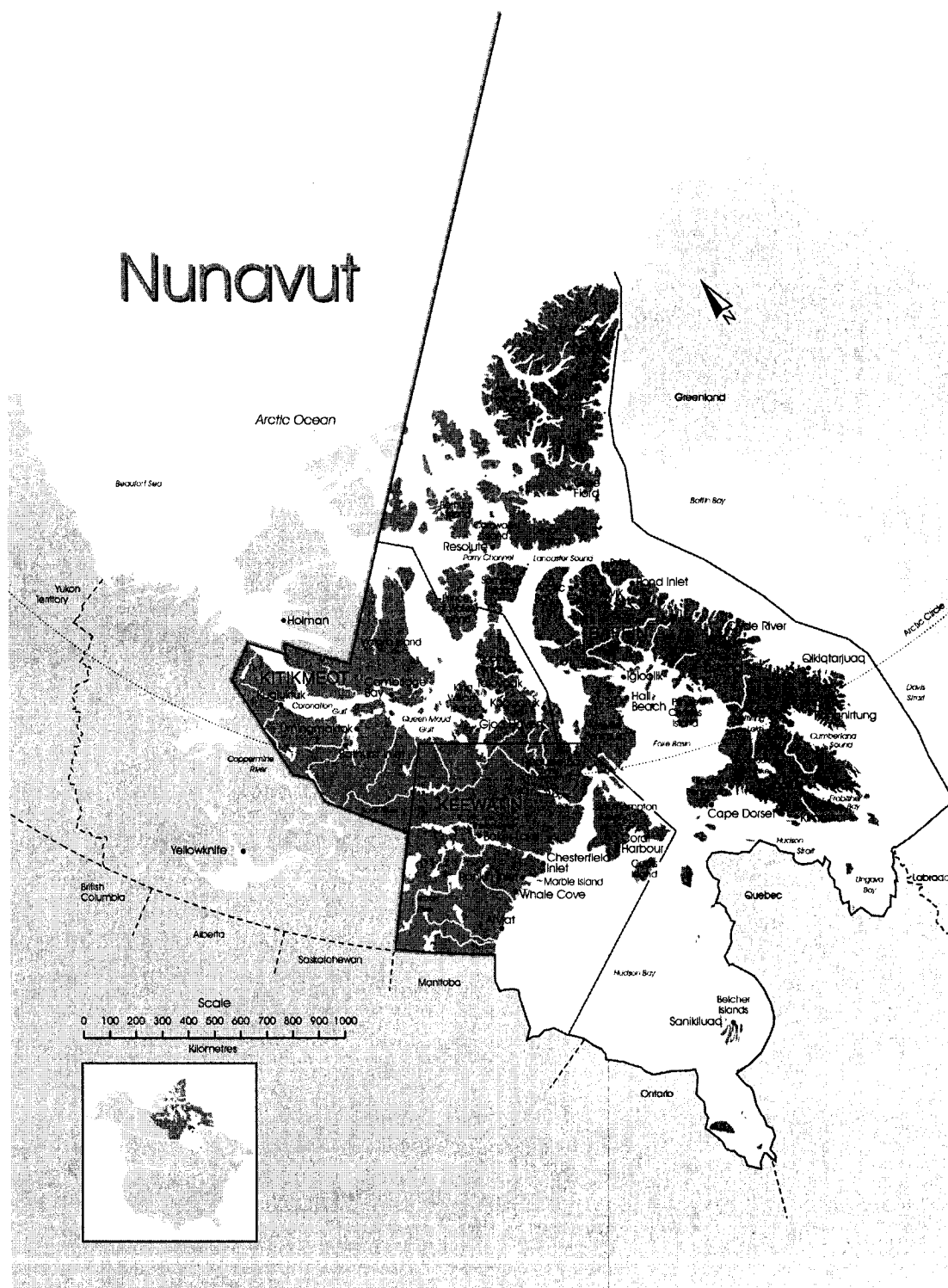


Figure 6: The three regions of Nunavut. NB: the map does not reflect their new names i.e. Keewatin is now the Kivalliq and Baffin, Qikiqtaaluk. The Kitikmeot retains its old name.

Each priority has its own guiding principle for a vision of Nunavut in 2020 and a list of objectives for the next five years. Jim Bell, the editor of *Nunatsiaq News*, points out that the Mandate is “a rosy vision of what Nunavut will look like in 2020....in its list of objectives for the next five years, the Nunavut government has little to say about how this will be achieved” (Bell, 2000). However, it is a plan for the government and will guide the Legislative Assembly for the foreseeable future.

Administratively, the territory is divided into three regions, the Kitikmeot (the arctic coast, southern islands of the Arctic archipelago and the western part of the central arctic), the Kivalliq (formerly the Keewatin), the Hudson Bay coast and the eastern part of the central arctic and the Qikiqtaaluk region, (formerly the Baffin), Baffin Island, the northern Islands of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago, and the Belcher Islands in Hudson Bay.

While the Legislative Assembly sits in the capital and core functions of government are located there, the government is committed to a policy of decentralization, that is, a number of departments, boards etc. have to be, in accordance with the *Footprints* document, located in other communities. In order to be closer to the people, the government has elected to travel and hold sessions in other communities at various times. It also holds various shorter cabinet 'retreats' in the communities. The formulation of the Bathurst Mandate is a result of these 'retreats' as it developed through cabinet and caucus meetings in Kimmirut, Iqaluit, Baker Lake and Bathurst Inlet (population, 18). The plans call for 700 headquarter positions to be divided among Iqaluit and 10 other communities. Clearly, the intent is to grant greater decision-making authority to Nunavut's three regions and to bring much needed employment and economic benefit to the smaller communities

of these regions. Igloolik (Qikiqtaaluk Region), Cambridge Bay (Kitikmeot Region) and Rankin Inlet (Kivalliq Region) have been designated as the three regional centres. Deputy ministers and senior managers of Departments remain in the capital while some of their divisions are or will be located in other communities. For example, while the Department of Education is located in Iqaluit, a large division of the department dealing with curriculum is located in the Kivalliq community of Arviat. The process of fulfilling the entire decentralizing plan is expected to take a number of years.

While the intent of decentralization is understandable, it is not without its difficulties and detractors. Logistically, providing housing in communities for new staff has proven difficult. For example, many employees are reluctant to move, out of twenty-four employees scheduled to transfer from Iqaluit to other communities in 2000 only two did so. Eleven of these employees left their government jobs rather than relocate (Ridout, 2001). The President of Nunavut Arctic College resigned from his job citing the relocation of the College headquarters to Arviat as the reason (the president was based in Rankin Inlet). Other Nunavut Arctic College headquarters staff are based in Iqaluit. However, none of the present staff are willing to move to Arviat either. The Premier, Paul Okalik, believes decentralization is working even when government employees refuse to relocate. This, he says, provides job opportunities for locals (Ridout, 2001). However, it is debatable whether experienced and skilled employees are automatically available in the small communities to fill required positions. Decentralization remains a goal of the government but it is proving to be more difficult and more expensive than envisaged.

FINANCING

Nunavut is dependent upon Federal transfer payments in order to provide programs and essential services. Over 90% of funding for operational and public service costs of the Nunavut Government comes from Federal sources (CF NWT 81% & Newfoundland 45%), the remaining 10% or so comes from taxation and the sale of goods and services. Nunavut's first budget totaled \$620 million, \$580 million of which was to cover programmes and services. The remaining \$40 million was for the government to spend as it saw fit. The fiscal plan for the 2004-2005 revealed in the *Budget Address 2004* shows a projected expenditure of \$850.7 million and revenue of \$876.5 million. The Federal contribution, in line with the funding formula, is \$735 million, 84% of all revenues. The territory itself is estimated to generate \$74.1 million of its own revenue, a small amount of this coming from income tax, the remainder from consumption and payroll taxes as well other own-source revenues such as fees and levies.

Reflecting the cost of and difficulties experienced in Nunavut, the two largest areas of government expenditure are found in the Department of Education, \$190.4 million, and the department of Health and Social Services, \$210.9 million.

THE ECONOMY

The degree to which Nunavut relies on Federal transfer payments and its limited ability to generate its own revenue indicate the delicate state of its economy. The government and people of Nunavut are faced with a number of serious problems regarding the territory's economy. For example, the very high birth rate, the lower than

desired educational experiences of much of the population, the endemic social problems experienced by many, resulting in high rates of suicide, prevent full participation in both the society and the economy. The Sivummut Economic Development Strategy Group, a coalition of government and private sector groups, list the challenges facing the as being:

- Rapid population growth and limited employment prospects
- Declining rates of growth of government spending
- A struggling Inuit and small business sector
- Maintaining a healthy relationship to the land (the danger that mining, fishing activities will be in “direct opposition to Inuit traditionawisdom about the land” (2003 p. VII)

The principal areas for economic development outlined in the report are:

Harvesting: hunting for household consumption as well as the commercial sale of meat and skins.; The Arts: Carving, print making; The Public sector: this is presently Nunavut’s most important economic sector; Small and Inuit Businesses; Tourism; Commercial fisheries and fish processing; mining and oil and gas exploitation.

An indication of any economy's troubles lies in the unemployment statistics. The Nunavut Bureau of Statistics measures unemployment in three ways. The first is by the normal Canada-wide criteria (available for work in the previous week and looking for work in the previous four weeks). This method is deemed not to give a true picture of the situation for Nunavut's small isolated communities. The Bureau then includes a statistic arising from the fact people do not go looking for jobs if they know there are none. In many small communities, people tend to know if there are jobs or not. The third, and perhaps most telling statistic, is that which arises from responses to asking people if they

want a job. Unemployment varies considerably across the territory. While high unemployment is a fact of all communities, Iqaluit and the regional centres, Cambridge Bay and Rankin Inlet offer far more opportunities for employment than the smaller more isolated settlements (hence – decentralization) as the Table 1 shows.

Table 1(a) Unemployment Rates: Nunavut 1999

<u>Community:</u>	<u>National Criteria</u>	<u>No jobs' Criteria</u>	<u>'Want a job' Criteria</u>
Iqaluit*	10.4%	17.4%	21.3%
Igloolik	41%	44.4%	52%
Cambridge Bay*	13.9%	15.5%	22.6%
Gjoa Haven	39%	42.9%	48.8%
Rankin Inlet*	13.7%	15.3%	21.6%
Arviat	35.3%	36%	53.3%

* Capital or regional centre
(Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 1999)

Table 1(b). Unemployment Rates - by Ethnicity

<u>Community:</u>	<u>National Criteria</u>	<u>'No jobs' Criteria'</u>	<u>Want a job' Criteria</u>
Non-Inuit	2.7%	3.3%	4.5%
Inuit	28%	35.8%	45.4%

(Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 1999)

The discrepancies shown in Table 1b Employment rates by ethnicity, can be explained by a number of factors; i) non-Inuit generally come to Nunavut with employment already secured; ii) the majority of non-Inuit live in the main centres which have more opportunities for employment; iii) non-Inuit generally have a higher standard of education and more work experience; vi) non-Inuit generally suffer from less social problems that interfere with work; vii) non-Inuit have had far more exposure to and experience of a wage economy; vii) non-Inuit are more likely to move south when unemployed.

The school enrollment for the academic year 2004-2005, is expected to be just over 8600 (Dept. of Education, 2004). There is presently an estimated a 1.5% increase in enrollments every year until 2007 when a small decrease is expected to occur. Within 10 years, all of these students will have left the school system (to be replaced, of course, by the next generation) and will need to work. No amount of job creation will be able to accommodate all these young people. Thus, Nunavut would appear to be destined to always, despite growing educational levels, have high unemployment rates and the social problems that traditionally accompany this.

Fifty or so years ago, most of the Inuit depended upon the land, which provided their food, clothing, fuel and shelter; they lived in a subsistence economy. Now in 2004, there has been considerable yet limited development of a modern wage economy in which many Inuit take part but by which all have been influenced. Perhaps, the best way to describe the modern economy would be that it is a 'hybrid' one. Hicks and White (2000) describe it as such:

Today most Inuit families continue to engage in considerable harvesting of the naturally occurring resources of the land and sea, in addition to wage income and receiving transfer payments from the state. Extended families pool and share food, cash and labour as required. Market and non-market activities are mutually supportive and operate simultaneously, with the household being the primary unit of production, distribution and consumption. (p. 37)

To illustrate the continued importance of subsistence harvesting the GNWT's Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development gave the replacement value of harvested meat (what it would cost to purchase in the store) as being between \$30 - \$50 million a year (Depuis, 1999). There has been some commercial development

in harvesting and processing in fish, caribou and musk oxen, however these developments are inherently limited in growth potential. Government, both municipal and territorial have a major influence upon the economy of the territory [NTI lost an appeal to the Supreme Court for an increase in the turbot fisheries (Ridout, 2001)] being responsible for more than half of the employment positions available. Small independent businesses, retail outlets and construction companies have also been established to support the needs of the government and the increasing population.

Corporations owned collectively by Inuit through the land claim organizations, the 'birth-right corporations', constitute the largest Inuit-owned companies and consequently are important employers of Nunavut residents. For example, Nunasi Corporation, created in 1976 by ITC, has a 100% ownership in four large companies and is involved in 'joint ventures' with at least 21 other Inuit-owned companies. These include companies such as, Canadian North Airlines, Nunavut Petroleum, Baffin Optical and the Northern Transportation Co.

The mission statement for Nunasi is as follows:

Nunasi Corporation is a special corporate body established for the benefit of its Inuit shareholders. Nunasi's uniqueness is based on its willingness to temper with the bottom-line considerations with concern for shareholders environmental, cultural and social well-being.
(Nunasi, 2001)

This rather benign mission statement is itself tempered somewhat by the mandate of the company which is to "...maximize profits for our shareholders and while doing so, create value added benefits such as training, employment and other economic opportunities for Inuit of Nunavut." As Mitchell (1996) points out, these corporations,

although important employers of Inuit, control resource allocations and wealth and have the political power that comes with economic control, and which has allowed the growth of a small group of Inuit who have become powerful and wealthy. Ironically, while the mission statement implies care for Inuit culture these companies have, as Hicks and White (2000) write, "fostered economic divisions in Inuit society that are strongly linked to political power" (p. 43).

Each region of Nunavut has an Economic Development Corporation, owned by the regional Inuit political organization. Kenn Harper, an Iqaluit businessman, points out that many non-Inuit and Inuit-owned private businesses "complain of the dominance of birthright corporations in the competition of northern business"(Harper, 1999). A number of small businesses are classified as being 'Inuit-owned', yet in reality they are owned by non-Inuit. Because of benefits given to Inuit-owned businesses (especially in tendering contracts) non-Inuit firms take on an Inuit partner(s) to qualify for Inuit status. Yet, frequently, the actual skills rest with non-Inuit. The area of Nunavut has long been associated with mining, beginning with the Frobisher's 'gold' mines in 1576. Until recently three major mines operated in Nunavut. Polaris Mine (lead, zinc, silver) on Little Cornwallis Island, produced ore for approximately 16 years. It was a fly in/fly out operation and employed 219 people; 85% were non-resident southerners. Nanisivik (lead and zinc), on northern Baffin Island, began in production in 1974 and managed to employ 20-25% Inuit in its workforce. Nanisivik differed from Polaris in that it built a community for its workers. Finally, there was the Lupin gold mine in the Kitikmeot. All of these mines closed, or have closed for periods of time in the recent past. Due to dropping world prices for zinc, Nanisivik mine closed in the fall of 2001. The loss of 175

jobs caused the closing of the Nanisivik community - and the dismantling of the townsite. This will in turn affect the nearby community of Arctic Bay with regards to air services and local employment. Thirty positions will be lost.

There is much mining exploration going on in Nunavut and hope for new diamond, gold, uranium and base metal mines to be developed in the future. There are oil and gas reserves in the Arctic Ocean but these are expensive and difficult to extract and transport and pose enormous environmental problems. As a whole the mining industry, while very important economically, does little for Nunavut residents at the moment as far as employment is concerned. Of the 500 or so jobs provided by the industry, 85% at the moment are taken by non-residents. Provisions in the Land claims Agreement will, it is hoped, change this situation for future mining operations. All the mining operations are, and will be in the foreseeable future, owned and operated by southern companies.

Inuit arts and crafts are known worldwide and their contribution to the economy is estimated to be around \$20 million per year. Over 2500 people are said to earn all or part of their livelihood from the arts and crafts. However, as Harper (1999, p. 95) points out, "The myth that all Inuit are natural artists has also been dispelled." Many warehouses are full of unsold Inuit art and craft. There has, until now, been little effort expended upon quality control and the understanding of the economic cost of producing work. Much work sold is part of an underground economy as sellers of jewelry, carvings, prints, and wall hangings attempt to sell their work in the restaurants and bars of the main centres principally, Iqaluit.

There is no doubt that tourism is seen as a growth industry for Nunavut. And it should be. The territory is blessed with a silent and desolate natural beauty complete with the possibility of seeing (in some cases) exotic wildlife. At the moment, of course, since the creation of the Nunavut, the territory has also been very much in the news all over the world. However, despite the \$30-\$50 million dollars that tourism contributes to the economy it is, in the final analysis, considerably underdeveloped. The silent and desolate beauty comes at a high cost. Air transportation is very expensive, the three-hour Montreal - Iqaluit flight costs approximately \$1500 - travel to communities beyond Iqaluit are prohibitively expensive for the typical tourist. Hotels too are costly and, in many cases, far below the quality expected for the expenditure. Basically, the expense and the underdeveloped infrastructure inhibit the development of this industry.

While much of what has been written does not appear to be too optimistic about Nunavut's economic future I wish to end with an encouraging quotation from Harper (1999, p. 97):

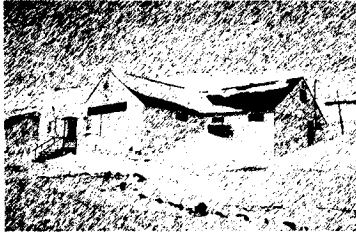
With the dawn of Nunavut, most of its citizens remain oblivious to the extent of their dependence on the continued largesse of the federal taxpayer. But the situation is improving. With the leadership of the Inuit political organizations and governments, and the partnerships being fostered between Inuit and non-Inuit business, growth is being encouraged in every sector of the northern economy, be it mining, transportation, renewable resource development, or tourism. Determined Nunavut leaders will have to be, like camp 'bosses' of centuries past, strong-willed individuals, willing to draw on traditional Inuit values and skills, as well as the talents and energies of relative newcomers, to create a thriving Nunavut.

The intent of this chapter is to provide some background information regarding modern world of the Inuit. Unfortunately, a large part of population of Nunavut is, in

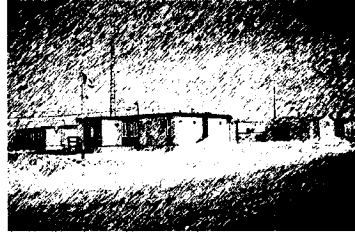
— general, as Harper (1999) suggests, unaware and ignorant of the political and economic reality that surrounds and influences us. Until, we as a population become more knowledgeable about the forces that shape our lives, until we can act upon them, we will be remain at the mercy and advice of others.

The following chapter outlines the colonial history of the Canadian Arctic.

Chapter 4: COLONIALISM



Hudsons' Bay Co.



RCMP



The Church

So it was the white man who called the tune,
and the Eskimo who danced to the music.
(Jenness, 1964, p. 100)

COLONIALISM IN THE ARCTIC

Paine (1977) describes in *The White Arctic* how Canadian northern policy was created in colonial circumstances and that to understand life in the new arctic settlements it is necessary to see how this “colonial encounter” (p. 3) dominated a disproportionate amount of the life experiences of the Inuit. This chapter outlines some of the experiences of this colonial past, particularly the effects colonialism has had upon the lives and identity of the Inuit of Nunavut through the development of the formal education system.

The official, if not the actual, end of Canada’s colonial history could be considered to be the year 1867 with the establishment of nationhood. However, for Canada’s native populations, the political reality remained one of colonialism, specifically, internal colonialism. Research in aboriginal education and the problems faced by aboriginal students has often suggested that the responsibility for educational failure rests within the aboriginal people and their culture rather than with the educational

and social systems in which they are located (Perley, 1993; Oliver, 1996). Perley argues that by using the concepts of colonialism, and specifically internal colonialism, educational issues may be viewed from a far broader viewpoint than merely that of school failure.

The heterogeneous nature of colonialism makes it difficult to define or theorize (Barrera, 1979; Loomba, 1998). The concept of internal colonialism is no less difficult to pin down. Interpretations of the concept have been used to analyze a variety of relationships including that of the government of South Africa and its indigenous English (Hechter, 1975), the situation of Quebec, the status of women, white Appalachians and native Americans (Perley, 1993; Van den Berghe, 1978). However, Van den Berghe and Kelly & Altbach (1978) consider the term to have been used in situations that do not warrant it, for example, the plight of blacks, women and Appalachian whites from the list above. This over use, Van den Berghe (1978) argues, has rendered it practically meaningless, causing the term to lose analytical strength. It is, for Van den Berghe, a matter of fit, and as a tool for the analysis of education of aboriginal people the concept of internal colonialism is useful and appropriate.

In the opening section of this chapter I present generally accepted definitions and major characteristics of both colonialism and internal colonialism.

Traditional Colonialism

While colonialism has been an enduring characteristic of human history, the nature and effects of post 16th century capitalist Europe's colonial expansion reorganized the world in ways far more profound than earlier colonial conquests. Loomba (1998) defines colonialism as "...conquest and control of other people's land and resources" (p.2),

and as the “forcible takeover of land and economy, and in the case of European colonialism, a restructuring of non-capitalist economies in order to fuel European capitalism” (p. 20).

Loomba (1998) points out that the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of colonialism fails to include any reference to people other than the colonizers/settlers. This definition, she notes, avoids reference to notions of conquest and domination, to the un-forming and reforming of communities extant at the time of the new settlers and to the many practices now clearly associated with colonization. Yet, it is of course, conquest, domination, the un-forming and reforming of peoples and all the behaviours and results associated with these phenomena that form the crux of the meaning and experience of colonization.

Blauner (1972) defines colonization as such:

Colonization traditionally refers to the establishment of domination over a geographically external political unit, most often inhabited by people of a different race and culture, where this domination is political and economic and the colony exists subordinated to and dependent upon the mother country. Typically, the colonizers exploit the land, the raw materials, the labor, and other resources of the colonized nation; a formal recognition is given to the differences in power, autonomy, and the political status, and various agencies are set up to maintain this subordination. (p. 83)

Perley (1993) describes colonialism as the establishment of economic and political domination over a geographically external nation inhabited by a people of a different race and culture. The inhabitants become subordinated to and then dependent upon the colonizer who exploits the resources of the land and the inhabitants themselves. The colonized eventually recognize the difference in power, autonomy and political status and the colonizing nation creates systems by which domination can be maintained.

These systems are what Kellough (1980) refers to as the structural components of colonization (the first level of power), the determination of the institutions that will oversee the colonized. In order for these structural elements to continue to be controlled by the colonizers a form of normative control needs to emerge. For this to happen the power of the colonizers needs to be accepted and submitted to, transforming “mere power to authority”(p. 344). This transforming of power into authority is for Kellough (1980) the second aspect of control, the cultural and psychological aspects of colonization, through which the colonizers define the reality of the colonized. As Memmi (1965) comments, a key aspect of colonialism is the acceptance by the colonized of the colonizer’s view of him, “it is not enough for the colonized to be a slave, he must accept his role” (p. 89), or as Carnoy (1974) argues, because the colonized have to function within the imposed institutions of the colonizer he, the colonized, “begins to accept the colonizer’s conception of him” (p. 62). That the Inuit accepted, at least on the surface, the power and authority of the southern administrators is acknowledged in numerous accounts of Inuit/Southern relations. It is clearly seen in the documentary *Between two Worlds* (Greenwald, 1990) in which the subject of the documentary, Idlout, accepts a medal awarded for his help to the RCMP and ostensibly to Canada from a “well-dressed” official under a fluttering Union Jack.

Blauner (1972), Balandier (1951) and Perley (1993) depict the classical colonial situation experienced by African, Asian and Latin American countries as having the following main characteristics or conditions all of which have been experienced by the native peoples of Canada:

1. the forced, involuntary domination of a more numerous indigenous population by a foreign, racially, ethnically and culturally different group.
2. the use of the power and policies of the industrialized, Christian colonizing society to stifle, destroy, or transform (un-form and reform) the native cultures, values and orientations – in short change their way of life beyond that possible by mere contact and acculturation.
3. the development of government bureaucracies administered by representatives of the dominant group to define, govern, manage and manipulate the colonized people, resulting in a basically antagonistic relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.
4. the justification of the domination and exploitation of the colonized group based not only on force but upon a legitimizing ideology of racial, cultural, technological and material superiority which defines the colonized as inferior and justifies the colonizers position.

According to Loomba (1998), by the 1930s countries covering roughly 85% of the world's land surface had been or still were under some form of colonial rule.

Balandier (1951) in *The Colonial Situation* notes that colonization was responsible for the subjugation, and in a number of cases the disappearance, of “every people regarded as backward, archaic, or primitive” (p. 34). Colonial history encompasses huge geographical and temporal space and so contains a diverse collection of experiences for both the colonized and the colonizer. There were considerable differences in the nature of colonies and how they were governed. Thus, the common characteristics of colonialism outlined above will have been experienced differently by those affected. This is an important point to bear in mind when examining the effects of colonialism and internal colonialism upon on the First Nations and Inuit of Canada. The colonial experiences of Inuit, while sharing some characteristics common to those of First

Nations' peoples, should not be taken to be comparable in all aspects. For example, whereas land appropriation was a major goal of the colonizers in their relations to First Nations peoples, Paine (1977) points out that for the traders in the north land appropriation was not their *raison d'être*, in fact they wished that Inuit continued to a certain degree their nomadic settlement patterns.

Internal Colonialism

The roots of internal colonialism come from the theoretical framework of traditional colonialism. The central feature that distinguishes internal colonialism from that of traditional colonialism is that the context is different. Internal colonization involves "the subordination and continuing domination of a previously independent nation within the borders of another nation-state" (Kelly and Altbach, 1984, cited in Welch, 1988, p. 207). Barrera defines internal colonization as "a form of colonialism in which the dominant and subordinate populations are intermingled, so that there is no geographically distinct 'metropolis' separate from the 'colony' "(p. 194). Van den Berghe (1978) writes that internal colonialism is a form of government that exhibits all the characteristics of traditional colonialism but is confined within a contiguous land mass. He describes four characteristics of an ideal type of internal colonialism. These are:

1. the rule of one ethnic group (or groups) over other such groups within the boundaries of a single state.
2. the separation of the subordinate ethnic groups into homelands or reserves with different land-tenure rights from those applicable to the dominant group.

3. an internal government within a government created specifically to rule the subordinate (subject) groups.
4. relations of economic inequality in which the subordinate peoples are selected for “positions of dependency and inferiority in the division of labor and the relations of production” (van den Berghe, p. 271).

A distinction between classical and internal colonialism made by Kelly & Altbach (1978) is that in a classical colonial situation the integration of the colonized into the colonizer’s culture was not a major objective, in fact, Memmi (1965) writes that for the classically colonized person assimilation was refused. Whereas in an internal colonial situation the incorporation of the colonized by assimilation was a major goal. The education system established for native peoples of Canada, both first Nations and Inuit clearly was intended, at least at the beginning, to be a tool in the assimilation of the people into the Canadian mainstream. Kafkwi & Overvold (1977) commenting upon the plight of the Dene in the Northwest Territories say this, “ The purpose of government education in the North since its beginning has been to assimilate the Dene into the southern way of life (p. 142). The intent was the same regarding the Inuit. And the education system has been a tool that has had profound effects upon the people who have experienced its power.

Perley (1993) describes five factors that distinguish the concept of internal colonialism, when used in the context of aboriginal peoples:

1. aboriginal peoples are displaced by European encroachment.
2. aboriginal peoples are isolated and contained within a reserve system.
3. there is an attempt to forcibly assimilate Aboriginal societies.
4. reserves are dominated politically and economically by the colonizers.

5. a racist ideology is developed that views aboriginal people as childlike, backward, uncivilized and savage.

It is clear, that the characteristics outlined by Perley once applied (and still do in a number of instances) to the political realities of native peoples of Canada. The characteristics of colonialism and those of its more specific form, internal colonialism, enumerated here are ideal types. In keeping with the diverse experiences of colonialism not all of these characteristics apply in all situations. That there are differences between the colonial experiences of Canada's native peoples can be illustrated using the above characteristics. For example, unlike many First Nations groups of Canada, Inuit have not been displaced from their homelands (though there have been relocations, Tester & Kulchyski, 1994), nor have their homelands been changed in any major way by agricultural or industrial development by European encroachment. In fact, outside of community limits, the sea and tundra is, as it always was, freely and openly available to the Inuit. Nor have Inuit been isolated and contained on reservations and isolated like native Indians (Switlo, 2002). Though, it is possible to interpret the encouragement of Inuit to settle in communities as a form of isolation and the communities themselves a form of reservation.

However, the result of the internal colonial situation was that the Indigenous groups of Canada, the First Nations and Inuit, were controlled economically and politically and dominated in all possible ways by the colonizing group. Paine (1977), describes the form of colonialism that Inuit experienced as being *welfare colonialism*, a form of colonialism whose very nature makes it difficult to demonstrate objectively. He describes it as being based upon two illegitimate stances, the illegitimate privilege of the

colonizers and the illegitimate devaluation of the colonized. This “non-demonstrative” colonialism (p. 3) is typified by the ambiguous behaviour of whites toward Inuit, for example, it can be “...characterized as solicitous rather than exploitive, as liberal rather than repressive. Both descriptions hold true” (p. 3). It is also, according to Paine, a situation in which southern administrations desire to increase Inuit control yet nonetheless remain colonial. The extent to which this remains true today, five years after the creation of Nunavut, is a matter of speculation.

The definitions and characteristics described have applied, in varying ways and degrees, to the political and economic reality of native peoples in Canada. Native people have lived, and in some respects still live, in colonial situations, more specifically, those of internal colonialism. In the next section of the chapter, I examine how the colonizers have validated characteristics of traditional and internal colonialism and the behaviours associated with them.

Legitimizing Ideologies

As with any colonial power, this imperialistic exploitation of the Native population was based on a set of moral assumptions, beliefs, and racial myths which together provided the rationale to support the exploitation. The most dominant racial myths characteristic of the colonial period of North American history were associated with fundamentalist Christianity and “social Darwinism”, followed more recently with the notion of equality. (Chance, 1972, p. 4)

In order to justify their exploitation colonizers need to construct a set of pseudo-justifications for their actions and a stereotypical image of those they are colonizing (Kellough, 1980). What were the underlying ideas held by many colonizers that justified their domination and exploitation of those colonized in the ways enumerated above?

Welch (1988) posits four ideologies, clearly interrelated, that legitimize colonists' attitudes towards the exploitation of the colonized in the 19th century. Vestiges of these ideologies still lingered (and may still linger) within the minds of a number of members of religious organizations, government administrations and the general non-indigenous population long after the 19th century.

The first legitimizing ideology is based upon John Locke's notion that title to land was to be based upon agricultural use or improvement of it. Consequently, indigenous populations who did not work or improve the land in the way imagined by Locke, because their technological inferiority disabled them from developing and exploiting its resources, established no title to it. In the case of the Inuit, and a number of First Nations, their intimate relationship with the land was not based upon agricultural improvement within the European definition and so they would not be seen to qualify as having title to it (Iverson, 1978).

The second form of legitimizing ideology arose from the notion of social Darwinism – the application of evolutionary ideas to the realm of human societies. Chance (1972) describes social Darwinism as the concept that explains the natural dominance of Euro-Americans in the realms of technological, social and cultural spheres as a result of natural superiority. This superiority over native people was viewed as the result of an act of nature rather than desire on behalf of the white race.

Relationships between whites and other peoples were seen as struggles for survival. While the contest was patently unequal, the results, victory in whatever form by the whites, served to justify the evolutionary superiority of the white race, this superiority clearly manifesting itself in the material good of the colonizers. Welch (1988) argues,

“The extermination of inferior races was both scientifically warranted (to interfere with the process would be to deny the laws of nature) and ethically defensible (intervention would threaten the welfare of future generations)”.

The coming of Christianity to indigenous peoples is Welch’s third form of ideology that justified the racism of the colonizers . The early missionaries were themselves products of the era of social Darwinism. The manifest superiority of Christianity is taken for granted, as was the belief that indigenous populations had no religion. The conceited conviction in the superiority of Christian spiritual beliefs, argues Welch, encouraged “little respect for or knowledge of Aboriginal culture to develop” (p. 305). The missionaries, writes Finnie (1942),

in general take it as axiomatic that all natives who are pagans, that is non-Christians, should be converted; and they are not accustomed to admitting the validity of aboriginal religions; in fact, it is seldom that a missionary will refer to Indian or Eskimo spiritual concepts as anything but superstition and degraded paganism (p. 38).

Later he describes missionaries (and others with missionary zeal) as “lacking the tolerance and sympathy with native ideologies and folkways else he or she would not be a missionary” (p. 58).

Chance (1972) plainly states how 19th century missionaries generally viewed Canadian and Alaskan native peoples as heathens who were:

Uncivilized, dirty, and uninhibited, these people were frequently considered inferior creatures of Divine creation. Efforts to civilize the native included attempts at destroying the native language, culture, and religion, instilling guilt over barbarous customs, and promoting new forms of behavior and thought acceptable to western custom. (p. 4)

The final legitimizing ideology outlined by Welch grew paradoxically from the French and American revolutions and the Enlightenment. Citing Van den Berghe, Welsh (1988) argues that the egalitarian and libertarian ideas that should have clashed and opposed notions of racism actually helped develop it. Confronted with the contradiction between the ideas of equality and freedom and such activities as the slave trade and colonial practices, the Europeans and north Americans were forced to make the distinction between men and sub-men that is between the civilized to which the notions of equality and freedom applied and the savages to which those ideas did not. The denial of humanity to oppressed groups allowed for and justified continued exploitation and discrimination. Smith (1999) writes how relationships between aboriginals and the European powers, were:

gendered, hierarchical and supported by rules, some explicit and some masked or hidden. The principle of “humanity” was one way in which implicit or hidden rules could be shaped. To consider indigenous peoples as not fully human, or not human at all enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies of either extermination or domestication. Some indigenous peoples (“not human”) were hunted and killed like vermin, others (“partially human”) were rounded up and put in reserves like creatures to be broken in, branded and put to work. (p. 26)

Brody (1991) in *The People's Land* describes how colonial situations in remote areas where the colonized society is non-literate and technologically simple exhibit particular features. For example:

Anyone with an official capacity in such a situation tends to disregard the humanity of the natives, for they evidently do not, at least not yet, subscribe to the conventions and code of conduct that the colonialist believes to be at the heart of civilized society. Indeed he often regards the native as being without society, savage, wild and heathen. This view has dominated the attitude of many colonialists especially when they come

from a technological society and when the natives have been non-literate and nomadic. (p. 82)

Later, Brody (1991) describes how some whites' attitudes and behaviors change when in the north. For example, he argues, whites tend to treat Inuit differently from how they treat themselves and develop attitudes towards Inuit groups within settlements that are different from those they develop for whites in the same settlement. In fact, Brody goes further and accuses some white northerners as believing that "The harshness of nature forces Eskimos to be non-men" and "The 'natural' Eskimo has no more claim to human rights than nature itself" (p. 100). Brody quotes Buliard, a missionary, writing in 1953, "In the Eskimo [the] primary impulses appear in almost absolute form, and the society which emerges, is a tyrannical one that permits only the fittest to live, the useful to exist" (p. 101). Clearly, it is not necessary to go back to the 19th century to find racist views that deny the humanity of native peoples.

The four forms of legitimizing ideologies briefly described above are what justified and maintained racial colonial practices here in Canada and in the rest of the colonized world. How could the colonizers entertain these imperialistic ideas to justify their actions? Laing cited in Kellough (1980), provides a possible answer, "It is a natural feature of imperialism that exploitation of conquered people must not be seen as such, but seen rather as benevolence. In achieving this, colonizers must not only mystify the natives, they must also mystify themselves as well" (p. 360).

The following section deals briefly with the historic colonial experiences of the Inuit of Nunavut.

EARLY CONTACT

Initial contact with what Crowe (1991), finding other terms clumsy and somewhat inaccurate, calls *foreigners*, people who were born outside of the north, occurs around 1000AD with the excursions of the Vikings from Greenland to parts of the Baffin coast, Labrador and Newfoundland. These visits, while they may have resulted in some trade, metal goods for ivory, tusks and furs (McGhee, 1992), barely lasted more than a season or two. Later, during the 15th century Europeans who came and fished the coasts of Newfoundland Labrador certainly met, traded and fought with the Inuit and First Nations people of the area (Crowe, 1991). Contact increased as more European explorers sought power, land, riches and the propagation of the Christian gospels for their respective Kings.

Explorers

Expansionist European seafaring nations soon began to sponsor expeditions to the new world. In 1576 Sir Martin Frobisher, while searching for a Northwest Passage to the orient, inadvertently sailed into what is now known as Frobisher Bay. He found what he thought was gold and subsequently returned to the Bay in 1577 and 1578. During these ill-fated exhibitions (the gold turned out to be iron ore) Frobisher and his men met, traded with, kidnapped, lost five men to and fought with Inuit. In fact, it appeared to Frobisher that the Inuit were already familiar with ships similar to his (Civilization, 2003: Mitchell, 1996). That they traded is clear from this quotation from a member of the crew:

They exchanged coates of Ceale, and Beares skinnnes, and suche like, with oure men, and receiued belles, loking glasses, and other toyes in recompence thereof againe. (Civilization 1993: George Best's account of trade on the 1576 voyage).

Exploration continued across the arctic seas and land through the next three centuries leaving in its trail the names of the explorers and their sponsors dotting the arctic land and seascapes. Though the explorers were not initially particularly interested in contact with the people (Oswald, cited in Mitchell, 1996), they did eventually seek aid from and trade with them. While Vallee (1972) describes the contact as being sporadic, and Mitchell (1996) writes that “no symbiotic relationship developed” (p. 51) between the Inuit and the explorers, indifference towards each other the general rule, there can be no doubt that the Inuit world was shaken, in some small but crucial ways, by the technology introduced by these explorers. The seeds of desire and change had been planted.

Early Traders

Trade gradually developed throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Summer trading in Hudson Bay began in the 1720s with ships sailing from Churchill to Marble Island close to what is now the community of Rankin Inlet. However, the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) was at the outset more interested in whaling than trading and Ross (cited in Mitchell, 1996) describes the trading as “a souvenir trade” (p. 51). Though from whose point of view it was a souvenir trade is in no doubt as Eskimos frequently traded items of great value to themselves. For example, after the completion of their trade in fur, bone and oil, they would also “barter kayaks, dogs, toys, umiak sails and

paddles and their clothes” (Mitchell, 1996, p. 52). There is evidence that Inuit were not shy and reserved barterers, however, and vigorously negotiated with the traders.

Generally, the early, sporadic contact of the explorers and early traders (the HBC’s trading boats frequently failed to make contact with Inuit in the 19th century) had little effect upon the socio-economic structure of the Inuit but it did have some effect upon the means and techniques of production. The goods that were traded were highly valued and desired. Where and when available, the iron and wood that the Inuit now obtained replaced traditional materials in the building of sleds and other tools. The traded goods, such as kettles, fishhooks, beads and knives also spread throughout the arctic through inter-Inuit trade, to Inuit who had no contact with the foreigners. Certain groups even took advantage of their geographic position and proximity to the traders by preventing other Inuit from reaching the traders through their territory. Rae, cited in Mitchell (1996, p. 54) states that the Padlimiut, a band of Inuit located in the Kivalliq region, would not let other Inuit pass through their territory because they preferred “to barter all their own half-worn weapons, tools cooking utensils etc., with these, at a much higher price than would be paid for new articles at the trading post, thus secure a double profit”. The new materials, basically wood and iron, while remaining scarce, did bring about the learning of new skills, and possession of these skills and other traded goods enhanced both an individual Inuit’s prestige within his group, as well as improving his ability to provide for the family and trade with other Inuit.

In Labrador, first the French, then British and finally the Moravians, after a 1771 deal with the British, began to build stations along the Labrador coast. The Moravians attempted to be fair and traded only useful items, for example, guns, ammunition and

nails, initially at least, to support their missions. Other European traders and fishermen followed, complicating the situation, trading for example; boats that replaced Inuit kayaks and umiaks, and thus traditional skills were lost or devalued. Due to the effect of the Moravian missions the Inuit of Labrador adopted aspects of settler life before those of the arctic and consequently they became dependent upon them quicker than the Inuit of the arctic. Mitchell (1996) states that these trading relationships did not transform the situation of the Inuit but began a structural shift. The arrival of the whalers, however, was to cause great change in Inuit traditional life.

The Whalers

The whalers are responsible for the first real exploitation of the resources, both human and natural, of the arctic and for the first sustained contact between Inuit and Europeans and Americans. Contact between whalers and Inuit brought, according to Crowe (1991), “death and destruction to many people, and changes which could never be turned back” (p. 109). But contact varied and so did the effects of the whalers, producing greater regional differences among the Inuit and thus differing patterns of change. While some European ships were whaling in the Davis Strait as early as 1590, Crowe (1991) tells us around 350 ships, after 1800 it is the Americans and Scots who become the dominant whalers. It was the presence of the Americans that first caused the fledgling Canadian government to express some concern for sovereignty in the arctic and to dispatch the police to let the Inuit know they were, in fact, part of Canada, and to show the Americans they were on Canadian soil and whaling in Canadian waters. In the east, whaling took place in the Davis and Hudson Straits, Cumberland Sound and to a lesser extent Hudson Bay. In the west, Herschel Island, located just off the Yukon coast,

became the focal point for whaling. The Americans, because of a diminishing supply of whales in the Bering Sea came into the Beaufort Sea and established a whaling station there in the 1890s. The result of this contact, although later than in the east, “was more intense and, not surprisingly, the impact more severe (Diubaldo, 1985, p. 13). The more controlled development in the east meant that the established stereotypes of whaler-Inuit relationships, “...whalers plying the natives with liquor, Inuit ravaged by disease, and a shocking depletion of resources” (Coates, 1985, p. 140) were more evident in the west. Jenness (1964) describes the effect of the American whaling station like this:

Within a year it converted Herschel Island, and indeed most of the Mackenzie delta, into a hive of debauchery: drunkenness and immorality prevailed everywhere, strife and murder became everyday events, diseases previously unknown to the Eskimos began to sweep away old and young like flies (p. 14).

Diubaldo (1985) notes that while these things occurred the incidences may have been exaggerated by the missionaries who reported them. Nonetheless, disease was certainly introduced by the whalers and a considerable area of the Mackenzie Delta was depopulated (Elliot, 1971). It is estimated that the 2500 Inuit living in the Mackenzie Delta region at the beginning of the whaling boom were reduced to only 200-250 by its end (Jenness, 1964; Mitchell, 1996). By 1920 three-quarters of the Inuit of the McKenzie delta were actually American immigrants (Coates, 1985). Contact with the whalers brought about fundamental changes in Inuit life. As whalers began to winter over in the arctic social relationships became more intimate. And while a few captains brought their European wives to the north (and from these Inuit women learned to knit and bake), there appears to have been little restriction emanating either from the whalers or the Inuit

— regarding sexual relationships between the whalers and Inuit women (Crowe, 1991).

Whaling captains who wintered over often had stable, marriage-like relationships with Inuit women. Naturally, these liaisons (as well as those with the RCMP and other traders) resulted in numerous and widespread births of illegitimate children. Thus today, the names and features of many Inuit bear the marks of this history. Ross (cited in Mitchell, 1996) comments on the difficulty in finding pure-blooded Inuit in areas where the whalers had been. The whalers not only socialized with the Inuit but also traded and bought their labour. For the first time Inuit became employees (though not in the modern sense of being actual wage earners – trade was the medium of payment). In the last twenty years of the whaling industry Inuit were constantly employed as guides, hunters, repairers of clothes, and members of the boat crews (Mitchell, 1996). Etooangat Aksayook recalls that when he was a boy in Cumberland Sound in the last days of the whalers he doesn't remember Qallunaaq actually hunting whales themselves because the Inuit had learned all aspects of the whaling process. The Inuit had become as adept as the European whalers at handling the boats and the modern weapons used to hunt whales (Eber, 1989).

Trade increased from subsistence to commercial trading as whalers attempted to continue to make a profit furs becoming more important as the whales declined (Purich, 1992). As whalers began to rely more on trade for profit, they brought more goods and, not surprisingly, Inuit became desirous of these, and wants became needs. The following memory of Nutaraq, a Pangnirtung elder illustrates the excitement caused by the arrival of a whaling ship and new desires that had been created:

At first we'd see smoke on the horizon; then after a long while under the smoke you would see the ship. I remember how excited the adults would be – because now they would get tobacco, they would get tea, they would get bannock, all the good things they'd been missing all winter. (Eber, 1989, p. 8)

Trade thus caused considerable changes in the material culture of the Inuit as well as that of population distribution and migration. The more they traded (e.g. fur, whalebone, ivory & skins) the more Inuit began to rely on the European trade goods, such as processed food, metal goods (tools, needles), clothing and wood for shelter.

Mitchell (1996) outlines the effect of two very important, technologically new trade items, guns and whaling boats, brought by whalers. These led to new relationships to the means of production and changing population distributions. For example, the Inuit of Igloolik changed their summer trips inland so they could stay on the coast and obtain guns and other trade items (Purich, 1992). The whalers' need for labour and the Inuit desire for trade goods led to their settlement near the whaling stations. In some instances, the whalers actually relocated numbers of Inuit from one district to another to work in their stations (Mitchell, 1996). With the wintering over of the whaling ships, the Inuit began to leave their scattered camps and congregate around these winter harbours. Thus a form of interdependence was created between the whalers, who provided guns and other trade goods, and the Inuit, who provided fresh food, clothing and labour (Eber, 1989).

The provision of guns changed Inuit hunting practices and the use of traditional weapons such as harpoons and bows and arrows greatly diminished (along with the skills to make and use them). Game could be killed from longer distances and without the help of other Inuit. This increased hunting proficiency brought about with the use of guns strained some of the wildlife resources. Inuit were no longer hunting only for themselves

but also to trade with and supply large whaling crews. This also encouraged them to settle near the whaling stations as they needed to be close to trade, restock their supplies and because they were unable to purchase an adequate amount of ammunition to last any considerable time.

The Inuit through trade, or as a substitute for wages, obtained whaling boats. The whaling boats soon proved their superiority to traditional boats; they were safer and could carry cargo, and this led to the decline in the use of both kayaks and umiaks. Possession of a whaling boat not only enhanced the Inuit's ability to travel but also almost guaranteed further employment by the whalers and therefore the acquisition of more material goods. Whalers often selected the owner of a whaling boat (especially if he were a shaman) to be a leader and organizer of Inuit whaling crews.

Mitchell (1996) argues that it appears the whalers and Inuit enjoyed a symbiotic relationship free from much of the rancour and antagonism of earlier Inuit/trader encounters. While contact both strengthened and weakened ethnic identity it also aided in the breakdown of many tribal rivalries and territorial divisions among Inuit thus, encouraging a form of Inuit solidarity.

Through contact, Inuit learned new languages (and new words to add to theirs), traveled to other countries and adopted music (the fiddle and accordion remain popular instruments among older Inuit) and dances (now frequently referred to in the arctic as Inuit dancing). They adopted and adapted some styles of dress and decorated traditional clothes with traded coins and beads. The Inuit did not seem to resist the new world in which they found themselves and were as Mitchell puts it "ready accomplices" (p. 85). Yet, the world had changed for these "ready accomplices".

It is clear that the presence of the whalers had an enormous effect upon the way of life of the Inuit with whom they came into contact. Dependencies were created, technologies changed, social relationships altered. Jenness (1964) argues that the Inuit who grew up and lived near the whaling stations of, for example, Cumberland Sound, had become quite dependent upon the presence of the whalers and that their very survival was now intermeshed with contact with the “civilized world” (p. 12). However, by the outbreak of the First World War whaling had, for the most part, disappeared.

Nutaraq, one of Eber’s (1989) informants reflects upon the disappearance of the whalers, and some of the changes they made to Inuit life and also the inventiveness of the Inuit after their disappearance:

When the whalers did not come back, we had nothing left. Before the white men we had relied on bows and arrows. We had used the leg bones of caribou for arrows because they were so sharp. Even in the first whaling days we relied on their weapons. But now there were no Qallunaaq. There was no more flour, no bread. Pitaqangi! Nothing! No coffee, no molasses, no biscuits. We used natural teas from the land: they were good too. There were no bullets, but they searched for tin cans and out of them they got the material for bullets. (p. 18)

Nutaraq remembers that the disappearance of the whalers caused the scattering of the thirty-two families who lived on Blacklead Island, a whaling station in Cumberland Sound. Yet, while there was no doubt severe hardship, the Inuit did not perish, for the missionaries (who were already established) and traders replaced the whalers.

THE TRIUMVIRATE

Paine (1977) lists five major 'white' consecutive incursions into the arctic over the last hundred years. These are, trade (he includes the whalers), the missions, the law, welfare and capital investment. None, he says, totally replaced the other, and in fact, all five remain very much alive and active in the north today. However, it is the triumvirate, Crowe's "Big three" (1991, p. 111). of traders, missionaries and the police who were, in absence of a real government presence, the most influential parties in northern development prior to World War II. In fact these three institutions (trade became synonymous with the Hudson's Bay Company) were to control the lives of the Inuit for over forty years after the demise of whaling (Crowe, 1991). Most government decisions in the arctic, writes Ferguson (1971), were based on the points of view of these three institutions from 1920 until the early 1960s. Brody (1991) believes northern history, while often written around the lives of heroic individuals, should be centred around these three institutions which "constituted a joined-if not joint-endeavour: the incorporation of the Inuit into the mainstream southern life" (p. 26). Further, he claims that many of these heroic individuals held negative attitudes towards the Inuit and that aspects of Inuit life and culture were held in distaste and subject to severe criticism by them.

The Traders

The negative effects upon the Inuit populations of the demise of the whaling industry and the disappearance of the now expected material goods and employment that the industry offered was alleviated in part by the growth of the fur industry (white fox). Fur traders, both company and independents, quickly filled the space left by the whalers.

— Their presence created new needs among the Inuit and continued to influence their living patterns, for example, by pulling them from the land to newly established trading posts/ports that were accessible to the trading ships. They, the traders, became part, like the whalers, of the continuing breaking up of traditional aboriginal economies and contributed to the decline of aboriginal skills (Jenness, 1964; Mitchell, 1996). Inuit says Crowe (1991) were unable to return to their previous independent life. In the western arctic the decline of whaling forced whaling captains to become independent traders, sometimes competing against the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and thus a brief period of relative affluence arose for the Inuit of that area. Inuit had access to a great assortment of cheap goods, sometimes placing "...orders for whaleboats and rifles to be brought directly from San Francisco" (Mitchell, 1996, p. 88). In the east the hunting too was prosperous so that Inuit were able to purchase Scottish Peterhead fishing boats and whaling boats after only two seasons of hunting. By the 1920s there were 91 trading posts in the arctic regions (Coates, 1985). They spread across the arctic from the old whaling station of Herschel Island to the Baffin and into the Keewatin region. These posts were not exclusively in the hands of non-Inuit. Crowe (1991) tells of many successful Inuit owning or operating trading posts for European partners throughout the arctic regions.

There were attempts to protect the wildlife (and the Inuit from exploitation), for example, the Northwest Game Act 1917, limited hunting to indigenous people. A further regulation in 1924 restricted coastal trading by foreign ships and in 1929 trade was limited to fixed posts which were to be open eight months a year. None of the regulations slowed the growth of the fur trade and the importance of fox furs continued to

rise and they remained the largest trade export until around the end of World War II (Crowe, 1991). In the 1920s the price of fox furs rose from \$30 to \$70 each. Successful trappers made considerably more than the average \$1000 Canadian salary, sometimes making as much as \$17 000, (Crowe, 1991). Though the trapping of the fox was profitable in the material sense, it did have a number of adverse effects upon traditional culture. Though the fox itself was rarely used for food or its fur for clothing, the extensive hunting of the animal did take Inuit away from more traditional hunting pursuits.

In order to help it be competitive, in what at the outset was a highly competitive market, the Hudson's Bay Company employed and housed prominent Inuit around its trading posts. As well as housing some of their Inuit staff, the HBC, once they had gained the trading monopoly, had, by government decree, to be responsible for the welfare of the Inuit they traded with as well as those described as destitute (Jenness, 1964). This included the payment of family allowances and social security cheques until this task was taken over by the RCMP (Mitchell, 1996). The 1930 depression, aided by the fall in fur prices and the scarcity of furs themselves virtually wiped out the independent free traders and the HBC consolidated its hold upon arctic trade and gained its monopoly by gradually buying out its competition, for example, its main rival, Revillon Freres in 1936. Though the company itself had to close twenty-six of its thirty-five arctic posts, by 1939 it was the dominant arctic trader.

The Hudson's Bay Company has had an enormous effect upon the development of the north and its people and its history is a story in itself. Other than trading (which underlay all other activities) it has been involved, in the first half of the last century, in

reindeer herding, handicraft development, basic mining, Inuit welfare, and a failed relocation of 52 Inuit to Dundas Harbour on Southampton Island. The Hudson's Bay Company no longer exists as it once did in the north but now appears as *North Mart*, the arctic's largest retailer with stores in all of the Nunavut communities.

Generally, as Clemens (1984) writes the traders were more interested in:

Maximizing profits than in systematically changing the cultures of the groups they were dealing with. The traders and their companies were indifferent to questions related to the survival of native cultures and languages; such interests were left to the missionaries and later, to government officials and institutions (p. 18)

The Missionaries

Missionary contact with Inuit began in Labrador in 1752 when Moravian missionaries moved into territory. Within 30 years they had established missions in Nain (1770/1), Okkak (1775) and Hopedale (1781). Kleivan, quoted in Mitchell (1996) writes that these missions had both a conserving and modifying influence on the culture of these Inuit. However, it was not until the middle of the next century that contact between Inuit and the missionaries intensified across the north (Diubaldo, 1985) and the changes wrought by the missionaries became clear.

Missions were established in both the western part of the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec in the 1860s. Following the whalers and traders (the Hudson's Bay Company's initials HBC were humourously interpreted to mean Here before Christ) they came in part to redress the negative effect of the whalers and traders upon the spiritual and moral lives of the Inuit. Establishing themselves close to whaling and trading posts they lived with an uneasy truce with the Europeans, at once condemning their morals and negative effects upon the Inuit but also often having to rely on them for transport and

supplies and sometimes funding for the missions (Mitchell, 1996). The Hudson's Bay Company aligned itself firmly with the Church Missionary Society (the Anglicans), often ostracizing the Catholic priests, offering help when absolutely necessary and threatening those natives with a cessation of trade if they visited with the Catholics (Coates, 1985). The same is true of the RCMP who according to Vallee (1967) were identified more closely with the Anglican missions, not because of policy but because of the affiliation of RCMP officers themselves to the Anglican rather than the Roman Catholic Church. Jenness (1964) writes that the missionaries were often closer to the people than either the traders or police and their willingness and desire to learn the language allowed them to act as advisors to the Inuit in their dealings with them. The Catholic priests frequently being closer to the Inuit than the Anglicans who lived by the trading posts whereas the Catholic priests were forced to live outside of the post area in closer proximity to the Inuit (Coates, 1985).

While Brody (1991) mentions the relatively solitary lives of both the missionaries and the traders compared to those of the whalers, he points out the power of the institutions that lay behind them and what he describes as their determination, with the government of Canada in the guise of the police, to "exercise hegemony over the minds and lands of the Inuit" (p. 23). And this they did whether it was the ideological rational of the missionaries or the traders' commercial motives they ensured that the lives of the Inuit changed fundamentally.

But of course the missionaries' principal goal and motive for change was to spread the word of God as they saw it (Bethune, 1937). Jenness (1964) describes it thus:

His primary task, of course, was to Christianize the Eskimos, to wean them from their ancient and often harmful superstitions, and teach them the “truth” of his own religion. (p. 15)

Brody (1991) expresses it as the establishment of a moral serfdom. The Christian morality espoused by the missionaries weakened any number of the Inuit spiritual and secular activities, deeming them immoral. The influence of Inuit spiritual leaders was undermined and “customary social practice, from sexual life down to the minutiae of games, was attacked. Conversion was encouraged by trade, medical benefits, threats and exhortation” (p. 32). Many of the expressive features of Inuit culture were discouraged because they were “...equated with the manifestations of the devil’s control in pre-Christian times and with what they regarded as an undue preoccupation with sex.” (Vallee, 1969, p. 34). This ‘civilizing’ included the restriction on polygamy, the condemnation of wife exchange, regardless of their utility to traditional Inuit lifestyles and, of course the defeat of the Shamanistic beliefs of the Inuit population (Brody, 1991, Coates, 1985; Mitchell, 1996). These “new moral guardians” (Vallee, 1969, p. 34) made traditional spiritual beliefs and practices, drum dancing, for example, taboo and thus the transmission or public display of them, by and large disappeared. Many Inuit became ashamed of an important part of their cultural heritage.

Despite these effects of the missionaries on Inuit religious and secular practices Jenness (1964) maintains that the missionary could do more than merely proselytize his religion. He argues that the ancient spiritual and the material world of the Inuit had fragmented since contact with Europeans and that a good missionary actually could help “strengthen and restore spiritual equilibrium...could become their anchor; he could council them in their troubles and interpret the perplexing unknowns” (p. 15). Ironically,

of course, it was largely the work of the missionaries and the consequent weakening of the influence of the Shamans whose powers and taboos had lost all worth that necessitated this.

While united in their fight against the angakoks (the shamans) and their cultural power and influence there was great rivalry for the souls of the Inuit between the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches as their missions spread across the arctic. This can be seen in the following quotation from Bishop MacKay in 1907:

In all our Missionary Diocese, we are working side by side with the Church of Rome. There is no withdrawal with them. Wherever we weaken, they strengthen their work. If we abandon the field, they will of course gladly occupy it. (MacPherson, 1991, p. 31)

Tester & Kulchyski (1994) report that the antagonism between the two major churches is obvious in the writing of Bishop Marsh whose hostility towards the Catholics was to become well-known. In this extract, from one of Marsh's writings quoted in Tester and Kulchyski (1994), we see the depth of his feelings and the intense competition with the Catholic Church. The conjurors referred to in the quotation are the Shamans.

The Roman Church and conjurors are alike; both rule with fear and both give charms and amulets, in one case of skin and in the other, pieces of saint's clothes, medals etc. Christ gives life. Any Roman will tell you that this is true. If you are at a mission where the Roman Church has not yet come, then a little teaching along Biblical lines as to where the Roman Church is wrong would be of great value, for there is no doubt that the Roman Church intends to spread across the whole of the North. (p. 53)

Coates (1985) comments that in their haste to obtain territory and to capture the souls of the Inuit the missionaries "hardly endeared themselves to the natives, nor did it provide a useful model of Christian ethics at work" and in fact "the endless backstabbing

and name-calling substantially hampered the missionaries efforts” (p. 61). This rivalry was to spread farther than just the "capture of souls" and was to extend to the more mundane matters of competition for grants and funding for missionary schools and hospitals from the government.

Crowe (1991) agrees and describes the terrible effect of this enmity resulting from “the struggle between preserve Inuit traditional practices or social solidarity.

Geographically, the Catholics seemed to hold more sway in the western arctic and the Anglicans the east. Where two missions occupied the same community the rivalry led to the community being not only divided by belief but often by land. The Anglicans living on one side of the community, while Catholics lived on the other, the dead occupying different cemeteries. For example, until quite recently, a path divided the Iqaluit cemetery into distinct Anglican and Catholic areas. There are also a number of communities whose cemeteries remain separate. The initial rivalry also allowed for the manipulation of the clergy by Inuit who played one side against the other attempting to get a better deal, i.e. more goods or privileges from the opposing church. Missionaries often acted as small time traders with the Inuit taking with them desired articles such as materials, cartridges, knives and blankets (Mitchell, 1996).

Evidence of a very rudimentary and a sometimes-confused understanding of the Bible coupled with the residue of older traditional beliefs is seen in what Crowe (1991) terms “early prophetic movements”. The most infamous of these occurring on the Belcher Islands in 1941 when two Inuit, believing themselves to be God and Jesus, attempted to persuade a small group of Inuit to follow them onto the ice or die. The end result was that nine people died from either exposure or murder. There remains a

reluctance in Sanikiluaq, the community on the Belcher Islands, to speak of this incident even today.

Regardless of the problems they caused for Inuit traditional society and spirituality the missionaries did not lack converts, in fact, the missionaries ultimately enjoyed great success. By the 1950s Brody (1991) believes almost all of the Inuit at least professed to be Christians and observed Christian rites. Vallee writing in 1967, comments upon “phenomenal church attendance” (p. 181) at both Baker Lake Churches and the fact that “Christianity is now an integral part of the Eskimo way of life in this region, and not just a fad or an importation of fleeting significance” (p. 186) and Mitchell (1996) mentions the ease with which the missionaries gained converts. Yet there were obviously misunderstandings about the Christian doctrine and the degree to which Inuit conversions were authentic, and not just the adoption of outward trappings of a religion, has been questioned. Vallee (1967) refers to the comments of some of his non-Inuit informants who saw some converts as “bread and butter” or “ammunition” Christians (p. 178) implying, as was suggested earlier, that conversions, or at least some of them in the earlier days, may have depended more upon material rewards rather than any true spiritual realignment. Others have remarked, for example, Francis cited in Mitchell (1996), that many Inuit were merely pretending to take on the Christian beliefs while still holding onto the traditional ones. And so although the power of the shaman had appeared to be over it many have merely went underground.

Whatever was the case, Christianity took root and it is no doubt true that the missionary and the religion he brought served, in a time of rapid change for the Inuit, as “steadying influences, a thread of continuity linking the present with the past and the

future (Vallee, 1967, p. 185). Does religion still have this function? It would seem to be the case. The effect of the churches upon the social and spiritual lives of the Inuit continues today in the communities of Nunavut. Though there is no longer the intense rivalry felt between the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches and perhaps churches in some communities struggle to find resident priests or clergy, a more modern intrusion into the spiritual lives of the Inuit has occurred with the rise of the popularity of fundamentalist evangelical religions typified by the Glad Tidings Church. Adherence to fundamental Christian principles has affected the political system to the extent that now there are a small number of MLAs whose religious affiliations to the evangelical churches are directing their discourse on a number of matters within the legislative assembly, including such major matters as human rights, concerned primarily at the moment, with homosexuality and the right to marry. There are Bible meetings held periodically throughout the territory often attended by ministers from southern fundamentalist churches. Within the NTEP program itself there are members of both the staff and student body who make reading the Bible part of their daily routine and it is clear that for them it provides guidance and comfort. There are also many cases of lives in Nunavut that were once consumed by alcohol and abuse that have been turned around by a belief and adherence to mainstream Christianity or, more likely now, to the tenets of religious fundamentalist churches. As if to attest to popularity of religion in Nunavut and to its continuing influence the Anglican Cathedral in Iqaluit is to receive a multimillion-dollar improvement within the next few years.

While the missionary's prime goal "was to save, convert, and civilize" (Coates, 1985, p. 58) he also became involved in many more activities that aided him in his quest

for conversion. He acted as "doctor, dentist, welfare officer, mediator and spiritual advisor" to the Inuit (Vallee, 1967, p. 154). He became an integral part of Inuit communities and changing Inuit life-styles. While freeing the Inuit from the controlling taboos of the Shaman and the "cruelty and hardships perpetrated by them" he brought a more peaceful and existence and hope "when foreign intrusion had upset the balance of native life, and people had lost their spirit" Crowe, 1991, p. 148). He also brought the first taste of formal education to the Inuit and his role in education is outlined in the following chapter.

The Police

"the Inuit's only real government contact was the police"
(Diubaldo, 1985, p 15)

Canada's interest in the north predated the existence of the country itself. Debates prior to confederation-included references to the need for Canadian title of the north to prevent American territorial expansion and exploitation of the presumed resources located there. America's purchase of Alaska in 1867 encouraged the British, by Order in Council in 1870, to transfer Rupert's Land and the remainder of the Northwest Territory to Canada. Later requests for mineral rights on Baffin Island by the United States again motivated the British, by a further Order in Council in 1880, to hand over title of the arctic islands to Canada. This transfer was, according to a quotation from a British colonial officer in Grant (1988), "to prevent the United States from claiming them, not from the likelihood of their being any value to Canada" (p. 5). Despite the Orders in Council from the British Parliament Canada's title to the arctic islands was at best tenuous. The limits of this transfer were vague and therefore open to varying

interpretations. Jenness (1964) claims, Canada, "completely neglected her Arctic, and gave no thought at any time to the condition of its Eskimo inhabitants" (p. 17) until the very end of the 19th century.

Increased whaling activity in both the eastern and western arctic, coupled with new geographical discoveries in the high arctic being claimed by Norway and the United States eventually forced Ottawa to be concerned with its own sovereignty claims in the region. As a result of these concerns and the need to assert Canada's rights the third member of the triumvirate, the police, were brought in force into the arctic.

In 1903 the cruiser *Neptune* was dispatched to Hudson Bay "to patrol the waters of Hudson Bay in hopes of effecting 'quasi-occupation' by showing a presence of authority" (Grant, 1988, p. 10). This first expedition of the Eastern Arctic Patrol was a combined Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) and Geographical Survey of Canada team under the leadership of A. P. Low. The NWMP established a police post at Fullerton Harbour, a wintering station for the whalers, as well as leaving evidence (documents) on several islands on the Arctic Archipelago. In the same year two police posts were established in the west, one at Fort MacPherson and one on the infamous Herschel Island to collect customs fees, control the liquor trade with the Inuit and, of course, to maintain law and order. The establishment of these three police posts was for Jenness (1964) the first time Canada had openly declared she was responsible for the sovereignty of both the arctic mainland and the arctic island. While the 1903 *Neptune* voyage included scientific research as part of its purpose the later voyage the 1904 patrol, the first of a number led by Captain Bernier, had a singular political intent. Grant (1988) quotes the official historian of the trip describing its purpose:

This time the purpose of the expedition would be, as last, to take official possession, in the name of Canada, of that great heritage so graciously given to us by England more than twenty years ago which today is very much prized by foreign nations. (p. 11).

Bernier carried with him ten NWMP officers whose job it was to collect custom duties, issue whaling licenses and report all foreign activity in the area. The following year Bernier set sail again this time to annex all new lands and to leave evidence in the form of cairns containing proclamations of the sovereignty of Canada. Grant (1988) also mentions that, though not one of his official duties, he removed any records left by foreign explorers. Bernier patrolled the arctic from 1904 to 1911 when he was relieved of his command. The Eastern Arctic Patrols did not resume until 1922 and continued until 1969 initially continuing to establish and maintain sovereignty and construct more police posts and thus bringing more regular contact with the Inuit, but later serving the communities by bringing the dentists and doctors on their annual tour, delivering the mail and provisions, and conducting medical surveys (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). Police posts were established throughout the arctic over the next 30 years and in a sense continue to be established as the smaller communities who did not have their own detachment are now asking for them. Presently, twenty-two Nunavut communities have an RCMP detachment.

Initially, however, the Canadian government through their agency, the police, displayed a remarkable paternalistic attitude towards the Inuit. Coates (1985) writes that the "Canadians approached their declaration of ownership with typical paternalism, thinking the Inuit intellectually incapable of comprehending their real message" (p. 143). Both Coates (1985) and Mitchell (1996) quote Ross's description of the leader of the

NWMP detachment, Major Moodie's contact with the Inuit at Fullerton Harbour in 1903 when the police post was established there. It is such a remarkable display of paternalism that it is worth quoting again here.

Here were people who had maintained intimate ties with foreign whalers for more than forty years being treated as simple, helpless, credulous savages. Here were men who possessed whaleboats, darting guns, shoulder guns, and all the sophisticated paraphernalia employed in the pursuit of bowhead whales, who hunted with telescopes and powerful repeating rifles, and who normally wore American trousers, shirts, jackets, hats and sunglasses. Here were women who used manufactured domestic implements and containers, who made up clothes on sewing machines, who attended shipboard dances in imported dresses, and who bore children sired by whalers. To these people an officious, uniformed stranger was distributing underwear as if it were a priceless treasure and lecturing them on morals and their allegiances to a big white chief. When Moodie suggested that the Eskimos might wish to travel 500 miles to Churchill to send joyful messages of thanks to the king, no one responded. (Coates, p. 141; Mitchell, p. 112)

But this description does not allude to how the RCMP officers in general related to the Inuit. While Mitchell (1996) describes the police as being depicted as "naïve and ineffectual" (p. 112) and, Ootiva, and elder from Pond Inlet in the video *Between two Worlds* (Greenwald, 1990) demeans the abilities of RCMP officers describing their reliance on Inuit, even to the point of having to do and undo the flies of the officers when they needed to urinate. It seems that given the hardships that these men had to bear in a very uncompromising environment they cannot have been all that incompetent. Jenness (1964) is far more positive about their reputation than Mitchell (1996) writing that "where the climate demanded men be men, the reputation of the police deservedly stood high (P. 22).

Other than the establishment and maintenance of sovereignty, the life the police became the " government's handymen, available for all and every task" (Jenness. 1964, p. 21). The following quotations first from Vallee (1967) and then Jenness give sense of the multiple responsibilities the police had the arctic over the course of the 20th century.

in the Arctic, where they have been administrators, registrars, census takers, ambulance operators, allocators of relief, mailmen, and rescuers (p. 100)

They patrolled their districts and arrested law-breakers, enforced game regulations, collected the customs duties wherever they were leviable, served as justices of the peace, postmasters, and census officers, searched for the missing, and treated the sick wherever no doctor or nurse was available. At least two of them made long and arduous journeys that added to our geographical knowledge of the Arctic. (p. 21)

But what about law and order? According to Vallee (1967) it appears that this, at least initially, was the least important of the policeman's duties. Mitchell (1996) agrees, stating that "most observers agree there was no crime in the arctic" (p. 110). However, the police did bring Canadian law to the arctic and Inuit, whether or not they understood it, were to adhere to the law. At the outset the police realized that they were imposing a foreign set of laws upon a people who had quite different methods of social control and so they were inclined to take these differences into account when applying the law. Like most police forces they were more or less satisfied if private property and people (non-Inuit) were treated with respect. This rather gentle application of the laws of Canada gradually became stricter until the Inuit were living under the full protection and force of the law (Coates, 1985). Diubaldo (1985) writes describes the police relationship to the Inuit and what they considered their goal:

But the men in scarlet (really in fur clothing) appear to have been a caring individuals always concerned – sometimes exasperatedly – about their wards, always suspicious of the trader who, in their view, overcharged their clients, and certainly preoccupied with enforcing the king's law. They had little use for the Indian, but the Inuit were deserving of their attention.

...the police believed that the Inuit must adhere to certain standards and conduct commensurate with all "civilized" societies....The enforcement of Canadian law was a prime function of the police and a means by which northern natives were encouraged to abandon their primitive and often violent ways of life. (p. 160)

The police were involved in a number of major social projects during the first half of the 20th century including, the prevention of infanticide which when they found it difficult to prosecute the guilty issued what they called baby 'bounties' which included such things as thread, needles, pans, ammunition as inducements to stop the practice. Distribution of these inducements proved too time consuming and arduous. They eventually gave up on the task, leaving it to the missionaries (Diubaldo, 1985). They dealt with number of well documented murder cases involving the murder of two white men (1912), two priests (1913), this case also involved cannibalism, and the 1921 murders of an RCMP officer and another white man. Interestingly, the sentences given in the three cases differed considerably, only the last ending in execution.

In 1941 the police attempted to identify and enumerate Inuit by having them wear four digit numbers on discs around their necks. These discs are treasured items now and are remembered fondly by many Inuit. They were discontinued in 1971 after project surname in which Abe Oopik traveled the north getting Inuit adopt surnames.

By the mid 20th century police posts stretched across the arctic alongside the HBC and the missions – the triumvirate was complete. The Federal Government had little to do with the Inuit leaving more or less all contact to the triumvirate until after WWII.

This brief account of the gradual colonization of Canada's north illustrates the enormous changes in Inuit life brought about by initially contact with the European adventurers and then by the whalers and the triumvirate. These interlopers brought changes to Inuit traditional life that were material, spiritual and psychological in nature. The effects of these changes have been profound and irrevocable.

COLONIALISM AND EDUCATION

Far from acting as a liberator, Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialist domination. It was consistent with imperialism: the economic and political control of the peoples in one country by the dominant class of another. The imperial powers attempted through schooling, to train the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer. (Carnoy, 1974 , p. 3)

I was, you know an Eskimo boy off the street with no English. And I guess in those times, the whole purpose of educating these kids, us, was to assimilate us into the white society. And you weren't allowed to speak your language at all. And trust me when I tell you I spent many hours looking at a part of the wall because I had said something in Inuktitut in class....And the whole purpose was to assimilate you into the white culture, and, of course everything reflected that. Anything on the walls was completely for Inuit to turn into a little Eskimo whites, I guess. (Moses, an NTI officer, interview, 1996)

If the political reality of Inuit and other native peoples of Canada remains one of internal colonialism, then the non-traditional education (traditional education is described in chapter 5) experienced by first nations and Inuit is colonial education. Schools are

inherently conservative institutions and serve to transmit the dominant culture to the students. Manifest functions of schooling would include the transmission of generalized and specialized knowledge and the transmission of the dominant culture (Barakett & Cleghorn, 2000). Colonial schools transmitted the culture and values of the colonizing nation. Education for native peoples in the Canadian setting has, until very recently, been almost exclusively planned and controlled by the colonizing power. The following quotation from Perley (1993) based upon Kelly & Altbach's (1978) review of colonial schooling, exemplifies the near total domination the colonizing group had over the everyday workings of a school system designed for the colonized:

They would determine who would go to school, how long the children of the colonized group would attend school, what would be learned in school, and in what language it should be learned. Under this system the goals of schooling for the colonized population are designed to serve the needs of the colonizer, not the colonized. (p. 121)

Schools were designed to bring the colonized indigenous peoples into the colonial structures. The intent was to change the traditional hierarchical structures of the colonized culture into those of the European capitalist hierarchy. It was the interests of the colonialists that were paramount. Schools were used to transmit those characteristics considered essential for the kind of society envisaged by the colonizer. It was also expected that they would be the mechanism by which a group of indigenous elites would be developed (Carnoy, 1974). Interestingly, Steven Kakfwi, a former and native Premier of the NWT suggested around ten years ago, despite the then current criticism of residential schools, that a school be created to cater just for the very best indigenous

students so that an elite core group of leaders could be established within the territories.

No school as yet has been created.

Kelly & Altbach (1978) detail the characteristics of colonial education:

- Missionaries frequently had control over educational policy and their religious and moral goals were paramount, often to the exclusion of government wishes regarding curriculum.
- The languages that the schools taught were not generally those of the colonized
- Colonial schools generally devalued the indigenous language.
- A degree of schooling was done in residential schools that were geographically separated from the students' communities.
- Those in charge of the colonial enterprise were often confused about educational policy
- Education and the schools were detached from languages and cultures of those colonized preparing students a place in the new culture rather than being prepared for their own
- The schools were primarily designed for the needs of the colonizers.
- The wishes of the colonized were largely overlooked.
- The content and scope of the education system was decided without consultation with the colonized.
- Colonial schools, whether religious or secular, concentrated on language instruction and moral education with practical subjects like hygiene, arithmetic, agriculture and trades.
- Little history of the colonized was taught in schools and that which was often focused on negative aspects of colonized's culture.

All of these characteristics listed above are relevant to the history of education in Nunavut for they describe much of how the Inuit have experienced formal education in a situation of internal colonialism.

Iverson (1978) argues that situations in which internal colonialism has been established show,

how an educational tradition of a politically dominant culture, modified by assumptions about limits in the culture and capabilities of native people, serves forever to keep those people at the bottom of the social structure

while maintaining the illusion that failure and dependency are due to their own deficiencies (p. 149).

She writes that the formal education of Native Americans has "...aimed at the radical change of Indian societies for the purpose of promoting order in the larger economic and political system" (p. 149). This is no less so than for Inuit of Canada. Yet, as she pointed out over twenty-six years ago, the attempt to bring native people into mainstream society educationally has been largely unsuccessful. Current statistics for Nunavut, for example, on school drop out and poor high school graduation rates, show that while the situation is improving, Inuit students still continue to under-achieve in school.

While obviously there have been great changes in education since the encroachment of the missionaries many of the points above are still germane and it would, I believe, be incorrect to say that a colonial education system has ceased to exist. How can one judge whether or not an education system has moved from being a colonial structure to an independent one? Murray Thomas (1993) uses a set of fourteen questions, divided into six dimensions that help determine the independence of an educational system.

Dimension One: The purposes of schooling

1. Who determines the purposes?
2. From what culture are the purposes derived?
3. Whose welfare is served by the purpose?

Dimension Two: The administrative structure of the education system

4. Who determines the administrative structure?
5. From what culture does the structure derive?

Dimension Three: Educational personnel

6. Who decides what system will be used for recruiting, training and promoting educational personnel?
7. What influence do people's ethnic or cultural origins have on their chances of being recruited, trained and promoted?

Dimension Four: Composition of student population

8. Who decides what system will be used for selecting and channeling students through the school system?
9. What influence do youths' ethnic or cultural origins have on their opportunities to be selected and channeled?

Dimension Five: Curriculum and instructional methodology

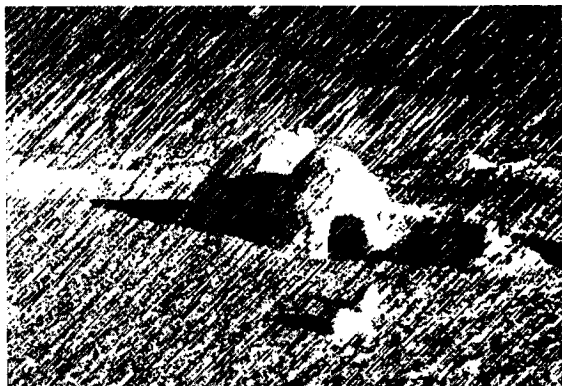
10. Who determines the nature of the curriculum and the teaching methods?
11. What are the cultural sources of the curriculum and teaching methods?
12. Whose welfare is served by the curriculum?

Dimension Six: Financing the education System

13. Who determines how the system will be financed?
14. What influence do people's ethnic or cultural origins have on their role in financing education?

In the following chapter, which describes first traditional education and then the development the formal education in Nunavut, the characteristics of colonial education, as outlined by Kelly and Altbach (1978) can be clearly seen in the kind of education experienced by the Inuit. Answers to Murray's questions, though not dealt with specifically, can also be discerned. The answers that indicate that the educational system of Nunavut still has a considerable way to go before it could be classed as an independent, indigenous system. In fact given the nature of Nunavut and the success of colonialist endeavour in the north it could be argued that the system can never completely shake the past.

Chapter 5:
DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
AND NUNAVUT



Snow House

To provide a sense of the position and importance of the Nunavut Teacher Education Program in the educational context of Nunavut, I outline and briefly examine the growth of formal education and schooling in the territory. Since the territory of Nunavut has only existed since 1999 to the present, the development of the education system in Nunavut is synonymous with that of the Northwest Territories until that date. My references to the Northwest Territories up to 1999 therefore include Nunavut, once the eastern division of that territory, and often referred to as the 'eastern arctic'.

Macpherson (1991) divides the provision of formal education and schooling in the Northwest Territories into three periods, describing them as: the Missionary era, approximately 1869-1950, the Federal Government phase, 1944-1970 and the Territorial Government years (NWT), 1970 onwards. It is now possible to terminate the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) period at 1999 and add a fourth period

of development with the creation of the territory of Nunavut, education under the Government of Nunavut, 1999-. However, while these four phases may adequately describe the development of formal education and schooling, they do not take into account the form of education existing prior to contact. This informal education is generally referred to as 'traditional education'. Traditional education did not end with the coming of missionary education in 1869. It continued to be a part of the socialization process of Inuit, gradually weakening as formal education strengthened with the progressive and relatively quick movement of the people from the land to settlements from around 1950 to the 1960s. Aspects of traditional education and the values and skills it sought to perpetuate still, however, permeate the lives and psyches of Inuit. For example, there is still great value paid to women's sewing ability and the quality of their kamiks (sealskin boots) parkas or amautis (a double hooded parka designed to carry a baby), as well as to the hunting and land craft prowess of men.

There is, at present, a growing interest in all aspects of Inuit life past, present and future encompassed in the notion of Inuit Qaujimanituqangit (IQ), Inuit traditional knowledge, a concept intimately connected with education and examined later in the chapter. Memories of values and beliefs arising from camp life still influence, to a degree, how Inuit, especially older Inuit, view modern education and also how some in the government wish to shape aspects of modern education in the future.

I begin this chapter with some descriptions of camp life and then the informal (traditional) education that took place there. Through both interviews and secondary sources, I attempt to give a sense of the atmosphere and some of the daily activities that were part of camp life in which traditional education took place. Some quotations come

from elders who spent all their childhood in camps and some come from those a generation or two younger whose experience of camp life ended in their youth when their families moved to settlements.

TRADITIONAL CAMPS

It is important to remember that the memories and descriptions contained in this and other parts of the research, old as some of them are, are memories of a late post-contact traditional period. They do not reflect any hypothetically pristine time before contact though, of course, there are obviously some resemblances to what life pre-contact may have been like.

Traditional education, the topic of the next section, would have taken place in the camp. An Inuit camp, would typically be composed of two to three extended families (Creery, 1993; Irwin, 1988). Very seldom, writes Brody (1991), would a camp have as many as ten families within it. Each family would normally consist of 5-6 individuals. Depending upon the seasonal activities, the total population of a regular camp, which might include grandparents, parents, children and relatives by marriage, would number around 25 people (Irwin, 1988). These isolated groups of people, spread over thousands of square kilometres of land, would be part of a larger tribe sharing dialectical and family connections.

Mina, an elder from Sanikiluaq in the Belcher Islands in Hudson Bay, in an interview with one of NTEP's students. remembers a camp she used to live in:

There were only a few families, only two or three in the camp. I remember there used to be a maximum of five families at the most. There were quite

a few people because there were five tents. All the members used to be in a tent at that time even if they were adults they used to be with their parents both men and women. I mean even if they were married they were still with their parents so there used to be quite a few people in a tent.
(Mina, Interview, 2002)

Early settlements may not have been much bigger than an established camp. For Example, in 1951 Pond Inlet consisted only of the Hudson Bay Company, the RCMP, the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions and the few Inuit who worked for them. Susie, a B. Ed. student, describes the size of her home community, Cape Dorset in the 1950s. She illustrates just how small an early settlement could have been and the huge growth in population that settlements have witnessed in the last 30 to 40 years:

I have seen a lot of changes. At one point there was just us. My father worked for the Hudson Bay Company. And there was another family and a man who worked as a labourer with my father. So there were actually just two - no - three families, the family that worked at the nursing station. So we are looking at maybe 25 people altogether before everybody started coming to Cape Dorset. And now it's about 1200 people, maybe a bit more. (Susie, interview, 2002)

The following 1960s north Baffin childhood memories of Rebecca, an NTEP graduate and instructor, provide some idea of life in a camp, the different forms of shelter used, the traveling, and of course, hunting. Her experience coincides with the growth of communities and the establishment of formal schooling, in this case a residential school.

I can't show you exactly where it was but it was called Iglurjuak, that's where I was born and where I was raised. We spent a lot of time traveling and taking trips to Arctic Bay by dog team. I remember also going to Repulse Bay because my father had two sisters there. So it wasn't like this place and that place. It wasn't like that. But I was born in a camp called Iglurjuak.

I remember living in a qarmaq made of sod. In the summer we would live in canvas tents but in the winter we would live in a qarmaq and

when we traveled we'd live in igloos. We lived with my aunt and I've been told my grandfather lived with us, but I don't remember him as he died when I was two years old or so. I don't remember living with other family group members for too long. I remember being alone with the family, my parents. I don't remember my brothers, my older brothers living with us because they had moved to Igloolik to go to school and they'd be taken on this Twin Otter to go to Igloolik and come back for the summer. But I remember living in camp with my older sister.

I remember the first time I saw a polar bear. We'd go up to Arctic Bay where all the polar bears go. We were traveling by dog team. Once the dogs saw the polar bear they started running after it and we were going really fast. When we got close enough my father unhooked all the dogs and they followed the polar bear and then surrounded him trying to bite him on the back.

There was just me and my father and my uncle was with us. We got him from Arctic Bay and he had his own little dog team. He was just a young man maybe 14-15. One of his dogs got killed by the polar bear. He got slapped so hard by the polar bear he went flying and when he landed he landed on his front leg and they had to kill him. Once the polar bear was bitten on the back my father could go shoot it because he wasn't going to run. I remember it so clearly; the weather was beautiful. It must have been March or so. It was so beautiful. That's the only hunting trip I clearly remember.

Camp life was very, very regular. We weren't allowed to sleep in at all. And from the time that I can remember we were told right away when your father or mother wake up then you get up automatically. You don't stay in bed and just lay around. You get up right away and we would wake up really early in the morning, like 6 or 7 and go to bed early; that was life. We didn't go by time, we didn't go by the clock we just went by the seasons. So it was going by the weather, the seasons. But everybody would go to bed at the same time and wake up at the same time. But my father would wake up a lot earlier.

And we didn't, well, I didn't, have any routines or chores or stuff like that. I just played a lot with my sister. Though we had little jobs. But it wasn't like work it was just, you know, you just did it: bring in some ice for tea, tidy up the blanket on the mattress, pick up stuff off the floor. Tiny little things like that.

It's so natural when you are just out there on the land. The only things you had to follow were not to go down to the ice at certain times and not to drink this you know the water that comes from mountains.
(Rebecca, interview, 2002)

Hunting is the core of traditional Inuit life. Here, Joanassie, a Sanikiluaq elder, describes some preparations that were made before a hunt in the 1940s.

People woke up early in the morning, and started to smooth their qamutiik runners. The runners had soil on them, so they drank water that was melted over the qulliq and spit the water on the runners and rubbed on snow at the same time so the sled could go faster. You have probably seen a qulliq before? The qulliq was the only source of heat that could melt the snow. All of this work was done just before sunrise. After, when they got the qamutiik ready, the dogs had to be harnessed. On the qamutiik, they had food in an old piece of skin that was once used as kayak material and rope made out of sealskin. They had to secure the food inside because the dogs were very hungry back then. This happened during the cold winter months. During winter the dogs used to sniff around trying to look for seal breathing holes. It was not hard to notice when dogs sensed the holes. They marked the breathing spot with a piece of snow, so they could go back to it. That was how it used to be. When they caught a seal, they made a fire and roasted the seal meat over it. There was nothing else to eat back then. Any animal they ate, they ate it all and nothing was wasted. (Joannasie, interview, 2002)

In camps, the people would have had almost total control over their existence. The land provided nearly all that they needed to survive. This loss of the independence of camp life and the growing dependence on others (notably the government) caused so much difficulty for many of the Inuit who went, eventually, to the communities in the 1950s and 1960s. Joseph Idlout, a renowned guide, hunter and trapper, and the hunter depicted on the old Canadian \$2 bill, perhaps personifies the plight of many Inuit who saw the old camp life disappear with the growth of the communities and a growing dependency on government. Experiencing the changeover from the fiercely independent life of the camps to that of the communities, he felt he no longer belonged to the old life and yet couldn't fully belong to the new (Greenwald, 1990). His successful and then tragic life is told in the aptly named documentary *Between Two Worlds*. Idlout, who in 1951, led a highly successful camp of 30 people consisting of himself, his wife and nine children and two other families, near the settlement of Pond Inlet, died in Resolute Bay in

1968, a broken man. His traditional life, a most successful and independent life in Inuit terms, began to mean less and less with the coming of modernity. The knowledge and skills, which made him a successful hunter and camp leader no longer had the value they once had. He died at the age of 53 when he was killed in a snowmobile accident that, while judged accidental, is thought by many to have been suicide.

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

Today, it may be difficult to construct what the full scope of 'traditional education' might actually have been. Ongtooguk (2000), writing about Alaskan Inupiat, but applicable, I believe, to Canadian Inuit, says that after the changes that have taken place in society and the effects of the demands of compulsory schooling it is likely that,

traditional education and ways of learning have been obscured and many pieces lost. While there are some obvious elements still in place, they tend to be fragmented and are seldom recognized as portions of an entire way of learning. (p. 4)

Yet, despite this and the fact that memories have been mediated by decades of contact and enormous social and cultural changes, we can create a picture of some of the functions and methods used in the education of camp children. There still exist today elders who have experienced camp life before the effects of contact were undeniable.

What then would traditional education in a camp look like? Would it in fact be something we could see? Certainly not in the sense of being able to see students sitting at desks in a physical place called school, "*There was no school, no classrooms. The*

children were taught by family and community members. That's how they learned. They learned by just being around their environment" (Ooloota, 1st year student. Interview).

In fact, a recurring theme in descriptions of 'traditional education' is that the older people do not remember being taught in the modern sense and that learning, 'often occurs without conscious intention or awareness' (Stairs, 1994, p 66). Uqsuralik, an elder living in Iqaluit, has this to say about her childhood and how she learned things: *"It was a happy time, even though it was very difficult, hard work. But all in all, we were learning how to do things. We were never formally taught how to do things."* (Briggs, 2000, p. 3).

Stairs (1991) and Wenzel (1987) depict Inuit as recognizing two concepts of education that may aid our understanding of the contrast in functions and characteristics of the informal traditional education of the camps and modern formal education that is practiced in Nunavut today. These are the concepts of *isumaqsayuq* and *ilisayuq*: these terms come from the north Baffin dialect of Inuktitut and would not necessarily be instantly recognizable across Nunavut.

Isumaqsayuq

In his examination of the effects of political and environmental concerns on the seal hunt Wenzel (1987) describes hunting activities as being "the context in which normative values can be most easily transmitted across generational lines" (p. 205). This includes the sharing in hunting activities, which functions to reinforce in the participants their social and ecological realities. The Inuit label, or at least the north Baffin term, for this passing on of both knowledge and values is *isumaqsayuq*.

This learning, the 'passing along of knowledge' (p. 205) is based upon the attentiveness of the students who learn from a number of teachers (adult experts), by

listening, watching and then attempting the task themselves. The student moves ahead at his or her own self-determined rate. Stairs (1991) describes isumaqsayuq as,

the way of passing along knowledge through observation and imitation embedded in daily family and community activities, integration into the immediate shared social structure being the principal goal. The focus is on values and identity, developed through the learner's relationship to other persons and to the environment (p. 281).

In Learning Processes and Teaching Roles in Native Education, Stairs (1991)

illustrates the integration of traditional education into the ecological, social and cognitive cultural systems of the Inuit. It is useful to delineate the major characteristics for each of these systems. Isumaqsayuq, she says, legitimizes what is learned in the context of a person's life experiences and community consensus and it is learned both holistically and thematically.

i) Ecological Culture

Isumaqsayuq was an integral part of the ecology and economy of traditional Inuit material culture. All learning took place in context and was functional to the everyday lives of the Inuit, or as Greenwald (1990) puts it 'education and life are one'. However, the lives of traditional Inuit were governed by the weather, the land and the abundance or scarcity of animals; the goal was survival in a generally harsh and unforgiving environment. Mistakes could prove critical to individual or group survival. Consequently, there was a period of extended observation before particular tasks were actually attempted. There also seems to have been little verbal explanation of the skills being learned by a parent, or other expert. Concepts to be learned would have to be extracted by the learner from stories told and observations made and not necessarily from

explicit instruction. These concepts would be developed by the practicing of skills in a variety of different situations, varying, for example, in weather conditions, tools used and the animals hunted (Stairs, 1991).

These characteristics, observation, a lack of explicit instruction and the role of stories can be seen in the following quotations. The first comes from Ongtooguk (2000) where he states that the notion of learning by doing is the “*back end of the experience in traditional life*” (p.4). For example, through the telling of a story about how boys learn, the role of a male hunter is learned. Ongtooguk describes the importance of observation in learning the knowledge and skills a boy is required to know to become hunter.

The first knowledge about hunting comes from boys watching how hunters prepare their equipment, their clothing and themselves. Observation begins at a very early age and continues for years. At first the boy observes how relatively easy it seems to load a boat. Then, another year, the boy sees more than the work and starts to notice the balance of the load. (Ongtooguk, 2000, p.4)

The boy gradually observes more and more details about the work. That which appeared at first simple, becomes more complicated.

The sophisticated observer finally extracts the principles that become the threads by which what has been 'seen and done' is understood (Ongtooguk, 2000, p.4)

It is not too difficult to apply the role of observation in the realm of hunting to that of sewing and skin preparation. The following quotations from some of my research participants support the importance of observation in traditional education.

You just watch, you know. We would watch and see how it was done. The more you watched the more you learned. And the only way we would

practice was by playing, you know. Like me and my sister would, in summer time play house and we would pretend to light up the qulliq and cook stuff, just play. And it went from playing to actually trying as you got older. Like our parents didn't really teach us. They didn't sit us down and say this is how and say this is how you do it. You just watch and try out. (Rebecca, interview, 2002)

Mostly by observing, watching, copying mother and then the mother would, if she saw you doing it the wrong way she would correct you. But the Inuit didn't speak much - they learned from just watching and doing it themselves and trying it out. (Maggie, interview, 2002)

Children were taught when the parents felt that they were ready and mature enough for whatever they needed to learn for their age. For instance, with me and my mother, I used to watch her sew all the time – 'cause we learned by watching and doing - when she felt I was ready to sew she gave me the materials and said, 'Here you are on your own. Now do it.' You have to learn for yourself. (Lizzie, interview, 2002)

Yet, there are examples of more direct and more verbal communication around the learning of skills. Clearly learning wasn't a game; there were serious goals to be learned upon which survival depended. In this quotation from the documentary, *Between Two Worlds* (Greenwald, 1990), Peter Paniloo, the son of Joseph Idlout describes how his father used to teach him the skills of hunting and also how strict his father was when teaching him.

First of all, my father would tell me how things were supposed to be done and then he would show me. And then finally when he felt I could do things on my own he would let me practice. But he was always analyzing my actions. He would watch me while I was hunting sometimes with his binoculars from a distance. Afterwards, he would tell me where I had made mistakes. And when I became more independent in my hunting he would advise me more for my advancement.

He used to tell people that this is my son. And I have taught him to be a hunter. I used to think my father loved me least of all my brothers and sisters because he was so strict with me. I've realized he was strict with me because he was teaching me. It was as if I were a prisoner at

times when he was doing this because he wanted me to learn well. Afterwards, after he taught me all these things he wasn't as hard on me because he knew he didn't have to worry about me anymore. He knew he had taught me well so I could be on my own. (Greenwald, 1990)

Further connected with the hunting theme, Ongtooguk (2000) talks about apprenticeships being another aspect of traditional education. Apprenticeships in this context do not have predetermined beginnings and endings but depend upon the maturity of the apprentice. Ongtooguk describes how the apprentice hunter, while tending to the hunting camp's chores, fetching water, cleaning etc., is actually learning not merely those skills but also how to deal with the long and hard labour that is involved in hunting without giving in to fatigue. A young hunter must learn not merely skills but the ability to think about what he is doing, the dangers involved, and to minimize the risks involved.

Stairs (1991) describes a teaching technique she terms 'backwards chaining', that elders used, in which the last steps of adult tasks were left to be completed by children, thus involving them in real family or community responsibilities. As the child's dexterity improves the parent/elder will leave more and more steps undone for the child to complete. This technique of 'backward chaining' was certainly remembered by a number of NTEP students who had experienced it in their childhood.

ii) Social Culture

The driving force of life for traditional Inuit was survival. While for Inuit in the 21st century, survival (and the related skills) is distinctly different from that of the not so distant past there is still, in the minds of many, a real ongoing struggle for survival. Peesee Pitsiulak, the Director of Curriculum and School Services of the Department of

Education, said in a presentation to students that while surviving today is not the same as, for example, surviving winter in the past, *“We have lost the belief in the need to survive but we need to survive as Inuit”* (presentation, 2003). Simon Awa, the Assistant Deputy Minister for Justice in a similar presentation to an NTEP class, this time focusing on Inuit Qaujimanituqangit (IQ) said, referring to the past, present and future meanings of the concept, “The base of IQ has to do with survival.”

Traditionally, survival required group cohesion, a degree of interdependence within camps and small communities that may seem extraordinary today. The objective of traditional education then was group, not individual, survival. Group cohesion was brought about through the many and varied interactions between the young learners and their numerous ‘teachers’ as they learned the skills required for survival. Individuals had to learn their place in the camp. “Awareness of interpersonal relationships and one’s role in the social network is what constitutes maturity; this social competence has priority over individual excellence and productivity” (Stairs, 1991, p. 282). However, despite the need for cohesion, individuality was not condemned as long as it was within the accepted structural norms of the group. Those with specific abilities were valued and their talents appreciated by the group. The individual progress of children was also accepted. There was no expectancy for children to progress in either the same direction, with the same speed or level of achievement. They were expected, as Stairs (1991) writes, “to attend to adult activities around them according to their own motivations, or to approach teachers and elders themselves, before direct instruction was given” (p. 284).

iii) Cognitive Culture

Stairs (1991) quotes Annahatak when describing the role of cognitive culture within the concept of *isumaqsayuq*. Cognitive culture, an integration of the affective, the perceptual and the intellectual, “..underlies a people’s outward material and social expressions of their culture” (p. 285). Stairs (1991) sees differences in cognitive cultures (e.g. how knowledge is organised) as “people’s collectively preferred ways of thinking about the world, each way offering insights not available to others” (p. 285). These ways are not to be compared by the use of an ‘acultural criterion of pedagogical effectiveness’ (p.285). Yet, a ‘preferred way of thinking’ would imply there was a choice. However, what choice was there for traditional Inuit to make? It might be argued that the ‘ways of thinking’ of traditional Inuit grew in a world far more limited than that of today. These ‘ways’ were geared for survival and only ‘preferred’ in the limited sense that they worked in that situation and there was no real alternative at the time.

The next section defines *ilisayuq* and delineates the major differences between it and *isumaqsayuq* as described by Stairs (1991, 1992).

Ilisayuq

Ilisayuq, according to Stairs (1991, 1992) “involves a high level of abstract verbal mediation in a setting removed from daily life, with the skill base for a future specialized occupation as the principal goal” (p 281, p. 122). Wenzel (1987, p. 205) describes *ilisayuq* as 'formal' education or 'structured teaching'. Clearly, *ilisayuq* describes what may be considered modern schooling. *Isumaqsayuq* is associated with the development of an ecocentric identity, an identity based upon the relationship of the learner to the community and the environment in which the learner is situated. *Ilisayuq*, in contrast, “

may be understood as education leading to egocentric development, to success in an egocentric contractual culture” (Stairs, 1992, p. 122).

Table 2 delineates the major differences outlined by Stairs (1991) between these two concepts of education. However, while these two concepts are useful in our understanding of the differences between modern and traditional Inuit education, the functions and characteristics of each are not necessarily mutually exclusive, nor would they be unique, except in certain material ways, to the situation of Inuit. In fact, most modern schools would reflect characteristics of both *ilisayuq* and *isumaqsayuq*.

To sum up, the goal of traditional learning was the use of the skills learned in a community context. The actual learning of the children was monitored by whether or not the learned skill provided successful results. Approval was shown by the active inclusion of the child in the group activities and censorship or criticism by non-response or teasing. Children, by the very nature of camp life, were invariably in the presence of their elders, more often than not relatives, as they went about their everyday camp tasks. Consequently, learning is rooted in kinship and community relationships (Stairs, 1994). Extended observation, rather than 'trial and error' is a critical element of *isumaqsayuq*. Tasks are repeated in many situations and in varying conditions

Through the stories and customs in which they were immersed, children learned the traditions, values and beliefs associated with the various activities of camp life.

Ilisayuq	Isumaqsayuq
Validation of Knowledge	
Objective proof required Expert opinion required	Based upon life experience and community consensus
Predetermined standards of success to be achieved External evaluation	No predetermined achievement standards Direct testing of social and environmental reactions. Success based upon use in real world
Knowledge conveyed in abstract universal categories, hierarchically arranged	Knowledge conveyed both holistically and thematically
Learners isolated from one another and their teachers	Learners immersed in the social context of their learning
Learners expected to learn in a uniform fashion at a predetermined rate	No predetermined rate of achievement
Learners learn in unfamiliar ways– a separation between thinking and feeling	No distinction made between thinking and feeling when learning
Discipline	
Various forms of praise and punishment applied	Positive inclusion into community activity, negative non-response, group teasing
Perceived weaknesses of each concept	
A lack of awareness of the social roles and networks surrounding learning. Personal relationships between teachers and students discouraged	Too immersed in social networks
Learning requires confirmation of an expert	Self-initiated learning incompatible with the modern world
Learning too disconnected from the lives of the children	Too parochial and inefficient for the modern world and classroom
Too much focus on individual success	Success based upon community needs

Table 2: Major Differences between Ilisayuq And Isumaqsayuq identified by Stairs (1991)

Parental expectations, pride and approval were the initial motivators for children's learning - a learning that encouraged cooperation - a trait necessary to ensure the survival of the group in the northern environment (Armstrong, 1987). Clearly, in traditional camps, group survival was paramount and took precedence over any notion of personal self-sufficiency (Stairs, 1991).

Socialization

The late Jack Cram, a professor in the Faculty of Education at McGill University and intimately connected with teacher education in both northern Quebec and Nunavut, wrote in 1985, that,

education was a deep socio-emotional process whereby the child acquired knowledge, skills and values from various individual 'role models' as a necessary and highly respected part of season-by-season life in an extended family. Important milestones in a child's growth were not based on chronological age so much as the acquisition of specific skills such as killing a first seal or sewing a first skin boot. Both physical and spiritual expansion were grounded firmly in this competency-based model of differential individual maturity. (p. 114)

Through this process, the children acquired the knowledge, skills and values of their parents, the culture, through the daily process of living and socializing with them and other members of their community (Oakes, 1988). Traditional Inuit education cannot, as Irwin (1988) writes, be separated from the process of Inuit enculturation. We can see this notion supported in the following quotation from Armstrong (1987) where she describes the function of traditional indigenous education.

Learning and teaching in the traditional view ensures cultural continuity and survival of the mental, spiritual, emotional and physical well-being of

the cultural unit and of its environment, the individual, the family, the community and the people as a whole. (p. 14)

And, again, from Uqsurakik, the Iqaluit elder; *"I am not saying our way of life was better than yours. In a lot of ways it was not so good. But I can certainly say we were taught to lead a very good culturally strong life."* (Briggs, 2000, p. 2)

Traditional education and teaching in the camps was then an integral part of everyday life. Learning was seen as a natural and necessary activity in order for the individual to function within the social order of the camp and for the very survival of the group. Methods of teaching and learning grew out of the indigenous experience of the environment. What and how something was taught was related to a number of environmental and socio-cultural factors. For example, the season would dictate the particular knowledge and skills that needed to be learned, summer and winter necessitating quite different kinds of learning. Prevailing weather conditions would also direct whether or not more time was to be spent indoors or out and thus affect the teaching and learning that would take place. Of course, the natural rhythm of daily camp life would have dictated what was taught and when (Armstrong, 1987).

The education and socialization of Inuit children began as soon as children began to imitate their older siblings and parents and was a shared responsibility taken up principally by the parents and grandparents, although older siblings, uncles and aunts also played their part. The community role of adults and clear role differentiation is illustrated in this quotation from Fogwill (1994).

Elders, parents and other family members were responsible for the education of children and for passing the cultural traditions from one generation to the next. Children's education began at an early age because they were included in the daily activities of the camp. Girls were taught to prepare skins and sew clothing by their mothers, grandmothers and aunts while the boys were taught to make tools for hunting and taught to hunt well by their fathers, grandfathers and uncles. (p. 232)

There is no doubt that in Inuit traditional society, there was a clear division of labour (Irwin, 1988, Williamson, 1974). Williamson points out that socialization:

carries on beyond the indoctrination of skills to the articulation of principles of living. From a very early age, as young as four or five, little boys start travelling with their fathers when hunting and trapping while little girls learn the first principles of the feminine role. (p. 43)

Boys, once no longer needing the constant security of their mothers, would begin to accompany their fathers on hunting trips and in visiting other families' dwellings. They would quickly learn the skills associated with tending to the dogs and hunting. They could be contributing food to the family as early as four or five years of age. By puberty, they would be accomplished hunters and by sixteen, fathers.

Girls would spend their lives in close contact with their mothers and grandmothers. While their brothers were learning the skills of hunting, the girls were beginning to learn the economic tasks associated with females. By the age of three, they would help their mothers with chores, such as bringing the ice, scraping skins and tending to the oil lamp that supplied heat, light and a method of cooking. As their manual dexterity developed, they would begin to learn to sew, possibly beginning with clothes for dolls and then on to human clothing.

Boys and girls were not just taught physical skills appropriate to gender roles but also the particular attitudes appropriate to their sex. Boys were expected to be, “manly, vigorous and when spoken to, articulate. Little girls were expected to be quiet, meek and very passive and rarely to speak” (Williamson, 1974). A quotation from Uqsuralik further shows the different expectations required of boys and girls:

Little girls were not to be the boss. If a little girl was trying to dominate a younger child they were told immediately not to do it. Boys were encouraged to be leaders, the dominant ones. They were not to be overly dominant but they were to be the leaders. (Briggs, 2000, p. 16)

In *Never in Anger* (1970), Jean Briggs, professor emeritus of the Department of Anthropology at Memorial University, illustrates the dominant position of men when she writes that men and women generally seemed to ignore each other except when:

a man gave instructions to his wife (or daughter or sister) to perform some service for him: make tea or boil fish, pick lice out of his undershirt, or fetch a little tobacco from next door. (p. 80)

While the division of labour between males and females was generally quite clear, it was by no means absolutely rigid. Situations arose where members of the opposite sex had to learn each other's skills because survival was always the main motivating factor for accomplishing tasks. Shaimaiyuk (1999) tells us, “*Men also learned how to sew by watching their parents so that they could mend their clothing while out hunting if anything happened*” (p. 139). The following quotations from my research interviews (2002) show some situations in which the traditional skills of the opposite sex would need to be learned. The first quotation has the interviewee referring to a more modern

skill, a skill that is essential for those who travel on the land. There is nothing quite so disconcerting nor potentially dangerous as being miles from nowhere with a skidoo that refuses to start and having no idea how to fix it! The quotation also illustrates the continuing existence of notions on the division of labour in both the minds of the brother and his sister Lizzie, the interviewee.

I wanted to learn how to fix skidoos, boys' stuff. So I learned that from my brother - even though he was opposed. I said, "One of these days I am going to have to learn to be able to know this stuff and you won't be around forever. If I need help you won't be here at the moment when I need it." I felt I needed to learn both skills, the female and the male. (Lizzie, interview, 2002)

The following quotations show the practical side of the Inuit. While it is a female's role to make and care for clothing, if there are no females, then a male has to learn the skill in order, once again, to contribute to the survival of the family group, or, in the second quotation, for personal survival.

I know of a Clyde man who makes and sews his own kammiit and other clothing! I also know another older man who taught my Mum how to sew kammiit. (Louise interviews, 2004)

But there was a point where men were taught how to sew because when they were out on the land and a blizzard came up and their mitts are ripped they have to be able to make repairs. (Malaya, interview, 2002).

The first quotation portrays perhaps atypical men certainly ones in direct contrast to the quotation from Briggs (1970) above, and both quotations, the practicality of the Inuit. The following quotation demonstrates role, limited role exchange and how women took on men's roles when necessity arose. I myself

have heard a number of tales about women hunters who, in some cases, were better than their male counterparts.

My dad made us bannock every morning, it would be my mother's chore but every morning my father would start the bannock looking like donuts cooked in fat.... I know a lot of women who go out hunting especially widow women who didn't have a husband or family to look after them. (Maggie, interview, 2002)

In this anecdote, from Ellen, a first year nursing student, a response to a question in an introductory sociology course I was teaching, she clearly illustrates the continuing importance in some Inuit families of the 'traditional ways' and the lasting differentiation in gender roles, a differentiation that continues to exist in her own small family.

Growing up in the Inuit culture and being raised by my Inuit parents and grandparents and my great-grand parents, the traditional ways of Inuit life were stressed on me throughout my life. I grew up being taught the Inuit values and the traditional beliefs.

In my first years of life I was taught that girls were supposed to have long hair, so I have always had long hair. I was also taught that girls should learn how to sew clothing and work in the kitchen and do all the cleaning. I don't remember when I actually learned all this stuff but I know I've always seen the women in my family doing these jobs. I've always seen the men outside and they are the ones who went hunting and the ladies would go fishing.

One memory stands out from my past is that when my dad wouldn't take me out hunting with him. I can remember waking up early one morning and my dad was getting ready to go hunting. I asked him where he was going and when he would come back. He told me he was going for the day and that he wasn't going too far because the caribou were close to town. I started getting ready too, thinking I was going with him. I assumed I was going to go with him. He looked at me and said I wasn't allowed to come. I started crying and I noticed that my younger brother who was only 4 or 5 years old was getting dressed up and after I saw him I started crying even more. I couldn't understand why my brother who was younger than me was going. After I stopped crying my grandma looked at me and said that because I am a girl I shouldn't be crying to go hunting. She started teasing me because I, a girl, was crying to go hunting when I should be cleaning up and sewing. I didn't go that day but

because I was so mad at my dad when he came back from the trip he allowed me to go every time after that horrible day.

That day will always be in my mind because even today I enjoy being out on the land and going hunting is fun for me. My boyfriend is the one who goes hunting and I am the one who sews his clothing and cooks the meals and also cleans up the house.

I always told myself I would never live like this but the values are still followed today and my boyfriend expects me to do these things because he doesn't know how to cook or clean, he never had to do those things. We both grew up traditionally and we follow the ways even today. (Ellen, interview. 2002)

Elders clearly played a large role in the organization of camp life and the wielding of the social controls needed to ensure its functioning. The influence and power the elders had in the traditional world of Inuit continues to affect modern Inuit society, although not quite in such a direct way as in the past. Reference to the elders and their advice and knowledge is constantly sought in political and social spheres of Inuit life. In fact, consultation with and inclusion of elders has become an integral part of the decision making process in government and non-government organisations. Howard and Widdowson (1999) put the case against this continuous reverence of elders and the harping back to traditional culture and ways ignoring the plight of the youth:

The problems created by artificial retention of Inuit culture are exacerbated when Inuit are encouraged to look backward for solutions by focusing on the traditions of elders rather than the aspirations of youth. While Nunavut leaders constantly argue that elders should be involved in the policy-making process, Inuit youth are either ignored or encouraged to return to their hunting and gathering roots. But Inuit youth are bored because of the lack of intellectual stimulation in the settlements. (p. 60)

There are discrepancies between the 'official' inclusion of the elders and their actual effect upon decision-making policy. For example, Williamson (1974) comments on the issue this way,

The wisdom of older people is sometimes not applicable to the new situations in the acculturation situation, it will be seen later, that tensions and ambivalences are created by the existence of this continuing authority in the minds of the younger Eskimo adults (p. 45).

This quotation, of 30 years ago, is no less true today than when it was written.

There are clear tensions between what younger Inuit think and do today and the perceived need to honour and revere traditional knowledge, and perhaps the no longer relevant code of authority held by the elders.

The following response from one of the participants in this study, Susie, to a question on the importance and relevance of elders today, illustrates the tension between a cultural norm, to respect one's elders, and a realization that the world has changed and perhaps elders are no longer necessarily the ones who carry the knowledge and advice to deal with today's world.

*In some sense they are relevant but let's speak about one incident that just happened recently. An MLA said if they had social problems why don't they go to through elders. And I sense that an elder would say go home and sort out your problems. But that was about 50 years ago. Today it is different because 50 years ago a lot of them were not influenced by alcohol and drugs. It would be very wrong for an elder to say that and not look at possibilities. Yes, there's a place for elders but for different things. But it is also very good to get things from an elder and we shouldn't be afraid to tell elders, 'Okay, things are different now. What would you say if I do it this way?' Share things—share knowledge.
(Susie, interview, 2002)*

Interestingly, Jose Kusugak (2003) writes of the need to clarify and to define the meaning of the term 'elder', to limit its use, that is elder with a capital E, to those elderly people (generally taken to mean people over 50-55 years of age) who have proven their

experience and knowledge. After all, not all those who attain a great age carry wisdom with them.

Inuit culture was taught in an informal unconstrained manner. Children learned the belief systems and behaviour patterns that allowed them to assume responsible adult roles. It was this type of education and the intimate relationship of community life and the environment that would be gradually and irrevocably changed by the coming of the missionaries and the formal education systems of the Canadian and Territorial Governments.

Archeological and historical data show the Inuit of the circumpolar world had a deep, conservative, and extremely effective system of education which was attacked and nearly destroyed by a system of schooling imposed from the south. (Cram, 1985, p. 113)

I conclude this section of the chapter with a two quotations, one lengthy quotation from Wachowich's (1999), *Saqiyuq, Stories from the Lives of three Inuit Women* and the other from an interview with a former NTEP student and instructor. The first, from Saqiyuq, describes some memories of the childhood of Awa, a Pond Inlet elder. Painted from a girl's perspective, she gives an evocative picture of what she remembers camp life to have been like. She tells us some things about traditional teaching and learning and manages to make one or two comments and comparisons with schools and some modern parents and their parenting skills. The second from Mary alludes to some of the changes that have come as people moved from the land into the communities. First, the memories of Awa:

When we were young we stayed with our mothers, and our mothers would ask us to do things for them, like go and get ice or take the bucket out.

Also, we learned how to sew. Our mothers taught us how to sew and clean skins. We were always helping our mothers, cleaning the skins, sewing, taking the bucket out, getting ice, making oil for the lamps and chewing skins. Working like this was like going to school, because we would be woken up early in the morning to start our daily work. They would wake us up and tell us to get up and get ready because we were going out hunting or we were going out camping. It was like going to school.

Towards the evening we would finish our work. We went to bed early because we had to get up early in the morning. We went to bed at around seven or eight at night, and we would wake up early in the morning. All of us in camp would wake up early in the morning. It wasn't like today with some people sleeping and some awake - it wasn't like that. Our parents weren't like this. We had to get up early in the morning. We all got up at the same time.

Often in the middle of the night they would wake us up. They would wake up the boys every time the dogs had a fight. They would ask them to get up and stop the dogs. The boys would get up in the middle of the night and go out and stop the dogs and then come back inside and go back to bed. Sometimes they would wake us up and tell us that there was a polar bear outside. We would have to get up in a hurry. We didn't stop to have tea every time they woke us. No, we would get up right away and put on all of our clothes and go outside. We were taught like soldiers, that we had to be on guard all the time. They taught us how to get up and put on our clothes in a hurry. If there was a polar bear outside the men would go out and hunt the polar bear. We were always on guard.

Even those nights when we were up in the middle of the night, they would still wake us up again early in the morning. We had a lot of things to do between the time we got up and the time we went to bed. The men always had to make sure the gear was ready in case we had to go hunting or change camps in a hurry and the women always had to make sure they were ready to go. Teenage girls were always chewing sealskins. I chewed skins all through my childhood - I always had a skin in my mouth. Every single day we would work, and then towards the evenings we would relax and play games. In the springtime the little ones would go out and practice hunting with targets and birds. They would hunt birds and take them home, and the rest of the family would eat them.

That was the way it was for us. We were asked to do a lot of things, and we would listen to our parents. It wasn't that our parents were mean - they did this so that we could learn to be strong to help others and help ourselves. They did this so that we could learn to survive. In the future, when we were adults, we would have to know how to look after our own children. They did this to teach us the way. (p. 27)

It is interesting to see how there are a number of references, in the above quotation and preceding ones, to the rigour and regularity of camp life dictated not only by the environment itself but by the adults, who understood the necessity of teaching their children to enable them to survive. This is often in marked difference to some modern parents whose lives are so manifestly different from their parents and grandparents and whose parenting styles have changed, sometimes, unfortunately to the point of neglect. The following quotation from Annie exemplifies aspects both the old, camp life and the new community life and some of the changes in attitude and behaviour community has brought.

When I was growing up, we certainly had curfews. We certainly had to be home by a certain time. We had to be in bed early because most of the work was done in the morning and during the day so everybody went to bed early. And even today, the people say when they are out camping, they go to bed early because that's the way of life when you're out on the land. (Annie, Interview, 1996)

In contrast, modern life, she explains.

But in a community setting, you don't have to work twice as hard as you did in an outpost camp. Water is given to you. Toilets are taken for you. You don't have to feed your family on a daily basis, I mean you do but not in a struggling way. You just open the fridge, you just go to the store. So when that changed, people's attitude changed. Suddenly they're saying, "We don't have to go to bed now because we don't have to go out hunting first thing in the morning, we already have food in the freezer." And TV came and TV doesn't shut off at a certain time and so they are up all night. But once it started, people being moved into a bigger community things changed. People didn't know how to get along. The people that were in charge were no longer in charge. (Annie, interview, 1996)

THE MISSIONARY ERA (1860-1950)

Missionary schools played a significant role in the education of northern youth during their 90 years of existence. The results of more distasteful aspects of missionary schooling still effect the lives of a number of aboriginal people, as some former students of the residential schools, both Anglican and Catholic, attempt to deal the abuse they experienced while attending these schools. And while the stories of residential school abuse and the legal cases that have arisen from them tend to colour how the one may view the role of missionaries in the north and their part in the education of northern aboriginal people it would be a mistake to believe that these abhorrent episodes in church schooling reflect the full story of missionary education. They simply don't.

Missionary schooling began in the west with the building of the first school in Fort Simpson in 1860-61 by the Anglican Church. Generally, due to larger populations and earlier development, the churches were more active in the west than the east. I will write only of the missionaries' activities in the east.

The first missionary school on Baffin Island was opened in 1894 on Blacklead Island near Pangnirtung. by the Rev. Peck. The Churches normally received little financial support from the government while initially being given total responsibility for the provision of education in the north. Repeated requests by, for example, the Anglican Church for more funding to provide a more comprehensive education for Inuit during the 1930s were denied by the Federal government (Carney cited in Van Meenen, 1994).

Peck was also responsible for a large part of a major contribution by missionaries to Inuit life and education, the development of the syllabic alphabet (Appendix G). The use of syllabics as the writing system for Inuktitut began with the adaptation of the Cree

syllabics developed by Evans. While Peck is usually given acknowledgment for this adaptation credit should go to two other missionaries, Horden and Watkins for the work (Harper, 1983). However, recognition for the spread of the syllabic system in among the Inuit of Nunavut certainly belongs to Reverend Peck who was " sending copies of church literature with expeditions, traders and Inuit travellers" in advance of the arrival of missionaries into other parts of the arctic. From his Blacklead Island Mission, established in 1894 in Cumberland Sound, Peck supervised the translation of the gospels and other church literature and was successful in teaching the Inuit to read and write. It was the ease of learning to read and write in syllabics that allowed the Anglican Church, largely through its Inuit helpers and volunteers, to spread its message so quickly and effectively in Inuktitut across the Baffin region. The Catholic Church also adopted, with some differences from the system used by the Anglicans, the use of syllabics for its proselytising. Thus the Bible became the principal text in Inuktitut for the learning of reading and writing across the arctic. Harper (1983) suggests that most Inuit children would have learned the syllabic system from their parents, rather than from the missionaries themselves, as they used the prayer book and read the Bible in the camps. Indeed, many of the older NTEP students have related how they remember learning to read using the Bible as the major text – for those a little younger it becomes the *Dick and Jane* readers.

However, even the syllabic alphabet led to problems, both Jenness (1964) and Vallee (1967) thought it advisable that the syllabic script be abandoned. Despite the very small minority of Inuit in Nunavut using the Roman script some Inuit leaders, John Amagoalik among them, have long suggested dropping syllabics in favour of the Roman

orthography. The expressed justifications for this include: access to more Inuktitut writing (from Greenland): children would have only one script to learn for both languages (English and Inuktitut): and an easier (and cheaper) publication process for Inuktitut materials. However, computers and the availability of Inuktitut fonts have rendered this last reason redundant. It is now very easy, technically at least, to switch back and forth from one script to the other using the computer. A particular Inuktitut program allows one to type in Roman (for ease) and then a touch of a button transcribes the Roman into syllabics.

However, the idea of dropping syllabics meets fierce resistance from a large, mostly older proportion of the Inuit population. There is a passionate attachment to the syllabic script possibly due to its connection to the Bible but also because there is a feeling, notwithstanding the script's origins, that it represents Inuit, it is unique to them.

Nunavut's two writing systems for Inuktitut and their perceived impact on the education and literacy of Inuit, continues to be a source of debate and argument among Inuit themselves and this issue will eventually, when there is both the political will and courage to deal with this emotionally loaded topic, have to be dealt with by the new Nunavut Government. Yet, there cannot be any doubt of the positive impact of the missionaries on initial Inuktitut literacy, even though the goal was the spread of Christianity.

Missionaries would visit the Inuit camps where they held informal schooling sessions. With the gradual establishment of settlements, more children would come for their lessons to the mission where the recreation room would double as a classroom.

Most schooling in the eastern Arctic would have taken place in trading posts and nascent settlements in the summer months, with some teaching in the Inuit winter camps. The missions ran a limited number of residential schools. At the time residential schools were not large institutions holding numerous children, but small-scale affairs. For example, the two existing in the eastern Arctic in 1946 had eight and six children respectively. They also ran day schools where numbers warranted it, and schools that functioned only at the times when the Inuit gathered around the trading posts or the church. Education in these schools may only have been for as little as an hour a day.

The goals of missionary education are quite clear, as was the rivalry between the Churches, as this quotation from Bishop MacKay, 1907, illustrates, “The chief value that I attach to the day schools is that religious instruction is given” (MacPherson, 1991, p. 16). Regardless of the goals and rivalries, the missionaries worked hard to provide some general education to Inuit and Indian children. In a 1935 report on Canada’s eastern Arctic, Bethune comments upon the work he saw being carried out in the settlements with the few Inuit who attended school:

Quite naturally and properly the missionaries considered that their religious work is of first importance but in conjunction with their religious teaching they instruct the children in simple arithmetic, writing (mostly in Eskimo syllabics) geography, and other simple subjects which are likely to be of most utility. (MacPherson, 1991, p. 38)

Fogwill (1994) points out that with the accent upon religious training and conversion, many traditional cultural beliefs held by both Indians and Inuit were lost during the missionary era. This destruction of traditional ways of Inuit life, and the imposition of the colonial education system, was hastened by the establishment of

residential schools by the churches with what Coates, describes in Mitchell (1996), as their 'strict assimilationist policy'. The effects of these residential schools, both Missionary and the later Federal ones, are presently under close examination, as more Inuit find their voices and speak of the debilitating experiences some endured there. Jenness (1964) describes, over forty years ago, the disastrous effects of the dislocation these schools caused within the Inuit community. Yet, while these schools are being severely criticized, Inuit do not universally condemn them. Nor should the residential school experience of the Inuit be equated to that of the First Nations, for there are differences between the two experiences.

Missionary education effectively ended in 1944 with the publication of several reports (for example, Moore, 1945 & Stor, 1949) that were critical of the education provided by the churches. Typically, the reports, while praising the hard work of the missionaries, cited untrained teachers, generally the missionaries themselves, and ineffectual results. They were also full of recommendations, some of which illustrate the features of internal colonial schooling, for example, the provision of vocational training, outlined earlier by Altbach & Kelly (1978). Jenness (1964) writes that the missionaries,

Even in the Arctic, where the educational needs of the Eskimos were less than those in more temperate regions, the missions failed to prepare the natives for their entry into the civilised world because they lacked the money, the staff and more than all else, a clear perception of the objectives at which a secular education should aim. (p. 123)

Thus, Jenness concludes that it was inevitable that an education system organised by government and modelled after the systems in the rest of Canada would replace the educational system established by the various missions.

The next section deals with the growth of the public education system under the auspices of the Federal Government.

THE FEDERAL ERA (1944 -1970)

When the federal government took over northern education in 1947, it made no attempt to assess the effects of the mission system on the native people's social, political, and economic welfare. Nor did it try to assess where the future educational policies would lead the native peoples, or how the educational system fitted into the overall structure of development in the north. (Duffy, 1988, p. 98)

During the previous era, the government's attitude seemed to be that the education of the Inuit was properly left to the missionaries. Interestingly, Van Meenen (1994) describes the position of the government at the time as being one that would allow the Inuit to maintain their traditional lifestyles, providing they remained law-abiding. Jenness (1964) puts a more mercenary slant on this government position, describing the main concern being 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" (p. 32). McLean (1995) concurs:

Government personnel in the 1930s seemed to share the conviction that Inuit were destined to remain hunters and trappers, and therefore that state-organized schooling was at best an unnecessary expenditure, at worst a threat to Inuit self-sufficiency. (p. 183)

Inuit were presumed to be a pre-modern people, and the federal role in Inuit education was minimal. Successive governments endeavoured to minimize expenditure in the North by preserving traditional patterns of self-reliant economic activity. (p. 184)

McLean (1995) attributes the change in attitude of the Federal Government regarding education for Inuit to “the emergence of material institutions of administration and governance” (p. 194). This emergence was precipitated by the need to assert sovereignty, the construction of the DEW sites and the wage labour it brought to the Inuit, the introduction of welfare measures to which Inuit were entitled, criticism of the living conditions of the Inuit and improvements in northern transportation and communication.

Forced by these changing circumstances, Canada was pressured to assume responsibility for the north and its indigenous populations. The Federal Government adopted an incremental approach to their new responsibility over northern education during the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1946, the first Inspector of Schools for the NWT was appointed. In 1947, the main Federal authority in the lives of the Inuit and non-Inuit of the NWT was The Department of Resources and Development, which grew out of the NWT Department of Mines and Resources. The Deputy Minister for this department was also the Commissioner for the NWT. It was under his leadership that the building of Federal schools began (MacPherson, 1991). For a number of years the churches continued to play an important role within education, church and Federal schools operating simultaneously throughout the north. However, by 1955 the government finally assumed responsibility for all education.

On April 1st, 1955 the schools came under the administration of the Northern Administrative Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. MacPherson (1991) suggests that this date marks the beginning of the centralized and unified school system of the Northwest Territories. The government approved an

extensive school and hostel building program to “provide better education for the children in the Northwest Territories” (MacPherson, 1991, p 116). However, in assuming this responsibility, it appears that the government not only did not assess the effects upon native people’s social, cultural and economic welfare but also failed to investigate how future educational policies related to the overall development of the north (Duffy, 1988). For example, the increase in school services was accompanied by increased bureaucratization and an increase in non-natives working and living in the north. Thus, changing the balance of the population created an ethnically stratified division of labour, the native population constantly occupying the bottom rungs (Gorlick, 1981). In short, the government imposed a non-consultative school system, that was incongruent with the educational pattern of Inuit society, a system that could only survive through coercion (Cram, 1985).

The first Federal public school was opened in 1947 in Tuktoyaktuk in the west. In the east, by 1949, schools had been established in Cape Dorset where attendance was five or six children, although there were around 150 children of school age in the region, and at Chesterfield and Coral Harbour (Duffy, 1988). At the outset, Inuit did not participate in these schools to any great degree for a number of reasons. Many Inuit continued to keep a nomadic lifestyle. Inuit parents did not exercise the kind or amount of expected discipline required by the mainstream to encourage their children to attend school. The teachers themselves had no clear understanding of Inuit culture, nor the nomadic lifestyle, and often related poorly to the children in their charge.

Those responsible for the schools were still unsure of what kind of education the Inuit needed. MacPherson (1991) mentions the difficulty of creating curricula for the

diverse ethnic groups of the NWT. The geographic size of the area and the lack of specific knowledge of the communities and their needs only compounded these

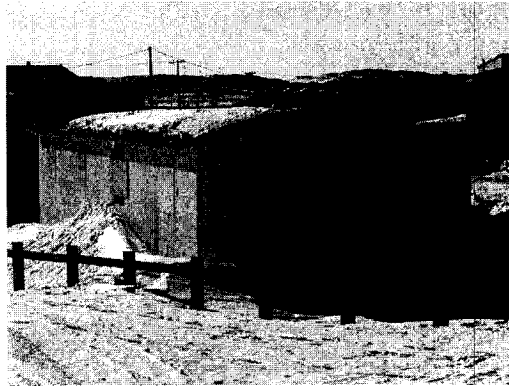


photo 20: Iqaluit's 1st School House.

difficulties. What often resulted was a curriculum that included English, simple arithmetic, hygiene, geography and some elementary science: yet these curricula were not standard throughout the area. This was a curriculum remarkably similar to that being taught in the mission schools. It was not until 1960 that the Curriculum Section of the NWT began to emphasize the need for curricula for the Inuit.

The Federal Government was faced with the problem of how to provide schooling in areas where it was economically unsound to offer day schools. Although government officials had reservations about taking children away from their parents, it finally decided that residential schools were the most economic and efficient way to teach children from communities that could not sustain a day school. Brody (1991) describes the terrible sadness the taking away of children caused to the families. He also argues that this act established in the minds of the Inuit a negative connection between education and culture.

Parents wept to see their children taken from them and sent to live among a different people in a foreign land. And their worst fears were rapidly realized by the disruption that such education caused to their children and

to family life....Many Eskimos now see education as a direct and conscious assault on Eskimo culture. (p. 186)

The renewed adherence to the concept of residential schools by the Federal Government continued and hastened the break up of the traditional way of Inuit life. By attending residential schools, children were isolated from their way of life, an Inuit education and their relationships with their parents. This resulted in several negative consequences. Respect was often lost for their parents and the traditional way of life. Their knowledge of their language and culture declined. An enormous gap was created between themselves and their old ways of living because they attended the schools for up to ten months a year. Native languages were frequently forbidden in these schools and the native culture was continually being denigrated in favour of the 'civilized' southern culture. Fogwill (1994) illustrates the problems caused by the residential schools for the students, their families and their way of life.

At the best, children suffered from the strain of the terrible dichotomy between these two worlds. At the worst, the time they spent with their families and their people was too little and they lost their language and their culture. They returned home after completing their schooling, without the knowledge, skills and language that permitted them to participate in the life of their communities. The elders and the adults of the community had their traditional role of educator usurped and saw a schooling system, which alienated their children from them, take their place. (p. 233)

Because of the increasing establishment of formal schools, the pull of the communities became irresistible to the Inuit. Those not already in the settlements came and the traditional life gave way to settlement life and important aspects of the traditional culture could no longer be passed on to the children. This move to the settlements

allowed for the growing dominance of government and the parallel growth in dependency of the Inuit (Bean, 1977). Thus, the process of cultural continuity, where adults pass on their knowledge to their children, was broken and a degree of cultural discontinuity arose where the adults, the culture-bearers, could not adequately pass their knowledge on to the children (Williamson, 1987).

Federal schools were opened throughout the eastern Arctic communities from 1955 to the 1970s. The teachers employed were southerners; they saw the world from southerners' eyes and they taught in English. Initially, there was no question of using any other language but English in Federal schools. Honigmann & Honigmann (1971) write that:

By its very nature, the official aim allows very little if any scope for suiting the school's curriculum to local conditions and problems, neither to the Eskimo's traditional role on the land nor his newly-found career in the town. The official goal also prevents school from utilizing the Eskimo child's own language during the first few years of schooling (p. 63).

Though the 1952 school ordinance of the NWT allowed for courses to be taught in the 'Eskimo' language, English remained the language of instruction. Education was a method of bringing the Inuit into the 20th century and the use of Inuktitut would it was believed, slow their progress. It was not until the late sixties that young and politically active Inuit, who became involved in Inuit organisations and more enlightened non-Inuit, began to instigate real changes (Dorais, 1992). This coincides with Inuit obtaining responsible institutional positions in the police, the administration, and the NWT council and the establishment and growth of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada - an Inuit political organisation that took a great interest in education.

Southern teachers were and still are rarely prepared for their life in the North and the difficulties they would and do encounter. Few became proficient in Inuktitut. Even today there are still few teachers who can converse in the language, despite financial incentives from the government. Most remained, as Duffy (1988) puts it, 'psychologically in the south' and failed to identify with the Inuit students.

There is no school system that is culturally neutral (Harris, 1992). This was clearly reflected in the content of the curriculum which was almost exclusively southern Canadian including the use of such inappropriate materials as Dick and Jane readers. Books reflected a southern way of life that was unknown and irrelevant to the Inuit children. It was a white, middle-class and North American world and not a world the Inuit children knew or were comfortable in. Harris (1988) believes that schools, whose curricula and staff are non-Aboriginal and reflect the values and mores of the dominant group, actually prevent native children from growing up native. Whether it was expressed or not, education was a conduit for the assimilation of the Inuit into the mainstream white world. The culture and language of the Inuit began to be further undermined by the educational and socialization processes of settlement schools.

It is not surprising that few children did well in the schools. Their parents were alienated from the system; there was a high drop-out rate, and a low, although improving, attendance record for Inuit children. While more community day schools were built, children still, if successful, had to go to residential schools in the bigger communities for high school. Thus, children and parents would be separated again.

The inability of Inuit in the eastern Arctic to obtain jobs on the construction of the DEW Line (the early warning radar defense system) in the late 1950s and 1960s, due to

poor academic and English skills, exemplified the failure of these schools. In response, schools were enlarged and more were built. More emphasis was placed upon secondary education, vocational and academic. Attempts were made to improve curricula and to make them more relevant to the north.

Van Meenen (1994) characterizes the school system under the Federal Government as one that substituted the religious proselytizing of the missionaries for the goal of integrating the Inuit into mainstream society and its values. Yet, two very positive developments did take place in the 1960s that were to have far-reaching and positive effects upon the formal education of the Inuit.

In 1965, the first Inuit classroom assistants' course began with the training of eleven Inuit women in Ontario. In 1967, the first steps towards a native teacher education program were taken in Yellowknife. Thus more Inuit staff were to be included in the schools. These changes coincided with the transfer of political power from Ottawa to the Northwest Territories.

THE TERRITORIAL ERA-NWT (1970-1999)

In 1967, the administration of the Territories was moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife. The final transfer of administrative responsibility of schools to the government of the NWT occurred in 1969 (Carney, 1983). School construction continued unabated as the territory attempted to cope with, "increased enrolments, aging and inadequate buildings and a need and desire for more numerous, spacious, and diversified learning areas pushed the designers, the architects, the builders and the financial brokers to their very limits every year" (MacPherson, 1991, p. 21).

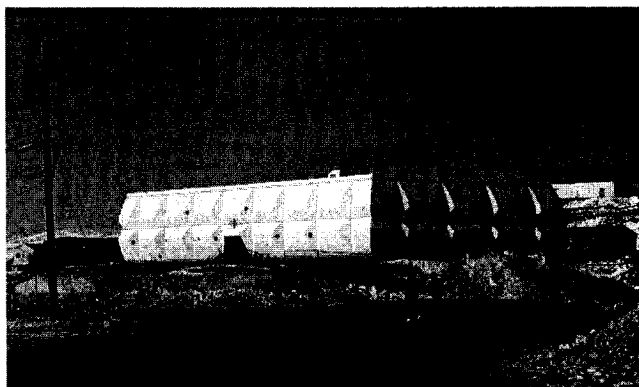


Photo 21: Nakasuk School (built 1973), Iqaluit. One of the least admirable results of the designers and architects. Its pentagonal shape, few porthole windows and small pie shaped classrooms has little to recommend it from a teacher or student's point of view.

Since 1970, the schools have slowly become more and more responsive to the culture and language of the Inuit. However, often the personnel from the old Federal bureaucracy merely switched to that of the Territorial one, thus keeping, in some cases, an unwelcome continuity of ideology (Van Meenen, 1994). The process of assimilation was not working and was becoming more difficult to defend. It became essential to recognize the Inuit way of life in its totality and to make provisions for this in the education system. The Government of the Northwest Territories published a series of key historical, educational documents that reflected the potential for a gradual development from colonization to future autonomy. It began in 1972 with the *Survey of Education* that was a comprehensive study of the then current state of education containing over 204 recommendations. Key among these was a language policy that gave precedence to native languages.

In the same year, 1972, the NWT's first curriculum guide was published, called *Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories K-6: A Handbook for Curriculum Development*. A central recommendation of this document was that children acquire a solid background in their native tongue in the first three years of schooling, a

recommendation that is still not achieved universally throughout the NWT. A second curriculum guide emerged in 1973 and was entitled *Learning in the Middle Years*.

Though the reform in education looked promising, Carney (1983), describes four main problems that hindered its progress; 1) that there had been little, if any, community input into the production of the documents, 2) the reforms were neither accepted nor understood by the majority of the Euro-Canadian teachers and parents whose influence upon the system continued to be disproportionate, 3) the government failed to establish for the Inuit any standards, “skills, or attitudes that might be achieved through schooling” (p. 68) and, 4) the ITC accused the Department of Education to be “totally dominated by a southern mindset” (p. 68) thus failing to encourage Inuit to participate in the creation of their own educational system that would reflect their cultural realities.

While these documents set up the philosophy and framework in which teachers could work, the Curriculum Department and the Linguistic Programs Division (1977) also produced numerous curricula materials and readers in the native languages. The Northwest Territories gained its own educational ordinance in 1977. This, among many other things, gave local communities the right to control the language of education of their children.

Realizing the lack of trained teachers who spoke native languages, the teacher-training program at Fort Smith was expanded. However, for a number of reasons this program failed to produce many Inuit teachers. As a consequence, in 1979, to encourage more Inuit teacher trainees the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP), which was to become the Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP), was established in Iqaluit (formally Frobisher Bay).



Photo 22: Joamie School, Iqaluit (built 1989). A more regular design. Unfortunately, this much praised school burnt down in 2003.

In 1982, a Special Committee on Education tabled its report, *Learning, Tradition and Change*, which contained key organizational and philosophical principals for the future. It was the result of a Territory-wide consultation, in which for the first time the Inuit took an active part, on the problems and concerns with the school system. Some major findings and recommendations included: the reorganization of the school system, splitting the territory into 10 regional school boards to increase local control of education; giving the communities the authority to determine the language of instruction as well as providing funding for material development; giving priority to the training of native teachers and classroom assistants; and setting up Arctic College (Now Nunavut Arctic College) which provides the region's post-secondary education. The college, basically a community college, is present throughout the communities of the eastern Arctic. It has three main campuses located in Rankin Inlet, Cambridge Bay and Iqaluit. A number of recommendations in the report have yet to be implemented, for example, the availability of all subjects being taught in a native language to the grade 10 level (Dorais, 1992).

The Territorial Government continued to produce educational documents that promoted the culture and language of the Aboriginal groups of the Northwest Territories.

For example, they published in 1992 a planning document, *Our Students Our future: An Educational Framework*, and the new Educational Ordinance of 1996, which gave more autonomy to the community education councils, and *Inuuqatigiit* (1996), a document that set out a curriculum from an Inuit point of view. This particular document was designed by Inuit for Inuit (though first published in English). It is held to be an important tool in getting Inuit culture and language into the curricula and classrooms. Whether it has had the desired effect or received the necessary funding to make its suggestions viable remains to be seen. Yet, its very development carries its own importance.

The three school boards in Nunavut, which were a result of *Learning, Tradition and Change*, and were to be a means by which Inuit could gain control over their education. (Isherwood, Sorenson, & Colbourne, 1986) also released important documents, after consultation with the Inuit population, and initiated substantial change in the way the educational system works. The first such board, that of the Baffin region, released a number of key documents that encouraged the development of the language and culture of the Inuit. Among its publications there were, *Our Future is Now* (1987) a philosophy of the Board, *Piniaqtivut - An integrated Program* (1989) a curriculum design that incorporated elements of the Inuit world view, and *Education 2000*, (1992) a review of the changes required to make the system more representative of the Inuit population, and *Our Future is Now: Implementing Inuuqatigiit* (1996), an update on the previous document of that name.

The three school boards of the eastern Arctic, Baffin, Keewatin and the Kitikmeot collaborated on a document entitled Paugatigiit (1996) that examined the professional needs of its teachers with the aim of creating a training scheme to realize these needs.

The three School Boards also had their own Teaching and Learning Centres which were responsible for producing materials and curricula. However, these centres are underfunded and understaffed for the responsibilities they have. There is also a lack of expertise in instructional design and curriculum. Thus, they have not been as effective as they might have been. Crago et al (1992) describes a similar situation that exists in Kativik, the Inuit School Board of Northern Quebec, where pressures of funding, time constraints and lack of expertise have worked against material production.

Basically, this catalogue of publications indicates that the government and the School Boards of Nunavut were concerned with and planned for the future, and placed great emphasis on the needs and desires of the Inuit. Jewison (1995) gives a description of the positive changes - for example, local control, the creation of Northern curricula, the increased role of elders, aboriginal teachers and the use of aboriginal languages that the GNWT have been instrumental in making. Her account gives the impression of a seamless and undisputed advancement towards a representative and inclusive education system. Yet, Gorlick (1981) has a version of a far more contested arena, one in which conflicting status groups within the system either supported or blocked the possible 'indigenization' of the curricula.

During the time these documents were published, there was also extensive capital expenditure on the building of new schools throughout the north. Another important development has been the increase in the number of aboriginal personnel now working in the field of education. Within the Baffin, the former, largest school Board, a full 44% of Nunavut educators were Inuit, while 26% of classroom teachers and 16% leadership support positions are held by Inuit (Guy, 1995).

There inevitably followed a reduction in spending by the NWT government. The NWT is dependent upon Federal Government transfers far more than any other area of Canada and as these were reduced so was the Territorial budget. A certain amount of capital was available for the establishment of Nunavut and this may have compensated, at least in part, in certain areas of education, for Territorial spending reductions.

Did the changes make a positive difference? While steps were taken that may have led to more Inuit culture and Inuktitut language in the schools, many of the old problems stubbornly persisted. Schools in the eastern Arctic were, and remain, in many ways almost indistinguishable from those in the south. The language that is spoken predominately, in most cases, remains English. This is especially so after grade 6. One example of why this is the case is reflected in the experience of Inukshuk High School in Iqaluit. This, the largest high school in the eastern region constantly fails to have a solid Inuktitut program instituted in the school (Arnaquq & McDermott, 1988). Taylor (1990) writing about language and education notes similar problems in Nunavik due to the lack of Inuit teachers and course materials. For a large proportion of the past twenty years, the school has had either only one or no trained Inuit teacher. At present they have two Inuit teachers responsible for all of the Inuktitut throughout the school - a daunting task even for the most talented dedicated teachers. In conversations with a number of the Inuit who have worked there, they have mentioned that reasons for the staff shortage range from the organization of the school and the lack of materials in Inuktitut and trained Inuit teachers for High School and student behaviour. Often they feel overworked, as they are the only Inuit in the school and are asked to do translation, etc. A point that must also be made is that the Inuit teachers are not prepared to be high school teachers by the teacher-training

program. Nor are they academically strong at this level. Noteworthy, is that the creation of this particular school is mentioned in Brody's (1991) book as being an example of the total disregard the authorities had towards Inuit wishes and desires; the school began as a residential vocational school despite the Inuit resentment towards such schools.

The materials with which the students work are still almost totally in English and the images that are reflected from these materials are not, for the most part, northern images. As previously mentioned the Baffin Divisional Board was a leader in the publication of children's books written in Inuktitut and reflecting Inuit experiences and continues to produce materials in Inuktitut. Yet, it had only published around 200 short books by 1996 (*Our Future is Now*, 1996). Now, in 2004, the number is around 300; most no longer than a few sentences. This is no where near the quantity or the quality needed for a good primary teacher to use in one year, let alone teachers and students of 12 grades.

While there has been an improvement in the number of Inuit teachers and other personnel in the schools, a statistical analysis showed that 74% of the teachers remained non-Inuit, and of those involved with high school almost 100% would be non-Inuit (Guy, 1995). Thus, the face of schooling remains predominately white, the language English and the values to which the children are exposed still Western.

These proposed improvements have not yet made a substantial impact on aboriginal students' success. Fogwill (1994) claims that 80% of the youth of the NWT will leave school before graduating. In fact while 72% of the school population is aboriginal, only 5%, will actually graduate from grade 12. Cummins (1986) sees the educational failure of minority students as being a function of the extent to which the

schools reflect or counteract the relationships that exist in the larger community. The cultural discontinuity between the school and the Inuit home as well as the involuntary minority group status have long been known to effect the performance of children in school (Ogbu, 1982; Ogbu 1993). Much mistrust and misunderstanding remains between schools and Inuit parents (Taylor, 1995).

Cummins (1986) also maintains that despite educational innovations, if the staff and school do not change themselves then the new programs merely add a 'new veneer to the facade of the structure that disables minority students' (p. 33). Crago (1992) points to the differences between the patterns of communicative interaction in Inuit homes being quite different from that in non-aboriginal classes in the schools. This impacts negatively upon second language acquisition and attitudes to schooling on behalf of Inuit children. Stairs (1990) writes about the effect of formal schooling and decontextualised teaching to push children outside of their ecological harmony and "away from the network of role relationships within and towards which all traditional education is carried out" (p. 22). She also (1991,1994) examines the important role of native teachers as 'cultural brokers' mediating between traditional knowledge and learning and Western values.

A measure of the success of the school system for the Inuit population is perhaps the current relative strength of Inuktitut and Inuit culture. The language, Inuktitut, is according to a report by the Canadian Assembly of First Nations (1990), 'flourishing', though it is in need of strategies to ensure its survival. This seems to be an optimistic claim. For example, some communities on the Arctic coast have very weak Inuktitut skills and converse mainly in English. Inuktitut contains several dialects and these are often jealously guarded by their speakers. While there do not exist any real problems of

intelligibility among these dialects, speakers of each resist 'foreign' words from other dialects being used (Dorais, 1992). The following quotation reflects this feeling, "but if we are going to have teachers from other communities, let them learn our dialect....teachers allow children to speak properly" (Farrow & Wilman, 1989). The 'properly' refers not to speaking Inuktitut correctly but to using the correct (the local) dialectical word. There is also constant reference by the elders of the use of 'baby Inuktitut' by the younger people. Fogwill (1994) writes, "Both Dene and Inuit elders, the traditional teachers, express deep concern that the children and youth are losing their language; that the language they speak is very poor and mixed with English" (p. 235). She states that 94% of Inuit youth between 15-24 speak Inuktitut but with a mixture of English and a great loss of words. This reflects a loss of lexical and grammatical constructions on the younger people's part. Taylor, cited in Dorais (1992) describes the bilingualism of Arctic Quebec and Northwest Territorial schools as being 'subtractive', producing children who speak sub-standard English and Inuktitut, a loss of which they appear to be aware. One younger Inuk has expressed the frustration of this situation by pointing out that the elders do not teach the younger people the expressions and do not talk to them. Practically, all this presents a number of difficulties concerning the standardization of curricula materials, the language of children's books, collaborative work between the regions and the strengthening of Inuktitut.

What follows are some quotations from Inuit elders concerning their views of the state of Inuktitut, Inuit culture and Inuit teachers and education. The elders were attending the International Circumpolar Education Seminar Series in 1987 (Farrow & Wilman, 1989). Their words carry as much weight as many academic texts concerning

education and the Inuit. Their words also imply more urgency and concern than a 'flourishing' language would perhaps normally generate.

I appreciate the fact my children are being taught Inuktitut, however, I do not believe that they are being taught how to speak it well...It seems to me that as long as it sounds like Inuktitut, it's good enough to the school. (p. 14)

It's good to see Inuit teachers now. However, they still need to learn more about Inuktitut. (p. 20)

from what I've seen these new graduates (teachers) have to develop more Inuktitut skills and gain more knowledge about their culture....they lack cultural knowledge and skills...I do not see the promotion or emphasis of Inuit culture. (p. 16)

These comments certainly point out that to these elders, at least, the language is in jeopardy and part of the responsibility for this lies with the school, the teacher training institution and, of course, with themselves. The comments reflect some of the problems that both the schools and the NTEP program face in the hiring and graduating of individuals whose language and cultural skills are not strong, yet, are still better qualified than others, at least in a southern sense.

Our parents and their parents taught us without school materials, no papers, and no written guidelines. We have applied what they've taught us and have maintained the skills. Our children today have very different attitudes and lack the drive in learning skills....Our parents taught us through observation and role play. (p. 15)

Sometimes it saddens me to see Inuit men go hunting without their sons to help them. The children spend all day in school while their fathers are out hunting. We need to have more aspects of Inuit culture in our schools. (p. 19)

If Inuktitut had been included when schools were first established, our children would not have had to lose so much. (p. 19)

It is true that the elders are not recognised or respected by the schools...The elders, who are proficient in Inuktitut and knowledgeable about our culture, are not recognised because they do not know enough English. (p. 22)

Certainly these quotations are less than a glowing endorsement of the school system. However, they illustrate the centrality of language and culture in Inuit lives and how schooling has ignored the realities of their traditional life.

Therefore, I would like to see more of our values and culture adopted in schools. We must not forget who we are, and our children must not forget where they come from, who they are and the important values and ways of the Inuit. (p. 23)

Schools have historically tried to eradicate exactly what this elder states should be saved. The following questions have to be answered: Is there the political will and the funding and the energy to do what has to be done to change course? What role can the education system play?

Each one of these quotations, and there are more, has a story to tell about colonial education, though the speakers would probably not refer to it like that. They also indicate many areas that need to be improved. Language and culture are intimately connected, “Culture is expressed through language; when language is lost, those things that represent a way of life, a way of valuing and human reality are also lost” (Fishman, 1996). Language is closely identified with the maintenance of community identity and has an important spiritual significance (Cummins, 1990). There is great concern about the state of Inuktitut. Yet, ironically, a number of communities have preferred that all the teaching

be done in English. Is this a testament to the power of the cultural hegemony present in the NWT? Maguire and McAlpine (1996) write of the tension within a Keewatin community over the issue of language of instruction and the status of various dialects within the region. Contrary to the statement by the Assembly of First Nations cited above, the elders express a more pessimistic view.

The crisis facing the language and cultures of the Inuit is seen in such areas as the school failure rates. Inuit children are under-achieving within the school system. Perley (1993) argues that it is the colonised status of aboriginal people that is reflected in this poor academic achievement; the colonial education system does not facilitate aboriginal success within it. He writes that the apathetic response to education is a common response to colonial schooling. School failure, the high suicide rate and the amount of social and family dysfunction that exists in all communities are all problems that have to be faced by Inuit and non-Inuit, and embedded in all of these problems are the issues of language, culture and identity.

Malcolm (1994) cites Dixon's (1991) four predominant reasons for aboriginal language loss in Australia as being; a) White insistence, b) Aboriginal choice, c) Shift of cultural emphasis and d) Media pressure. These reasons are equally applicable to the Northwest Territories. Malcolm (1994) comments that education has an ambiguous role in language maintenance/loss. On the one hand, where children do not hear their mother tongue sufficiently and learning takes place predominately in a second language, there is a tendency for education to be an agent of language shift and loss. This is especially so when the values of a community are giving way to values of a larger, more dominant one. This was, and still is to a questionably lesser extent, the situation in schools of Nunavut.

However, education can also be an agent for language maintenance when it brings prestige and functional extension to the mother tongue. This is, of course, the current aim of school boards and the Department of Education of the NWT. Geographic isolation also plays a part in the maintenance of Inuktitut. Iqaluit, the largest community and the one with the most non-aboriginals has a greater degree of language shift than many of the smaller more isolated communities. However, it has been noted that even in these smaller communities, there is a growing degree of language shift. This may be explained, in part, by the ever increasing presence of Western media and the mobility of the people themselves (Clark, interviews, 1997).

One of the major institutions that contributes to the education of the Inuit is the subject of this research, the Nunavut Teacher Education Program, the development and analysis of which is discussed in chapter 7.

NUNAVUT 1999

In this section of the chapter I examine the major changes that have come about in the area of education since the inception of Nunavut. These changes will eventually affect the teacher education program, its responsibilities, and its functioning.

Changes in governance inevitably lead to changes in government structures, legislation, personnel and philosophies. This is no less true of Nunavut than any other political arena. There have been initial structural changes and legislative changes are in process concerning education. Changes in personnel and the development of new philosophies and curricular documents, which in turn lead to new curricula, are well underway.

Structure

One of the most noticeable changes in the structure of education since the inception of Nunavut has been realization of the Nunavut Implementation Committee's

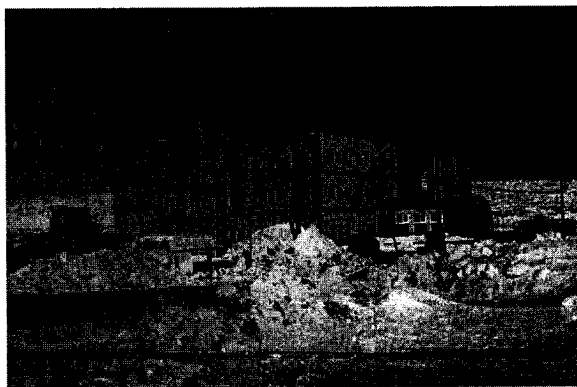


Photo 23: The Department of Education building, Iqaluit.

recommendation in *Footprints in New Snow* (1995), that, “the three existing school boards be merged and redefined as a single Board of Education” (p. 43). The creation of

the Department of Education and the dissolution of the three former regional boards of education, the Keewatin, Baffin and the Kitikmeot, has given rise to what are now known as School Operations in the Kitikmeot, Kivalliq (formerly Keewatin) and Qikiqtani (formerly Baffin) educational divisions – divisions that correspond to the political regions of the territory. These new School Operations are under the jurisdiction of one of the Assistant Deputy Ministers of Education. Thus the new education system of the territory is now more centralized than that of the old NWT. This centralization and the removal of one independent level of jurisdiction (the School boards) has been felt by the local District Education Authorities. According to the Chairperson of the Iqaluit DEA, they no longer have a mechanism to address issues as a united group. Nor do they have a reporting system that is equivalent to the one they had when the three boards were in existence.

The Department of Education is located in Iqaluit, while the Early Childhood & School Services Division, responsible for, among other things, the development of curricula, is located in Arviat, in the Kivalliq Region. This often illogical, geographical separation of departments and divisions from their headquarters is a result of the commitment of the government to the policy of decentralization. It has more to do with the creation of positions in communities rather than the efficient running of any government organisation.

Personnel

A key aspect of government policy is that eventually employment will reflect the population of the territory – that is, roughly 85% of jobs are to be held by Inuit. While this, if it is attainable, will take a number of years to achieve, there were clear attempts to

make the public face of government reflect the Inuit majority. Within the Department of Education Nunavut has had, in its five years of existence, five Ministers of Education. Four have been Inuit. The most recent minister and the most likely, due to previous experience, to remain in the position for more than a token amount of time is Qallunaaq. While the present and two previous deputy Ministers (DMs) have all been Qallunaaq, the two original assistant deputy ministers (ADMs), were both Inuit, and both former NTEP graduates. Now, as a result of relatively recent pre-election departmental shuffle (Fall, 2003) a Qallunaaq replaced one of the Inuit ADMs. The other ADM was replaced in post-election changes; however, this time by another Inuk, once again a former graduate of NTEP. The first Director of Curriculum and School Services, a position responsible for the creation and distribution of Curricula was an Inuk, and a graduate of NTEP; however, this position has been relocated to Arviat and the new director is a very experienced Qallunaaq. The department is still heavily staffed by non-Inuit, but it is clear that as one reads the organizational chart, there is an obvious attempt to hire Inuit for positions in accordance with government policy. This is also true of other government departments. However, it will not be an easy task. Taylor, Crago, & McAlpine (1993), point out that there may be some difficulties caused by the lack of experience and knowledge of some new administrators as they come to deal with situations that were once not under their control.

Aboriginal board members and high-level administrative personnel, no matter how wise, may have little or no experience or expertise in administrative, pedagogical, and educational practice. Yet they will be called on to make weighty decisions that will impact not only on a large staff of teachers and lower level administrators, but more importantly on the educational experiences of children in these communities. In short, an inevitable consequence of the sudden introduction of aboriginal autonomy

is the reality that some inexperienced persons will be required to make significant decisions...Such aboriginal decision makers, talented as they may be, are, because of their lack of experience, more vulnerable to misinformation and manipulation, both from within and outside the aboriginal community. (Taylor, Crago & McAlpine, 1993, p. 177)

The relevance of Taylor et al's (1993) concerns are clear to those of us who live in Nunavut and work within the system. A number of Inuit administrators working within the government have not followed an education or career path that one would normally associate with the positions they hold. A significant number of these are teachers educated at NTEP. They have been trained to be elementary teachers, not government administrators. Consequently, there is the need for a lot of 'on the job training'. This training, when and where provided, is often sporadic and short in duration. At the time of writing the Government of Nunavut has yet to fill a significant proportion of its vacant positions.

Clearly, Nunavut's workforce should reflect the population base. Yet, questions remain as to how best achieve this and in what time frame to ensure that the positions are held by those competent and comfortable in their jobs.

Legislation

While not legislation, the *Bathurst Mandate: That which we have set out to do: Pinasuaqtavut: Our hopes and plans for Nunavut* is included here because it is an important guide to the way the government wants to direct Nunavut and its people. It is a detailed plan outlining the priorities for Nunavut, including specific objectives for the initial five years and a vision of Nunavut in 2020. This 1999 document outlines four areas of priority for government:

health, simplicity and unity, self-reliance and continual learning. It is the section on continuing learning that is of specific interest (Appendix H).

The first major piece of legislation the government attempted to pass through the Legislative Assembly and into law was Bill 1, the Education Act. The goal of the government was to, “create an Education Act that reflects our values, culture and language” (Connell, September 8, 2000). The initial lines of the Bill’s preamble read as follows,

Believing that Inuit culture, Inuit Qaujimaningit and Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit will be the foundation of education in Nunavut, and that for the future of students in Nunavut students, parent, elders, communities, educators and government must work as partners to achieve quality and excellence in education. (Bill 1, p. 12)

The preamble included twelve guiding principles regarding learning that should be reflected in the educational system of Nunavut. There were, in the seven sections of Bill 1: Interpretation, Education Programs, Education Staff, Cultural Diversity, Governance, Financial Matters and Miscellaneous, 25 significant changes from the 1995 Education Act of the NWT.

However, the preparation for the new act was seen by some as being “plagued by a lack of public consultation and a lack of clarity and information” (Connell, 2001). Smith, the Iqaluit District Education Authority chairperson is quoted as saying, “This is to be the Nunavut Education Act, supposedly come up with by the people of Nunavut, reflecting their needs and wants regarding education. We don’t feel the public was properly consulted” (Connell, January 12, 2001). Hunter Tootoo, an Iqaluit MLA, quoted in the *Nunatsiaq News* speaking at the second reading of the Bill in April, 2002, “By

hastily adopting something now we run the risk of throwing out something that works, recognizing that it needs improvement and replacing it with something that is worse.” A major concern of Tootoo’s was that the Bill appeared to weaken the District Education Authorities responsibilities and powers. Smith shared this opinion and argued that the act takes away the responsibilities that were once under the control of the DEAs and gave them to the Minister of Education (D’Souza, April 26, 2002). Interestingly, Panayi in his 1996 critical analysis of the 1995 Act clearly faults it for its concentration of power in the hands of the Minister at the expense of teachers’ and DEA’s authority:

Clearly, these measures decrease teachers’ authority over the curriculum, whilst at the same time increasing the minister of Education’s control over the school curriculum. Whereas in the previous Act (1977), local education authorities were responsible for the ‘management and delivery of education communities’, the new Act makes: local education authorities responsible for the operation of schools,... the Minister is responsible for education in general and education standards. (p. 52)

It would appear, that in the opinion of many, Bill 1 would have continued this centralization of authority and the erosion of teachers’ and DEAs’ responsibilities.

Naturally, language of instruction proposals were key elements of the Bill. Yet, federal legislation, the Official Languages Act, the Nunavut Act and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms impose limits on what the Bill can state regarding language of instruction (Rose, 2003 personal communication). These are limits, perhaps not understood or appreciated by those who expressed their concerns in recent meetings to the Legislature’s Standing Committee on Education. The committee heard pleas from the Francophone Association that the Bill was unconstitutional because it, “does not

— guarantee the constitutional right of Francophones to manage and control French language education programs where they are a linguistic minority” (D’Souza, October 4, 2002). Grave concern was also expressed by some Inuit who believe the Bill is not strong enough in that it does not make Inuktitut the first language of instruction, in fact it “does not recognize anything that comes from Inuktitut culture.” And, “We want the Education Act to say that the language of instruction must be Inuktitut or Innuinaqtun” (D’Souza, 2002). While all these opinions are obviously heartfelt, they may not be made with full knowledge of present federal or the proposed territorial legislation.

Bill 1 came under close scrutiny by a number of parties. Most public meetings drew, if not large crowds, vocal ones. While in 2002 the standing committee visited 18 communities and spoke to 650 Nunavummiut it would be a mistake to believe that, important as the Bill was, Nunavut, in general, was up in arms about it. This is not so. However, the amount of voiced criticism the Bill received proved to be somewhat frustrating for the government. A final round of consultations in a number of Nunavut communities was undertaken. The result was that the Bill was withdrawn on March 20, 2003, “In closing the Standing Committee on Health and Education is of the view that Bill 1 should be permitted to fall off the order paper” (Nunavut Hansard, March 20, 2003, p. 40). The speech given by Nutarak listed many reasons for this recommendation, including; a perceived faulty process, the fact that over half the recommendations were ignored or weakened, concern over cultural diversity (the possibility of dialects lost), the lack of provision for Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit to be incorporated properly into the Bill, the place of cultural skills in the school, recommendation to return to religious teaching in the school and the provision that Inuktitut be the primary language of instruction from K-

12. It must be noted that however, within the speech almost every reason for its fall is countered by other opinions.

There will be no 'made in Nunavut' Education Act in the foreseeable future. Though the current minister has it as one of his priorities, it promises to be a less than smooth process. The legislation governing education in the territory returns to the 1995 Education Act of the NWT, and Act which Panayi (1996) argues subordinates its espoused educational principles, based upon emancipatory ideas, to a "technocratic, market ideology" (p. 54). This subordination, argues Panayi (1996) leads to a vocationalist view of education in which the job training is central to schooling, making the vocational and not the academic the central purpose of schooling for a large number of its students. The linking of school and skills training with employment and economic success outside of school in Nunavut is fraught with difficulties due to the very high unemployment rates throughout the territory. The raising of expectations by connecting school graduation to employment may have long term negative results on students' relationship to education as there are so few jobs, especially in the smaller communities that many, who stuck with their education, will still find themselves unemployed. The lack of jobs is one of the reasons given by the 1989 GNWT Report *Building our Economic Future* for the lack of school success for many of the students. It argues that students will see little incentive to pursue education if at the end of it there is no direct link to a pay-cheque and employment.

Curricular Documents

Whatever documents come from the Department of Education, specifically, the Curriculum and School Services Division, they are most certainly influenced by and

based upon an ideology that is embedded in the concept of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

Before discussing a number of the major documents that have either been produced or are in the process of production, it is necessary to try to define, or at least have some sense of what Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit actually is, or at least thought to be. There is little doubt that Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, IQ, will effect what is expected of the teacher education program as well as other programs at Nunavut Arctic College.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)

Imagine for a moment you're a government deputy minister, in charge of a government department with a multi-million-dollar a year budget. It's 8 a.m. on a Monday morning. You're sipping your coffee, making plans for the day. Scrawled at the top of your to-do list, circled in red and underlined a couple of times, is the following item, "Priority One: Implement Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit in my department." Now what do you do?

So far, no-one in the Nunavut Government can provide a rational answer to that question. Neither can anyone else in Nunavut, whether they're Inuit or non-Inuit. But that hasn't prevented the phrase from being elevated into what sometimes looks like a pseudo-religious cult. Numerous people, inside and outside of government, mouth it repeatedly. A few even pretend to know what they are talking about. (Bell, 2001, September 12)

The above quotation from an editorial in *Nunatsiaq News*, one of two local newspapers, somewhat humourously describes a problem with IQ, it is simply difficult to define. Or is it? For Bill 1, IQ "encompasses all aspects of traditional Inuit culture, including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life-skills, perceptions and expectations" (p. 17). The Department of Sustainable Development's IQ working group created the following definition, "IQ is the past, present and future knowledge, experience and values of Inuit society" (Arnakak, 2000). Certainly these two

definitions are perhaps so inclusive and all encompassing as to render them a little less that useful to the average person trying to come to grips with the concept. Simon Awa, Deputy Minister for Justice, in a paper presented on the topic to students of my *Issues in Aboriginal Education* course at NTEP in February, 2003, said this about defining IQ,

Every time I am asked to speak about Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, I have less and less to say about it. It is because the issue is very complex and would take a lifetime to try and explain what it is. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit means many things to many people – depends on your knowledge or understanding of it. When we started to talk about Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, some of us didn't have a clue what it was. Some of us had some ideas, some of us had some notions. But none of us was able to define what it is. As in any government corporate culture, we had to try and define what IQ is before anything could be done to incorporate IQ into our work place. Unfortunately it didn't work – yet.

Peesee Pitsiulak, the former Director of Curriculum and School Services, and now the IQ coordinator for the Department of Education, in a similar presentation to the same students also admitted the term was really hard to define and should not be limited to her or any one person's knowledge as it was a '*huge thing*'.

As the term, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, seems to permeate everything issued by the government and the documents created by the Department of Education, it is important to discuss its origin and its meaning. The term appears in numerous government documents, and it is supposed to be the base of everything that is taught. For example, the *K-12 Program Organization for Nunavut Schools* (Department of Education, 2000) states, "If a child's learning flows from an Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit foundation of culture, history, traditions, heritage, and language then those values must be foundational to the culture and environment in every school in Nunavut" (p. 3). The implication is that this applies to Nunavut Arctic College courses, which, of course includes the NTEP program.

Perhaps, the clearest explanation of the meaning of IQ is in a paper by Jaypetee Arnakak then of the Department of Sustainable Development. The paper, while never delivered, was intended for the 12th Inuit Studies Conference held at the University of Aberdeen in 2000. In the paper, Arnakak explains not only the development of the term but also the guiding principles that lie behind it. According to Arnakak (2000) the term IQ was first used in 1998 at the Nunavut Social Development Council's (NSDC, a now defunct arm of Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., NTI) Inuit Traditional Knowledge Committee meeting in Igloolik. While some may find this an unsatisfactory definition, and one certainly open to all kinds of interpretation, Arnakak says that IQ means - the traditional knowledge of the Inuit. Its importance as government ideology can be seen in this following quotation from the throne speech of the Second Session of the first Legislative Assembly (May 12, 1999), "This decision is in keeping with the government's commitment to incorporate Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit as a basis for all government decisions and actions."

There are presently three departmental Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit coordinator positions in the government. Their job is to review government policies and procedures to make sure they are culturally sound and practical and to make recommendations for changes to ensure that the government departments, at least those with a coordinator, function in ways suited to Inuit culture and traditions. An elders IQ council has been appointed by the Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (CLEY) that will guide the Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) (GN Appoints IQ council, Nunatsiaq News, 2003, September 12). A cynic may think that the jobs of coordinators and the soon to be elders council are almost like a cultural police force.

Certainly, in this quotation from James Arvaluk, a former MLA, one might be led to believe there is a certain fanaticism growing:

The balance must shift in the second half of the term to address the overall lack of Inuit Qaujimanituqangit in the government and the other concerns in this review....If the cabinet does not act on these concerns by the April sitting, members will take action regarding their leadership. (Nunavut legislative round up, 2001, November 30)

Bell, the editor of the *Nunatsiaq News*, does point out that the ‘action regarding leadership’ may have more to do with personal ambition rather than the protection of Inuit traditional knowledge. Arvaluk was, in fact the first Minister of Education in Nunavut; he lost his seat because of criminal proceedings brought against him.

The document *Community Economic Development from the Perspective of Inuit Qaujimanituqangit – A Framework* (2000) delineates six guiding principles that underlie this framework. These principles have been adapted by the Department of Education and appear in the *K-12 Program Organization for Nunavut Schools* as common essential learnings shared by all curricula for Nunavut schools. They are, in abbreviated form;

1. Piliriqatigiinniq: the concept of developing collaborative relationships and working together for a common purpose
2. Avatimik kamattiarniq: the concept of environmental stewardship stresses the key relationship Inuit have with their environment and the world in which they live
3. Pilimmaksarniq: the concept of skills and knowledge acquisition and capacity building is central to the success of Inuit in a challenging environment

4. Qanuqtuurungnarniq: the concept of being resourceful to seek solutions, using innovative and creative use of resources and demonstration of adaptability and flexibility in response to a rapidly changing world, are strengths all our students should develop
5. Aajiqatigiingniq: the concept of consensus decision making relies on strong communication skills and a strong belief in shared goals
6. Pijitsirarniq: the concept of serving is central to the style of leadership and is the measure of maturity and wisdom of an Inuk. (p. 1)

By the entrenchment of IQ principles in the curricula of Nunavut schools and thereby the educational system, the environment is created, so says the *K-12 Program Organization for Nunavut Schools* document to “provide the environment within which the strength of ‘inummariit’ (sic) or a wise person can develop”. Stairs (1992) describes an inummarik (singular) as a ‘most genuine person’ (p. 117). Becoming an inummarik is, according to Stairs, “a lifelong process of developing correct interaction, through both attitude and skill, with people and animals, community and environment” (p. 117). It is also a romantic vision.

K-12 Program Organization for Nunavut Schools then proceeds to outline the responsibilities of schools, students, educators, communities, parents, and the DEAs. The curriculum itself, “is grounded in clearly articulated IQ values, beliefs and expectations” (p. 5). Unfortunately, the tone of the document seems almost dictatorial as it outlines what is to be done and how the different partners mentioned above are to behave.

Central to the curricula is *Innuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective*:

Running through all that we do, are the foundational frameworks of relationships to the environment, relationships to people, the cycle of life, and the cycle of the seasons, linked to the values, attitudes and beliefs that are inherent in Inuit Qaujimanituaqangit. These are fundamental to Inuit society and need to be part of what we now teach. Central to these, the 'circle of belonging', central to our inclusive community philosophy and building upon these foundational elements, results in the emergent personal strength of our students. (GNWT, 1996, p. 6)

The above statement illustrates what I think is a sentiment akin to the missionary zeal of the past, the desire to create in our own image – in this case an almost mythical view of the past that seems to be held, in what I believe is an unexamined and uncritical way, as the ideal for the present and the future.

The document, *K-12 Programme Organization for Nunavut Schools* states that, "the principles, values and beliefs of the Department of Education are described in the Education Act" (p. 3). Notwithstanding the fact that the Act failed to become legislation, it is obvious that the above document will be crucial to understanding how the Department is going to deliver its educational programming, programming that is based upon the goals for education outlined in the Bathurst Mandate and the concept of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Both documents and the concept of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit describe an important ideological change in the way schools are to be run.

A second important document, still in its draft form, is the *Approval Guidelines for the Departmentally Developed Curricula* (Department of Education, 2002). This document outlines the various courses that are being developed by the division of the Department of Education, in part to replace the Alberta curricula. Details are provided as to the rationale for each course, its intent, the changes that will be made from the present situation to the proposed (all containing references to the inclusion of or linkage to IQ in

the new courses), a description of a pilot project, the implementation process, the impact of the course, adaptation potential, current educational theory and the implications for students. A proposed budget is also provided. The courses include, Aullaajaaqtut 10-11-12, a wellness program, English as a Second Language, Inuktitut 10-11-12, K-3 mathematics and grades 7-9 science. Judging by the scope of the courses being developed, there has been little thought to any sort of progressive development beginning in Kindergarten and then working towards high school. One might question, for example, the creation of grades 10-12 Inuktitut curricula when there is none to speak of for the lower grades. It is in the lower grades that the language needs to be taught and taught well, in order for there to be students literate in Inuktitut by grades 10-12.

Two recent reports, *Aaiiqatigiingniq*, prepared by Ian Martin, and *Qulliq Quvvariarlugu* prepared, by the late David Corson, both commissioned in 2000 by the Government of Nunavut and just released ("Education Department sits on crucial report for two years" D'Souza, 2002), will no doubt, have an effect upon how languages are taught in Nunavut. Corson's (2000) report deals with the policy options for bilingual education in Nunavut and Martin's (2000) report deals with different models of language of instruction in Nunavut schools. Harris's report is especially of interest as it makes a number of suggestions and critical comments on the teacher education program. As such it will be examined in greater depth in the chapter on that program.

While the Curriculum and Services Division of the Department of Education has a relatively large staff (approximately 15) and a substantial budget it appears few curricula resources have been forthcoming from the Division. Not only that there also appears to be a severe lack of communication with the teachers and the schools about what is going

on there. Lucy (interview, 2003), a dedicated long term northern Qallunaaq teacher, feels that at the school level little seems to be known about what is going on in the Department of Education, the Arviat Curriculum and School Services Division, and the Regional School Division itself, in this case the Qikiqtani Division. In response to a question about how supported she felt by the Department she answered:

As a teacher, no I don't have an idea what's going on within the department at the school level. As a teacher I hear all these rumours about what's happening yet we have had no one to visit the school to talk to us or to explain to us, or even share some of the directions that the department will be taking in a few years time. I do know there have been a few visitors to do research of some kind. We haven't seen any type of written reports or documents from people. So, it would certainly be helpful for us and informative if some one would come into the schools and talk to us. And I know there is a department of curriculum development in Arviat, but I don't know what they have been doing, because we really haven't had any new materials at the school level to be able to use over the last few years. Even new books haven't been produced.

Lucy's concern is not isolated. John, a school principal, in answer to the same question answered, "Not really, to be perfectly honest. I think they are lost in a nightmare dream." In numerous conversations with other educators there persists a feeling that little practical is being done as far as materials and curriculum are concerned. Little has actually been distributed to the schools. The new Minister of Education, in a visit to an NTEP class during a course on *Issues in Aboriginal Education* (2004), asked the students what they knew about the Arviat Division and what materials they had seen coming from there. Not one student (a number of them had been active teachers before coming to the college this year) could give an answer to the question. This came as no surprise to the Minister. His general feeling was that after five years of existence and

approximately ten to twelve million dollars spent, the division had little to actually give to the schools and thus the children. To quote Lucy again, “ At the school level we are struggling as we did fifteen years ago.”

The Curriculum and School Services Division works hard to fulfill its mandate, and certainly attempts to make its, so far limited, production culturally relevant. It can actively involve up to four cultural advisors, as well as other input from ad hoc groups of elders, to ensure IQ in the materials they are producing. In the area of Inuktitut curricula materials and other resources progress has been slow. Peesee Pitsiulak, the former director of the division stated, “The curriculum and resources that we are working on will eventually get done although we are having a slow start but I’d rather have it slow than fast” (Student Interview, 2003). Currently, they only have one Inuk working on materials

One of the elements that may effect material production is that notwithstanding the best intentions of the division and the individuals who make it up, not all are trained in curriculum development, and no Inuk working on Inuktitut materials will have either the experience or specific education in this area. Minister Pico, in question and answer session with NTEP students (Fall, 2004), also admitted that the Curricula division had, until recently, been working without specific goals and objectives and thus had not had the focus needed.

Given the constant erosion of the Inuktitut, the question that remains, is how long can the teachers and students wait for good curricula materials that are in Inuktitut and northern in content before it may be too late. For example, one might question the decision by the Division to produce Inuktitut materials at the higher level of secondary school while ignoring the lower level, and the difficulty the division seems to be having

distributing the materials it has made. In contrast to the slow pace of the Division, Nick Newbery, a long time northern teacher has produced 10 resource packages (in English but these could be easily translated into Inuktitut), complete with videos, manuals in subject areas for grades 7,8 and 9. Initially receiving no support, moral or financial, from the Department of Education, two applications for funding were rejected, Newberry secured a \$250 000 grant from the local Royal Canadian Legion to produce these materials privately. In a period of six months, the 10 resource manuals were distributed throughout Nunavut schools, the teachers in-serviced (with financial input from the Department) and the resources ready to be used. As part of the in-service of these materials, a three question evaluation was given to the teachers. The teachers, representing approximately 25% of the Nunavut teaching force, overwhelmingly answered that they felt little or no relevant information or support regarding curricula materials and resources was forthcoming. It is the opinion of Newbery that the Division was generally inefficient in their production and choice of materials upon which to work (Newbery, 2004).

The new Minister of Education has stated that the goals for his tenure are, increased financial resources for the department, curriculum development, the development of pre-vocational programs and the passing of a Nunavut Education Act and the language of instruction initiatives (Minister Pico, personal presentation to students, Spring 2004). It is clear the Minister and the Department have a difficult job to do. Nunavut faces a number of key educational issues including, a lack of school leadership, a high drop out rate, few curricula resources in Inuktitut, the question of academic standards, too few Inuit teachers, Pitsiulak estimates that the language of instruction initiative will require a further two hundred and thirty teachers (student interview, 2004) -

the need for increased support of parents, and of course the dearth of worthwhile occupations after graduation in comparison with the number of students in the schools.

No amount of sloganeering will solve these issues, solutions will require concentrated work on behalf of politicians, curriculum specialists, teachers and parents. Time will tell if the work is done and if it is productive.

CONCLUSION

The increased presence of Inuit in important positions coupled with what is a nearly completely Inuit Legislative Assembly has to give confidence to those who, in the coming years, will assume complete control over their own destiny. It is possible that the momentum created by the creation of Nunavut for the Inuit spirit and notion of self will provide the energy and desire not only to pose changes but to legislate them and carry them through to fruition. Yet, Qallunaaq remain in powerful leadership positions. It can only be hoped that they fulfil their responsibilities with the guidance of the Inuit themselves and with the intent to allow Inuit voices to grow and not act as modern day missionaries.

It is certain that curriculum documents, like *Inuuqatigiit*, will be strengthened and new initiatives that reflect Inuit traditions and worldview will be created and implemented. The dependency and dominance of the Inuit that Simon (1987) writes about should change, as she suggests, in a manner that upholds the principles of self-government inherent in the Nunavut Land Agreement so that Nunavut's education is culturally appropriate and strengthens the Inuit identity.

While there has been legislation in the past regarding language and cultural survival of Indigenous people, legislation alone has proved to be not enough. As Fishman (1996) and Harris (1988) argue, the role of the individual and immediate language community are crucial for the survival and regeneration of language. Institutions like schools cannot, on their own, ensure the revival or survival of an endangered language or culture. Harris (1992) comments that “no vernacular language program is strong enough to overrule the dominant cultural impact of Western-schooling-ways” (p. 141). It is up to the family and the community to create what Fishman terms a ‘cultural space’, a real, not an institutional space, in which the language can survive. Once this is done, the school has to “put the life of the language, not just the grammar of the language, not just the lexicon of the language, but the life of the language in the home and the community on its agenda if the language is going to be passed along” (Fishman, 1996, p. 91). Passing legislation, producing catchy slogans, and producing relevant materials and even supplying adequate funding may be relatively easy for the new government compared to the job of motivating the population at large to care more and to create Fishman’s notion of cultural space.

This chapter has outlined the major details of four of the five main eras of educational development for the Inuit of Nunavut. The new era of Nunavut, has begun with important structural and ideological changes. While I suggest that many of these changes have not been thought out clearly, they are certainly motivated by a desire to change and impose a strong Inuit presence in the education system.

The Inuit experiences of education provide ample evidence of the existence and workings of internal colonialism. All the conditions mentioned by Perley (1993)

concerning the essential characteristics of colonialism and those that distinguish internal colonialism in the context of Aboriginal people have been fulfilled. Altbach & Kelly's (1978) features of colonial education are all applicable to the Canadian Inuit context. It is, of course, impossible to divorce educational experiences from other contexts of internal colonialism. Suddenly having all areas of one's life administered by others, having to accept welfare or finding one's skills as a hunter no longer valued, all coalesce to diminish the self. Internal colonialism and the kind of education it has produced have had a negative effect upon Inuit culture and language.

Busswood, in his article, *Education and Canada's First Nations* (1993-94), in which he outlines four myths that create misunderstanding between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals and perpetuate the colonial relationship, argues that the colonial reality of Aboriginal peoples still continues and that it is, at present (until these myths are dealt with), fallacious to talk of being in a post-colonial period. These myths are 1. the ideas that the Euro-Canadian population of Canada understands the social problems being faced by aboriginal peoples, 2. Aboriginal people are easily included and their cultures represented in curricula (see Dillabough, 1995), 3. Euro-Canadians know what aboriginal people need, and 4. that the aboriginal people themselves know what it is they need.

Yet, despite the problems of the educational experiences of the Inuit, enough have achieved a level of education and political know-how that enables them to articulate, with increasingly strong voices, the dreams and aspirations of their people loud enough that governments and allied institutions have had not only to listen but to act upon their demands. The question is, does the new Government of Nunavut increase the likelihood

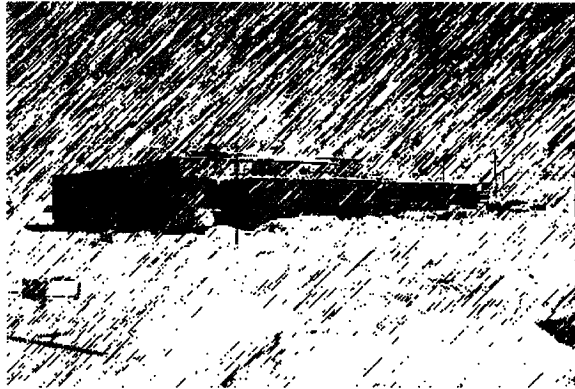
of the colonial system breaking down and being replaced by a truly representative, culturally relevant education system controlled by the Inuit themselves? Or is it in fact, an example of the triumph of colonialism as once self-sufficient groups of nomadic people now mirror the institutions, attitudes and behaviours of mainstream Canada?

An analysis of Murray's (1993) questions to determine the independence of a school system would, I believe, still reveal that in the majority of areas the control, and power and purpose still rest in non-Inuit hands.

There is a feeling of change in the air and much expectation for the future; we can only hope that the population will not be disappointed. There are already educated Inuit and non-Inuit alike who doubt the Territorial government's ability to realize the dreams that by some are being seen already as future realities.

The following chapter deals with major tenets of a "critical pedagogical perspective" (Kanpol, 1994, p. 159). An educational perspective, once understood and practiced, that would allow, I believe, the opportunity for Inuit students to reflect upon their past and their present education and enable them to effect changes in the educational and the "social and material relations of the wider community, society and nation state." (McLaren cited in Wink, 2000, p. 30).

Chapter 6: CRITICAL PEDAGOGY



A Modern High School

INTRODUCTION

Historically, critical theory traces its origins prior to the second World War to a group of philosophers and social scientists referred to as the ‘Frankfurt School’ (McLaren, 1989; Luke, 1992). The main concern of the Frankfurt School was to “...articulate a view of theory that has the central task of emancipating people from the positivist ‘domination of thought’ through their own understandings and actions” (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, p.130). Drawing on and critiquing the work of such theorists as Marx, the Frankfurt School attempted to generate the idea of a critical social science different from the existing positivist and interpretive social sciences.

However, with the advent of the ‘new sociology’ of the 1970s, epitomized by the publication of Young’s (1971) *Knowledge and Control*, radical theories of education emerged. These theories examined “schools both in their historical context and as a part

of the existing social and political fabric that characterizes the dominant society” (McLaren, 1989, p. 159). Developing partially as a response to the criticism of the then dominant functionalist consensus theory of education and the growing disillusionment with education in society, critical theorists began with the premise that men and women are not free and that the world in which they live is full of contradictions and there is an unequal distribution of both power and privilege (McLaren, 1989).

Luke (1992) refers to ‘first wave’ new sociology, as the radical reproduction theories of education that were developed from classical Marxist thought. The focus of the ‘new sociologists’ was upon the production of meaning through the agency, interactions and lived experiences of people. These new sociologists thought that as soon as educators understood the different subjectivities of children, their background knowledge - rooted in class-based experiences - schooling could be changed and failure of these children prevented. Paulo Freire also wrote two of his most influential works on critical pedagogy during the 1970s (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1970 and *Education for Critical Consciousness*, 1973). These texts exercised a strong influence upon the critical theorists of the 1980s and the 1990s. The thrust of Freire’s work revolves around the role of education in the development of an individual’s critical consciousness and eventual emancipation. Through dialogue and the processes of conscientization and praxis individuals are enabled to transform the world in which they live.

Reproduction theories posit the view that the main function of education is to reproduce the dominant ideology and its knowledge and distribution of skills in order to propagate the division of labour. Aronowitz & Giroux (1993) have classified reproduction theories as being either economic, cultural or hegemonic-state models. The

economic model, typified by the research of Bowes and Gintis (1976), argues that the schools and the work place are ideologically and structurally connected, the school reflecting the hierarchically structured values, norms and skills of the work place. Power is held by the dominant group and is used to reproduce class, racial and gender differences that benefit the accumulation of capital for the ruling classes. Within the school system this is achieved through the 'hidden curriculum'.

The cultural model of reproduction, exemplified by the work of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), differs from the economic model in that schools are seen as being relatively autonomous institutions. Reproduction occurs, however, through the distribution of the dominant culture through what is termed 'cultural capital' - the inherited linguistic and cultural competencies of individuals. Schools legitimize and value the dominant cultural capital and consequently give advantage to those who possess it - members of the dominant group.

The hegemonic-state reproduction theory influenced by the work of Gramsci (1971) examines the relationship of the state, capitalist society and schooling. The state is examined to see how it intervenes to promote the economic interests of the dominant class. In schools this may be through curricula design that dictates the kind of knowledge that is valued.

While theories of reproduction did show ways in which schools reproduce economic, social and cultural relations, they are limited in that they do not take into account the role of human agency and resistance - how individuals can contest the pressures of the dominant forces. A further limitation of the reproductive critical theory is that it was essentially based upon classical Marxist theory and its language was

predominately one of critique. Lacking a language of possibility and transformation, it was too deterministic and pessimistic, offering little hope of change (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993).

The 'second wave' new sociology of the late 1970s began to emphasize the theory of resistance. Neo-Marxist theorists attempted to show that social and cultural reproduction was always incomplete and that there exists, within the school, opposition to the dominant ethos. The work of resistance theorists, for example, that of Willis (1977) shows how individuals and classes create ways in which to resist the dominant ideologies existing in the classroom. Resistance theorists showed that domination was not caused solely by the ideological and structural constraints of capitalist society but also by a process of self-formation on the part of the working classes themselves. The 'lads' in Willis' (1977) study, for example, were not able to pursue any emancipatory action because they themselves had rejected any form of critical thinking that may have enabled them to transform their situation. Resistance theory, though having several weaknesses (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993), did show that schools could be contested institutions where political, ideological and cultural ideas could be shaped, contradicted and challenged by human agency and sites of struggle.

The critical pedagogy of the 1980s constitutes for Luke (1992) the 'third wave' of the new sociology. Critical pedagogy in this period (and the 1990s) is dominated, at least in North America, by the writings of Giroux, McLaren, Simon and Aronowitz. It is Aronowitz & Giroux (1993) and McLaren (1989) who clearly enunciate the main tenets of current radical pedagogy that I briefly note. Aronowitz & Giroux (1993) attempt to reconstruct a radical theory of educational pedagogy around the following key concepts:

resistance theory, curriculum theory, oppositional public spheres, transformative intellectuals, cultural politics, the language of possibility, critical literacy, and multiculturalism.

A more theoretically articulated form of resistance theory has several uses within Aronowitz & Giroux's (1993) reconstructed critical pedagogy. Resistance theory remains important because the concept contains an element of transformation that is not found in other theories; it can illustrate that domination is not complete, nor are the oppressed merely passive. It shows that power can be a method of both domination and resistance. The concept provides a critique of domination and a method of self-reflection that can lead to social and self-emancipation.

The relationship between curriculum theory and emancipatory practice is organized into four theoretical areas which include: (i) the notion that the 'political' includes all areas of social life; (ii) languages of critique and possibility have to be linked; (iii) the role of teachers is redefined to one of intellectuals engaged in political struggle; and (iv) the relationship between theory and practice is redefined - curriculum research is closely linked to community life.

In order for critical educators to understand and unravel the ideological interests and dominant relationships at work in the school, it is necessary to be involved with organizations that are not controlled by the state outside of school. These 'oppositional public spheres' provide the linkage between the political and personal and allow educators to see how power is mediated, resisted and reproduced as well as help them understand what influences their students outside of school. These 'outside public spheres' are important because they are places from which alternative cultures can

develop and become sites of collective power. They also provide the conditions for growth of a major participant in critical pedagogy - the transformative intellectual.

A key responsibility of the transformative intellectual is to put education into the political sphere. Through the work of the intellectual, the school becomes a site of struggle over meaning and power relationships and pedagogy is thus used both to enable students to become critical agents and to make knowledge emancipatory. The transformative intellectual is involved in cultural politics. This includes the empowering of teachers and students through the confirmation of their histories and possibilities. The critical engagement of students gives them an active voice and opportunities to discuss and question what counts as knowledge and for whose benefit it is used.

Critical literacy involves problematisation and interrogation of the Western literary and scientific 'canon'. Its meaning and importance are stated by McLaren (1989) this way:

Critical literacy on the other hand, involves decoding the ideological dimensions of texts, institutions, social practices, cultural forms such as television and film, in order to reveal their selective interests. The purpose behind acquiring this type of literacy is to create a citizenry critical enough to both analyze and challenge the oppressive characteristics of the larger society so that a more just, equitable and democratic society can be created. (p. 196)

Luke (1992), almost echoing the last words of the above quotation, describes the critical pedagogy project of the 1980s as centering on "hope, liberation and equality" (p. 26). Hope is clearly seen in the notion and importance of the 'language of possibility'. This is to counter the overtly pessimistic and deterministic Marxist tone of early critical

pedagogy. The language of possibility enables social control to be seen as both an instance of domination and one of emancipatory possibility.

Multiculturalism is a central concept within the radical pedagogy of Aronowitz and Giroux (1993). It provides a set of pedagogical practices that counter the sexist, racist and patriarchal principles within North American schools and society. It contradicts the idea that knowledge is value free by showing that its beneficiaries are generally the white and middle class who conform to the dominant cultural codes and practices. The authors describe five essential elements of critical multiculturalism which, I think, are worth stating:

- 1) The creation of a new language of politics and pedagogy, which allows issues of identity and cultural differences to become central to the education of students for life in a democratic society. The ideals of democracy and multiculturalism become mutually reinforcing categories within the curriculum.
- 2) A recognition of the disproportionate under-representation of people of colour in the cultural and public institutions. A critical multicultural curriculum thus will provide the skills necessary for students to be able to analyse how representations of culture and identity in the various media either reinforce or challenge the dominant political order's moral or political language that deprives people of their history, culture and identity. 'Whiteness' is to be seen as a racial category enabling its members to see their own identities, and positions of privilege, as having been constructed from historical and cultural events. The dominant white institutions and histories are to be interrogated for their contribution and injustices to humanity. Not only stereotypes but also institutions are to be investigated to demonstrate how they can produce various forms of discrimination.

3) The need to create new ways of democratic representation, participation and citizenship based not upon binary oppositions but upon a new ‘unity in difference’ position which does not negate particular, multiple or specific identities. Areas of negotiation and dialogue, ‘borderlands’, are created by the interrelationships between different cultures and identities. Within these ‘borderlands’ differences and commonalities are explored by the various groups at the expense of philosophies of assimilation and the creation of cultural hierarchies. (Giroux, 1992).

4) The ability to help students understand the imbalances in power that limit the abilities of subordinate groups to act upon their situation. Inequality and oppression must be understood through the analysis of issues, such as class, race and gender as social problems connected to the material and institutional factors that produce them. A critical multicultural curriculum needs to create a language that treats social problems in historical and relational terms, allowing the dynamics of power to become transparent.

5) A means by which the relationship between schools, teachers, students and the community is changed. Communities become a more integral part of schools having a voice in hiring, what is taught and their relationship to society in general. Critical multicultural curricula are not to be imposed upon communities and schools. Within the ‘new’ relationship, teachers become border crossers providing, through the examination of histories, resources and narratives, students with a sense of ‘identity, place and possibility’ where issues of identity, nationality and difference are fully explored. The relationship between teachers and students becomes more democratic and ethical. Critical multiculturalism allows students to, “think and act otherwise, to imagine beyond the given, and to critically embrace their identities as a source of agency and possibility.” (p. 210)

An area of critical pedagogy that is becoming of increasing importance is critical feminist pedagogy. The work and criticisms of such writers as Luke (1992) and Gore (1992) adds a dimension to critical thought that has been missing. The feminist criticism of critical pedagogy and, for them, its patriarchal base, needs to be examined and included.

CRITICAL TEACHER EDUCATION

Teacher education programs are disturbingly alike and almost uniformly inadequate... (Goodlad, 1983)

Contemporary research (Goodlad, 1983; Siser, 1984; Holmes Group, 1986) has shown the need for radical changes within teacher education. Shor (1987), a critical literary theorist, laments the fact that, despite the research, few significant changes have actually taken place. He attributes this, in part, to the strength, persuasiveness and success of the conservative reformation begun during the Reagan / Bush administrations. However, Smyth (1989) argues that teachers are frequently omitted from reform measures and that these measures, often seen as technical fixes, fail to take into account the political, economic and social structures that are the sources of the problems. For these reasons, he maintains that it is not surprising that the majority of reforms fail to make any real differences to schooling. 'Schooling' is taken to include the structure of the institutions, the interpersonal relationships within them, the curricula implemented and the goals of the curricula.

Before reviewing critical work on teacher education, I examine the political, intellectual and educational climate in which much critical theory has been written.

Recent critical theorists, in general, contend that the conservative reformation, begun in the Reagan/Bush era, blames schools for all the ills of society, and is trying to redefine them narrowly as suppliers to the labour market. From a conservative perspective, schools are not to be seen as agencies of equity and justice. The utility of schools is measured against their contribution to economic growth and cultural uniformity. It is interesting to note that in Nunavut there is the same and growing pressure to produce students for economic positions without, at present, the possibility of employing more than a small percentage of the current school population.

Critical theorists maintain that teachers consequently lose control of the curriculum and become mere technicians implementing others' uniform, prepackaged texts and values. These texts pay little regard to the students' backgrounds and experiences, and are outside of the teachers and students influence or control. While the pressure for curricula to become more uniform may be beginning to grow in Nunavut, the teachers and students face other problems, such as the lack of curricula material that deals with the economic and cultural aspects of northern environments. Native teachers and children have, as yet, very little material that is in their own language and relevant to their particular cultural group and community.

Schools become redefined through the language of standardization, competency and performance skills instead of critical understanding and critical citizenship. Democracy is relegated to appeals to custom, national unity and tradition, in other words, inherited principles that are not questioned. Giroux and McClaren argue that pre-eminence is given to education as an, "economic investment, that is, to pedagogical

practices designed to create a school-business partnership and make the American economic system more competitive in world markets” (1987, p. 221).

In contrast, critical theorists wish to see schools in which classrooms are sites of public intervention and social struggle outside of the definition of the corporate marketplace. They see the present conservative shift in ideology as a threat to both public schooling and to democracy itself. Schools cannot, under current neo-conservatism, become places where students are fully educated to become informed, critical citizens. In this conservative, corporate educational climate, teacher education institutions have become, for critical theorists, training sites that provide the technical expertise for teachers to find a place on the corporate ladder and to serve the existing ideological and political arrangements of schools rather than to challenge and reform them. A key issue for critical theory is one of the transformation of public schooling rather than preservation of the status quo.

Teacher Training

Radical theorists, such as Giroux, believe that a more critical approach to teacher education coupled with other reforms in the political, educational and economic spheres would lead to the building of a more just and democratic society. Though radical education and consequently, ideas on teacher education cannot be seen as a uniform philosophy, there are common threads running through critical theorists’ concepts of teacher education. Giroux, and his colleagues, McLaren and Aronowitz are perhaps the most prolific critical writers on teacher education. Giroux & McLaren (1987) and Aronowitz & Giroux (1993) require the development of both a critical language to reconstruct the relationship between schools and teacher education and a view of

authority and teacher work that defines what they term the ‘political project’ that underlines the purpose and nature of teacher education programs. The view that education *is* politics is a central theme of critical theorists. As Freire (Shor & Freire, 1987) puts it: "that is a great discovery, education is politics! After that, when a teacher discovers that he or she is a politician, too, the teacher has to ask, ‘What kind of politics am I doing in the classroom?’" (p. 46).

Teacher education programs must not remain service institutions reproducing technical expertise. They must change their focus to the critical transformation instead of the reproduction of existing ideologies and institutions. In order to accomplish this transformation, students must learn the language of ‘critique and possibility’ (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993). They must learn how to self-generate curricula, social practices and organizational arrangements that cultivate a deep respect for a democratic and ethically based community. Political and moral considerations would then become the guiding principles that connect teacher education programs and schools. Teacher training institutions and schools have become ‘democratic public spheres’ where students learn and develop the knowledge, skills and vision to participate in a critical democracy and hence take on a transformative role in furthering democracy.

Giroux & Aronowitz (1993) and Shor (1990) maintain that the shift to the right has reduced, by ideological and political pressures, the role of the teacher to that of a passive technician whose work is both demeaning and overburdening. The failure to link the purpose of schools to the imperatives of economic and social reform requires a new language of democracy, empowerment and possibility with which to redefine both teacher education programs and teaching practices. Central to the discourse of Giroux

and his colleagues is the view of teacher educators as 'transformative intellectuals' (Giroux, 1988).

A transformative intellectual is defined as:

...one who exercises forms of intellectual and pedagogical practice which attempt to insert teaching and learning directly into the political sphere by arguing that schooling represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations.

Further, transformative intellectuals are those who, ...treat their students as critical agents, question how knowledge is produced and distributed, utilize dialogue, and make knowledge meaningful, critical and ultimately emancipatory.

(Giroux & McLaren, 1987, p. 215)

This 'counter-hegemonic' role of teachers is a difficult one to maintain. It involves the formation of coalitions among teachers and with other groups both inside and outside of education to prevent what Aronowitz & Giroux (1993) term academic and political 'incorporation'. Transformative intellectuals are to critically investigate their own lives as teachers and by extension teacher trainees, the curricula they teach, the texts they use, the very purposes and functions of schools, society, and their own ideologies.

A form of 'emancipatory authority' also has to be developed that allows the exploration of two questions that, for critical theorists, are crucial to the content of teacher education curricula. These are: 1) What kind of society do educators want to live in? 2) What kind of teaching and pedagogy can be developed and legitimated by a view of authority that takes democracy and critical citizenship seriously? This means that discursive practices that emphasize disciplinary control must give way to practices based upon emancipatory authority that allow students to choose what interests and knowledge are required and desired for a just, democratic society. It also means that students should

become socially active, participating in the removal of social and political restraints that cause injustice and prevent others from leading decent and humane lives.

Under the concept of emancipatory authority, the role of the teacher changes from that of technician to critical thinker and ‘transformative intellectual’ who now has political and ethical obligations. Giroux & McLaren (1987) state that the teachers’ responsibilities are “to judge, critique, and reject those approaches to authority that reinforce a technical and social division of labour that silences and disempowers both teachers and students” (p. 226). As transformative intellectuals, teachers must clarify the link between power and knowledge and expose students to the histories, experiences and stories of those who are subjugated in society today. These are the stories of the Inuit students themselves, their families, and their lives since first contact with the Europeans.

For Giroux & McLaren (1987) present teacher education “rarely addresses either the moral implications of societal inequalities within our present form of industrial capitalism or the ways in which schools function to reproduce and legitimate these inequalities” (p. 227). They also argue that teachers are presented with a neutral, one dimensional view of classrooms and students which disables them from seeing that classrooms are in fact sites where a variety of interests and practices are constantly vying for dominance and negotiation. Teachers are led to adopt a dominant theoretical and cultural perspective of schooling that is largely unchallenged. This failure of education programs to provide student teachers with the language and concepts to understand the class, cultural, ideological and gender differences in classrooms leads teachers to ignore the ‘subordinate knowledge’ that many students bring with them. Consequently, student teachers do not see the connections between culture and power and fail to develop

pedagogical possibilities for the students from the cultural differences inherent in classrooms. As Smyth (1989) points out, many teachers, as a result of their own lived educational experiences, see teaching as being, apolitical, ahistorical and atheoretical. Critical teacher education seeks to change these attitudes.

Aronowitz & Giroux (1993) and Giroux & McLaren (1987) maintain that teacher education programs should support what is termed 'cultural politics'. Schools are to be seen not only as places where academic subjects are taught, but places where student subjectivities, or particular sets of experiences that are in themselves part of an ideological process, are produced. The central thrust of a teacher education curriculum becomes the understanding of schooling based upon social, cultural, political and economic dimensions, in other words, cultural politics. The empowerment of students as active political and moral subjects becomes a central goal of teacher education programs. This empowerment of teachers and students entails a process by which they can critically appropriate knowledge existing outside their experience to aid their understanding of themselves as well as being able to use this knowledge to define and transform the social order.

Critical social theory is linked to new practices through which students can begin to critically examine current educational traditions. It is also necessary to develop a language of criticism and demystification that will enable teachers to analyse the ideologies that lie behind current teaching practices and ideologies, implicit and explicit. There needs to be a focus upon the following four areas, power, language, history and culture:

a) Power

Power cannot, according to Giroux & McLaren (1987), be divorced from knowledge. Teachers must become aware that power relations correspond to forms of knowledge and are able both to distort and produce truth. A new curriculum must enable students to examine the conditions under which knowledge is produced, whose interests are represented and whose are not and what effect this knowledge can have upon people's lives.

b) Language

Students need to understand how language can position people in the world, construct meanings and reality as well as reflect it. They need to understand that it is not a neutral entity.

c) History

It is crucial that students take a critical approach to history in order to understand how cultural traditions are and have been formed. It is also necessary to examine how history itself has been taught to understand how the values of particular groups have been represented and how others have been omitted. History must also be linked theoretically with language and reading.

d) Cultures

Students should understand the relationship of culture and power and how cultures are related to: (i) how social relations are structured within class, gender and age formations that produce forms of oppression; (ii) how cultures are seen as a form of production through which 'dominant or subordinate groups define and realize their hopes through asymmetrical relations to power; and (iii) how cultures are viewed as an area of struggle in which particular forms of knowledge are central areas of conflict. For Giroux and McLaren (1987), cultural studies, should be the focus of teacher education programs. It is through cultural studies that teachers

will be able to critically examine the specific relations to power of certain social and political practices found in classrooms.

Radical theorists have, in general terms, described classroom practices for critical teachers. If, as Giroux and McLaren (1987) state, “Classroom pedagogy is centred around the primacy of student experience, the concept of voice and the importance of transforming schools and communities into democratic public spheres”(p. 234), then the problems and experiences of the novice teacher form the starting point of critical pedagogy and consequently teacher education. Teacher education programs must give students the ability to examine critically their own lives, as well as the dominant forms of knowledge and cultural mediation of the classroom. Teacher educators must learn how to understand, affirm and analyse student experiences. Yet, they must be aware how they engage in these experiences without unqualifiedly endorsing or delegitimizing such experiences.

Knowledge has to be made meaningful before it can be made critical. College/school knowledge is constantly filtered through ideological and cultural experiences that are brought to the classroom by the students. There is the issue of whose knowledge counts in classroom discourse and whose is validated - the students or the teachers. While it is important to accept student contributions, educators have to be careful not to affirm all student experiences equally. Students do bring to college/school experiences that are not from an ‘uncritical categorization’ and will, like prejudice, be socially constructed. In Nunavut there are some tensions between the Inuit and the non-Inuit. These are often expressed in class. For example, it might arise in a discussion

about employment - who gets it and why. Students and teachers must place the background ideas underlying these tensions under close critical examination.

Giroux & McLaren (1987) state that student practicum experiences, crucial and stressful components of teacher education, should be locations for studying how experiences are produced, legitimated and accomplished.

Voice refers to how students and teachers engage in dialogue. It is through their 'voices' that students (and teachers) affirm their various identities (e.g. race, class, gender, culture). The 'voice' of teachers can both aid students in learning and speaking of their lives or it can silence them. Giroux & McLaren (1987) place great importance on the concept of voice in the development of critical pedagogy as it aids in the construction and demonstration of what democracy can be. Essential to critical pedagogy is the linking of the school and community - the creation of democratic public spheres which are constantly criticized. By doing this, teacher educators/teachers open their classrooms to diverse resources and traditions while at the same time reaffirming the lives of the students as well as coming to a personal understanding of the students' personal histories. The concept of voice, according to the authors, allows for:

development of a relationship between knowledge and experiences and, at the same time, creates a forum for examining broader school and community issues. In other words, teachers must become aware of the transformative strengths and structures of oppression of the community-at-large and develop this awareness into curriculum strategies designed to empower students toward creating a more liberating and humane society. (Giroux & McLaren, 1987, p. 236.)

Teachers need to become active participants in the community in order to create spaces where students can debate and learn the required skills and knowledge necessary to live in a critical democracy.

A criticism of the work of Aronowitz, Giroux and McLaren and other critical theorists is that there is an inherent orthodoxy within it. As Brown (1993) and Shor (1990) comment, there is a danger of replacing one ideology with an other. Liston & Zeichner (1987), expressly caution that although teachers must reflect upon and engage in moral deliberation over the dilemmas of teaching and schooling, they must also remember that radical educators must educate, not indoctrinate. Education, for Liston & Zeichner (1987) is a virtue-laden social practice and an exercise in reflective inquiry. They warn, contrary to the views of Aronowitz & Giroux (1993), and Giroux & McLaren (1987), against teachers being political activists *within* the classroom but encourage this activity outside of the classroom.

For Liston & Zeichner (1987), education is viewed as social practice when it develops students' personal identities, autonomy in intellectual and moral matters, a sense of community and an ethic of caring - all key elements of elementary and secondary schooling and teacher education. The actions of teachers have to be honest, just and caring in order for this development to take place. Student teachers need to learn to be critical of and reflect upon: (i) the pedagogical and curricular means used to obtain justifiable educational aims; (ii) the underlying assumptions and consequences of pedagogical action; and (iii) the moral implications of pedagogical actions and the structure of schooling. It is the third point that the authors consider to be a means of examining schools more closely. They argue that if teachers examine the moral

implications of schools and teaching it will lead to a more personal examination of schools and enhance their development as teachers. However, in order to do this teacher education faculties need to be supportive, offer security and be true communities of learners. Central to their view of teacher education is the development of intellectually and morally autonomous and responsible teachers.

Like Aronowitz, Giroux and McLaren, Liston & Zeichner (1987) believe that teachers need to examine the moral implications of pedagogy and relate life in the classroom to the wider world in order that they can ask political and moral questions. They further agree with other radical theorists that schools do contribute to an unjust society. However, they argue that there are other moral positions to be taken into consideration and that a reflective, critical approach to the moral education of student teachers must take these other views into account.

The goal of a reflective and critically oriented teacher education program is certainly not moral inculcation, but rather a reflective examination of educational goals and alternative courses of action. (Liston & Zeichner, 1987, p. 121)

It is important for Liston & Zeichner (1987) that the ideas to which they subscribe must also, like other beliefs, be examined and reflected upon. If moral reflection is to be central to teacher education, then there must be varied articulated positions to choose from. Likewise, though teachers have every right to present their views to students, it is essential that other view points must be presented and one particular point of view is not privileged over an other. Otherwise, the students' educations will be narrow and inadequately facilitated.

In contrast to Aronowitz, Giroux and McLaren, Liston & Zeichner (1987) make a clear distinction between the teacher as educator and the teacher as political activist. Whereas they agree with much of the critical pedagogy of Aronowitz, Giroux and McLaren they do not see their attempt to politicize schooling as being within the jurisdiction of the teacher. They see the teacher in the classroom as an educator and not as a political activist. It is the teacher's job to try and help the students find their own voices and identities and to aid them in acquiring and critically examining moral beliefs, not to engage them in 'civic minded action' that even most adults may not be able to agree upon. Controversial topics, though, still have to be presented and moral norms established. However, educators are warned against pressuring their students to take up a cause and fulfill some sort of political action. They state that there is confusion between the 'affiliative' functions of concepts like emancipation and freedom and the actual conceptual foundations of them.

In contrast to their warnings regarding political action in the classroom and with students, the authors are fully in support of teachers engaging in political action outside of the classroom. It is essential for student teachers to begin to reflect upon how the conditions of schooling and teacher's work inhibits the realization of democratic educational goals. Consequently, it is the role of the teacher education program to ensure that student teachers have the time, knowledge and skills for this kind of reflection.

Strategies that have been successfully used in critical pedagogy are not in themselves 'critical'. In order for strategies to become critical, Liston & Zeichner (1987) describe how they must be directed towards:

- a) an examination of the moral and political implications of the structure of schools and the pedagogy used in them
- b) consideration of the variety of teacher roles and identities
- c) an identification of those conditions of schooling which obstruct the moral education of elementary and secondary students. (p. 129)

The authors describe 5 strategies that are mirrored in the writings of other critical theorists, and that can be used to develop critical pedagogy through teacher education.

These are:

- 1) Action Research: Self-reflective inquiry used to try to improve personal practices.
- 2) Ethnographic Studies: Used to help teachers examine realities that may lie beneath the surface and that wouldn't come to light without the necessary time being spent on observation and study.
- 3) Journal Writing: Used to promote personal development through reflection.
- 4) Curriculum Deliberations and Development: Teachers are involved in the creation, design and analysis of curricula and thus are not merely technicians in the application of others materials.
- 5) Supervision: More egalitarian methods of field supervision that place more emphasis upon reflective practices.

Liston & Zeichner (1987) are skeptical about how much change can be brought about in the current organisation of teacher education institutions. However, they do list the following things that teacher educators must do to promote critical pedagogy.

- Radical teacher educators must involve themselves directly with changing and restructuring the teacher education programs, and must

be involved in the consequences of the reforms they wish to make.

This involvement cannot be kept just to teacher education but must extend to other political arenas.

- Teacher educators must be examples of reflective and critical teachers themselves.
- They must become more involved in the external politics of educational change.
- They must be willing to allow the social relations and pedagogical practices within their programs to reflect the practices they would wish the students to establish in public schools.
- They must support reform in other areas of the educational endeavour, for example, teaching conditions in schools, professional development and the democratizing of schools to allow teachers and parents more control over the curriculum and school management.
- They must work for changes in the prevalent political and economic conditions of society at large.

We can trace the similarities between Liston and Zeichner's ideas and those of Aronowitz, Giroux and McLaren.

Shor (1987) describes the main themes of teacher education based upon the work of Freire (1970, 1973, 1983) who has influenced the writings of all the critical theorists. These themes help define a desocialising (critical) model for teacher education and are as follows:

- a) Dialogue Teaching: This involves problem-posing discussions in which the students' voices are heard and welcomed. This aids in the reduction of 'teacher-talk'. This is a difficult task for students (and instructors) to learn as so little critical discussion is presently extant in classroom situations. This is in part due to the fact that teachers have been

taught to lecture and control in the classroom (Shor, 1992). It also requires that the teacher education curriculum become dialogic, a key element of Frierean thought. Shor (1987) advocates the use of 'parallel pedagogies' where the teacher and students use a variety of classroom formats and techniques in the learning.

b) Critical Literacy: Also a key theme of Aronowitz and Giroux (1993), critical literacy involves the interrogation and problematization of all aspects of education. Teaching and learning become forms of research and experimentation as teachers and students investigate each other, their language, society and their own learning.

c) Situated Pedagogy: This is the inclusion of the students' cultures - their literacies, languages, their lives within the teaching program. Subjects are grounded in the lives and literacies of the students. By including material that has subjective importance to the students, experience and critical thought are connected.

d) Ethnography and Cross Cultural Communications: In order for teachers to understand the student populations they will teach and to situate critical literacy and dialogue within the lives of these students, novice teachers need to be taught basic ethnography and cultural anthropology to study these populations. This includes an in-depth understanding of multiculturalism and multilingualism of the kind suggested by Aronowitz & Giroux (1993). This involves a study of non-traditional literatures outside the realms of the official canon.

e) Change-Agents: For teachers to be change-agents themselves (transformative intellectuals) they need to be familiar with how other communities are structured and how they change. It is also important for teachers to know how schools are organised, curricula designed and the legal and political aspects of school administration. Within

colleges/schools themselves, it is essential for teachers to understand the workings of their union, staff committees, how publications are realized and know historical examples of change so that they themselves can create future conditions that promote change. Becoming an agent of change is, because teachers are a products of authoritarian school environments, not an easy achievement (Shor, 1990). It is also necessary, as Freire (Shor & Freire, 1987) writes, that teachers must be exposed to the greater dynamism and mobility in social movements in order to attain an education that is not found in books. He likens knowledge of 'outside' worlds to opening windows (p. 39).

f) Inequality in School and Society: Essential for critical teachers is an understanding of sociology, economics, history and psychology. This will enable them to understand how inequalities of race, class and sex arise and are sustained to influence the school and life chances of students. Teachers need to be more knowledgeable academically and politically.

g) Performing and Presentational Skills: Preparation in voice and drama is essential to ensure a sense of presence and creativity in instruction. If teachers are confident and exciting students can be engaged in dialogue and critical thinking far easier.

Shor (1987) writes that these themes must not be seen as requiring separate instruction but can be integrated in various formulations within a teacher education program and, of course, be coordinated with student teaching practica. It is important that students are given democratic critical teachers with whom they will work on their practica. A critical school experience is an essential component of education for critical teachers and trainees. Courses would also have to change their focus and become

problem-solving seminars (run by critical educators) and students themselves would be involved in projects that are concerned with some form of institutional change.

For students to become critical teachers, a transformation is involved and this is a socially constructed event. This reconstruction of the person has to take place in all spheres of existence, or as Shor (1990) writes;

If I say I want to transform myself into a liberating educator, I have to go into education and reconstruct myself in a social process. This means in the classroom, in the school, in the profession (unions, conferences, campaigns), in the community, and in the political process affecting education. I have to go into history where I was made, and where school is made to remake myself, school and history. (p. 351)

To conclude this section on critical teacher education, I look at the work of Smyth (1989) and his investigation of four forms of action and their corresponding questions. He believes teachers need to pursue these questions in order for them to begin to understand the constraints and inhibitions working against them and to be able to challenge and change those conditions - to begin to become critical teachers! The actions and questions are, I would argue, important because they clearly invoke the personal responsibility of teachers and the need to reflect upon the kinds of teaching they do. Smyth's (1989) article also illustrates some practical strategies and some difficulties in executing them. These four forms of action and their corresponding questions are:

Describing:	What do I do?
Informing:	What is the meaning behind my teaching?
Confronting:	How did I come to be this way?
Reconstructing:	How might I do things differently?

1) Describing: Teachers use journals/logs to record 'critical incidents' in their teaching. The actual writing of these incidents forces them to specify

and clarify the situations (who? what? when? where?). It is this writing of critical incidents that allows their 'voices' to come to the fore. The discussion of journal entries enables teachers to discover what they know and also what they need to know. The discussions and writing also helps teachers see that no universal laws of teaching exist and, perhaps more importantly, that teaching cannot be separated from the lives of teachers and students.

2) Informing: From journal writing and discussions teachers are able to begin to make 'local theories' as to what goes on in their classes. And though these theories are not able to be generalized, Smyth (1989), points to their importance in helping teachers explain the nature of their work contexts. Teachers begin to construct the explanatory principles that lie behind what goes on in the classroom. They begin to see the importance of teachers' definitions about teaching and knowledge and how often this knowledge has been ignored, due in part to the ideology of oppression that lies behind evaluation and supervision. Theorizing allows for the growth of transformative potential and critical questioning to arise.

3) Confronting: Teachers find the confrontation with their worlds a difficult task. The critical reflection necessary to examine classroom practices and methods and the 'local theories' they construct is based upon the series of questions found in the diagram below. Questions are asked concerning the social causes of particular classroom actions in which teachers are involved. This enables teachers to see that they are not individually to blame for certain existing conditions and, of course, that there exists a series of events lying behind particular actions that require examination. For example, the concept of the hidden curriculum begins to take on real significance once teachers begin to examine the 'whys' of classroom events. Smyth (1989) reiterates, however, the difficulties that teachers have in writing and discussing the systematic way in which teaching is dictated to teachers from sources outside of school. According

to Smyth, teachers have an unwillingness to understand and challenge their histories as educators.

4) Reconstructing: Teachers have to begin with their own realities before they can possibly begin to reconstruct - to do things differently. However, examining one's own realities is very difficult. Teachers generally do not confront the problems and contexts of these realities and readily accept or at least endure conditions that should be intolerable for them.

In summary, the work of the critical theorists outlined here clearly shows that teacher education programs that wish to have as their goals critical, emancipatory education must change considerably from both the traditional view of teacher education (the teacher seen as a craftsperson imparting knowledge to passive student recipients), or the rational view (the teacher as technician-teaching, as applied science) to one of radical pedagogy (Liston & Zeichner, 1987). This, as the theorists have pointed out, will be no easy task. In fact, from the point of view of an instructor in a small teacher education program it is quite daunting. It is equally clear that though no uniform radical philosophy may exist among educators, agreement on many ideas of what critical teacher education may be and the form it may take allows for some optimism for its possibility.

Among the writers critically reviewed, the main area of difference seems to revolve around the efficacy of political activity of students under the influence of teachers and school. Giroux & McLaren advocate that students be politically active while Liston & Zeichner believe that it is not the role of the teachers to promote such activity.

In the next chapter I discuss the growth of the Nunavut Teacher Education Program and relate critical pedagogy to teacher education in Nunavut.

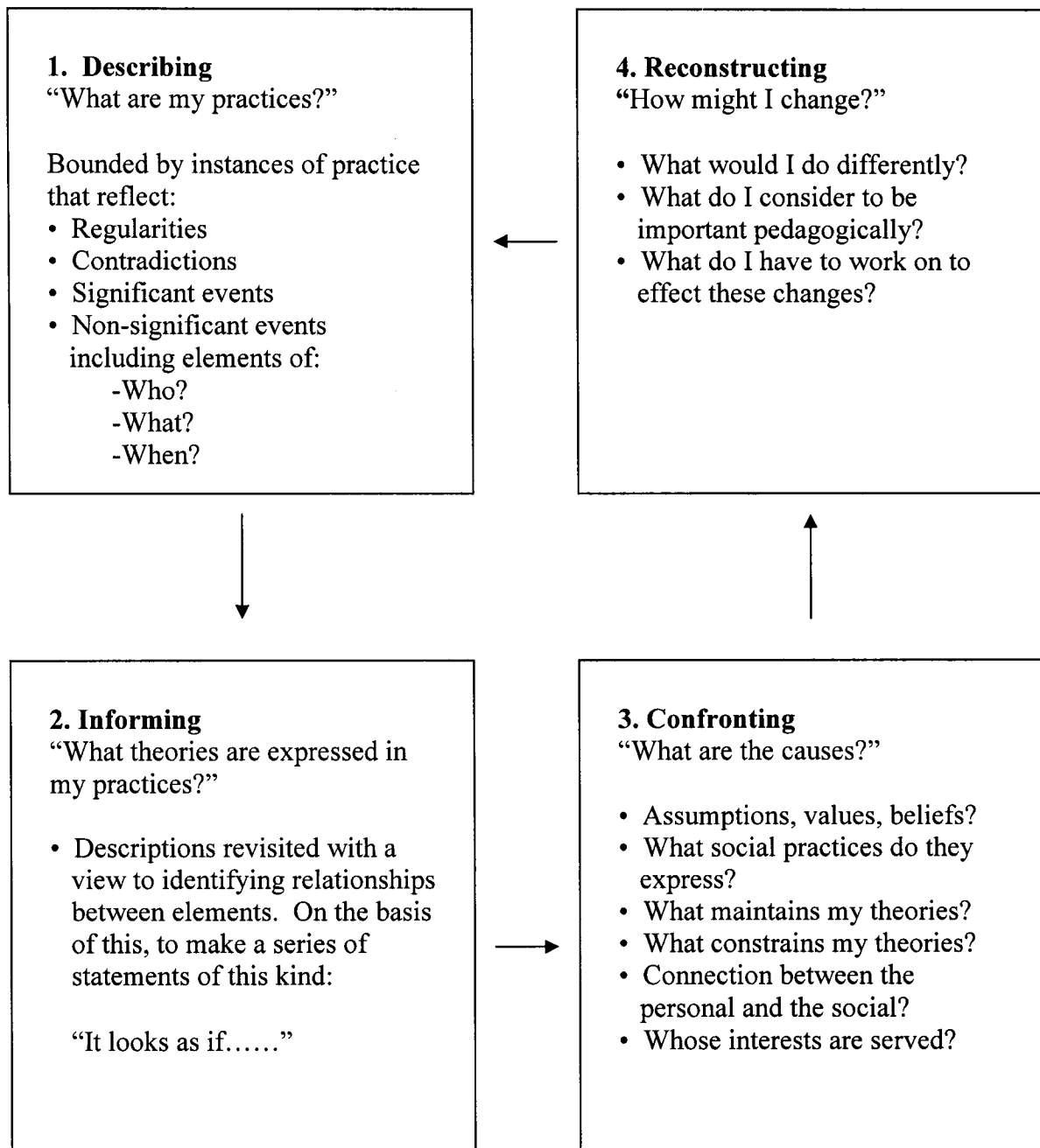


Figure 7: Smyth's four forms of action (1989, p. 487)

Chapter 7: TEACHER EDUCATION



NTEP Graduation Class – a good year

"For thousands of years our people had a very effective education. We knew how to prepare our children to handle everything they would face when living on the land. Then things changed. Increased contact with southern culture brought us into a new way of life. Events and decisions in distant places changed our lives. It was no longer clear what determined our time or place, or what had to be done to control our own lives. How to prepare ourselves and our children for living was also unclear. The path of education we had followed for countless generations could not prepare us for all these new things."

(Nunavik Educational Task Force, 1992, p. 1)

A formal education system, one designed and controlled by others, replaced the informal traditional education spoken of above. Formal schooling had come to the arctic as part of the colonial enterprise to assimilate and to 'civilize'. The educational system played an enormous role in the socialization of native children into a new and different world. It was a world that did not acknowledge the culture, language and knowledge of those it taught. It was a world, which helped change a social system from one that had

endured the hardships of an unforgiving environment and had managed to survive, to one that suddenly found itself floundering in a place it no longer knew with any certainty.

The education system that was imposed upon the Inuit had managed to alienate children from parents, made little or no provision for linguistic and cultural inclusion into the schools and thus did not reflect the lives of the children. To make matters worse, all human contact in the classrooms was with people from a different culture who could not communicate in the language of the children and who rarely shared an understanding to their cultural background.

A first step to ameliorate the latter situation, and hopefully the former, was the introduction of Inuit classroom aides into the schools. This led to the creation of the classroom assistant program and ultimately a program for Inuit teacher education.

THE CLASSROOM ASSISTANT PROGRAM

In 1958, ten years prior to the establishment of the northern teacher-training program in 1968, Maxine Sutherland, a curriculum specialist from Yellowknife, went to Resolute Bay to help a young Inuit, woman, Leah Idlout, to become a teacher-aide in her community, a community which at the time had yet to have its own school. This was to the initial stage in the development of an important program that was to have a profound effect upon the development of northern teachers, the *Classroom Assistants Program*. The program had two major goals. The first was to provide assistance to the classroom teacher, the second was to improve the academic standing of the classroom assistant trainee (Macpherson, 1991).

Classroom assistants (CA's) assisted the almost exclusively unilingual English speaking southern teachers in numerous ways. Most importantly, the presence of the classroom assistant, someone from the same linguistic and racial group as the children, gave them a little security in the new and often bewildering world of formal education. The CA's acted as a liaison, first between the children, who in the early days would have been themselves largely unilingual (Inuktitut) and inexperienced with this foreign institution called school, and the teachers. Second, they provided a link between the children's parents and teachers and finally between the school and the larger community, translating and interpreting both situations and documents for the involved parties. The initial intention was that the CA's would perform the duties that "detract from the teacher's instructional program" (Macpherson, 1991, p. 183). Consequently, CA's were involved in the myriad of tasks that take place in a classroom, ranging from the organization of classroom routines to actual lesson preparation and teaching. The range of duties depended upon the classroom teacher and his or her interpretation of the role of the classroom assistant. Some CA's learned essential aspects of teaching from their classroom teachers and were given substantial responsibility in the classroom while a few were merely treated as 'go-fors'.

The first classroom assistants' course was held in Ontario in 1965. Eleven northern students attended this month-long course. This, in turn, led to a nine-week course for a further fourteen students, beginning in February of 1966 and delivered in Smith Falls. In order for the students to experience southern Canadian life more intimately, they were boarded with local families. The list of the duties of classroom assistants was drawn up at this time from recommendations by the principals and teachers

with whom the classroom assistants worked. The content of the courses consisted primarily of academic upgrading, theories and methods of primary teaching, classroom observation, and teaching and familiarization with non-Inuit culture and society (Macpherson, 1991). In the summer of 1966 a similar course was held in Yellowknife for CA's of that region. It is interesting that the two teacher consultants responsible for the first courses in Ontario note that, "We still haven't come to grips with this chronic problem of academic upgrading" (p. 184). This problem remains today. In the fall of 2004 the Nunavut teacher Education Program is about to begin two new community programs in the Qikiqtani region and finds that in both communities the majority of the applicants do not have the minimum entrance requirements – entrance requirements, which are already low in comparison with other Nunavut Arctic College Programs (for example, the new nursing program).

By 1972 the number of CA's in the Territory had risen to over eighty; by 1981 in the eastern arctic alone there were 90 CA's (Wilman, 1987). It was also in this year that the actual position of Classroom Assistant was officially recognized by the GNWT. Classroom assistants were already beginning to take over responsibility for some kindergarten and primary classrooms. Gordon Devitt (District Superintendent of the Arctic 1959-69) in 1973 said this of the classroom assistants' program:

Since 1958, young Eskimo people have been working with qualified teachers in northern schools in an attempt to make education more relevant and meaningful. From the inception of the program, those selected were regarded as trainees. Sixty percent of their time was to be related to classroom assistant duties, while the remainder was to be spent in upgrading. In this way they would give valuable services to the school at the same time as furthering their own education with the ultimate aim in view of becoming fully qualified teachers. (Macpherson, 1991, p. 186)

It is the last sentence that carries so much importance for the development of teacher education programs in the north. Classroom assistants contributed considerably to the development of the northern school system, and provided, in the eastern arctic, the foundation for teacher trainees and consequently, future teachers.

Training of classroom assistants continued, usually in the form of well-attended summer schools. All expenses were paid and CA's salaries were tied to the amount of training they received. So there was plenty of incentive to attend training opportunities. However, the "training opportunities for these Inuit paraprofessionals were both limited and sporadic" (Wilman, 1987, p. 1). From 1977-1980 the training was governed by the dictates of Dacum (Developing a curriculum) charts and the behaviourist philosophy inherent in them. Certification came from the Government of the NWT but there was no accompanying recognition by any academic institution of the work completed by the students, not even Ft. Smith, the centre for teacher training, accepted any advanced credits from the training towards the teacher education program, "... you could have done three of four of these summers and that wouldn't have helped you basically at all towards becoming a teacher. It was a dead end road" (Wilman, interview, 2002). A major change occurs in the eastern arctic in the training of classroom assistants and teachers in 1981 with the redesign of the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program detailed below. While there presently remain a few classroom assistants in Nunavut, generally this designation has been supplanted by the *Language Specialist* positions within the school divisions.

TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE NWT.

That night Audie and Percy came to our house for dinner and after the dishes were done we sat out on the lawn with a drink and as is usual with educators got into a discussion on training northern native people. There are no two more argumentative or articulate people than Dyer and Rangongo so I imagine we thrashed out the subject pretty thoroughly into the small hours of a night almost devoid of darkness. (Macpherson, 1991)

It was from this conversation on 9th July 1966 between Audie Dyer (the first principal of Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program 1969-1972), Percy Rangongo (Principal-at-large of the Mackenzie District) and his challenge that “they were doing nothing for Northern Education and it was about time that we did” (Macpherson, 1991, p. 200). So it came about that Norman Macpherson (the Regional Superintendent of Schools in Yellowknife), the third party to the discussion, was prompted to write a proposal for a northern teacher education program. His proposal, presented to a Superintendents’ Conference two days later, was based upon four guiding principles supporting the establishment of a northern teacher education program: 1. the northerness of teacher trainees made them superior in relating to northern students than their southern counterparts; 2. the existence of ‘permit teachers’ in the south who had relatively little training and yet still did well in the classroom provided an initial model for the program and proved its possibility; 3. the need for northern role models at the higher socio-economic scale and, finally, 4. the insistence that the training and practice teaching should be done by northern teachers and in northern schools.

The proposal was endorsed at the conference and sent to Ottawa for approval. Following presentations to the University of Alberta and the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources in 1967, which approved the proposal in principle, the

planning and development of the program was undertaken under the direction of District Superintendent of Schools for the Mackenzie District, B. C. Gillie. It was scheduled to commence in September of 1968. The central objectives of the program enumerated by Macpherson (1991) were:

To encourage young students of Indian, Eskimo and Metis background to enter the teaching profession; demonstrate that they could perform effectively; show that education is not the sole prerogative of the white man; capitalize on cultural and linguistic affinities; and make a start at providing a “pool” of northern teachers for schools in the Northwest Territories. (p. 203)

The experimental one-year program began in a converted construction shack next to Sir John Franklin School in Yellowknife. It had an enrollment of 15 students who were given \$10 a week pocket money and who were billeted in private homes in the community. Like all experimental programs there is often resistance and the initial year of the Northwest Territories Teacher education Program (NWTTEP) was no different. Lee, the principal of the program in 1980 describes it so. “There were considerable difficulties to overcome: finances, skepticism, questions of “standards”, but the program survived” (in Macpherson, 1991, p. 200). The difficulties mentioned by Lee have to a certain extent remained and are the basis for constant discussion among some members of the government, the staff and the public with regard to the current NTEP program.

The program moved to its present home, Ft. Smith, on the NWT Alberta border, in 1970. It increased its duration to two years, one of which was a year of residence in Ft. Smith. The second year was split into two semesters, one to be spent at the University of Alberta and the second in a school in the Northwest Territories on teaching practice.

Mallon (1981) says this of the early Ft. Smith Program:

In its early years the Ft. Smith program was connected with the University of Alberta. The idea then was a very western idea, because the academic level in the west is higher than it is in the east. The early entrants were expected to be high school graduates and the program was supposed to be one that would have academic validity according to southern standards.

The idea was more or less to produce native teachers who were in every way equivalent to teachers in the south. All instruction was in English and there were Dene students as well as Inuit students. (p. 24)

Once again there is a reference to academic standards.

Further program changes occurred in 1973; the association with the University of Alberta was ended, and the entire program was to be conducted within the Northwest Territories. Fluency in a native language became a prerequisite to admission, facilitating the entrance of classroom assistants to the teacher education program. The program, however, contained no provision for the teaching of any native language. Mallon (1981) describes the reasoning behind this move and an underlying difficulty as to why the program failed ultimately to meet the needs of the eastern arctic.

The impression was that you would take a native student with grade 12 who spoke a native language, train that person in English, and then that person in theory would be able to teach in their native language if that person was asked to. The model may have been useful in the west but it wasn't much use in the eastern arctic because the history of education is much shorter in the east than it is in the west and there just weren't the graduates around. (p. 25)

While the program was intended to serve all of the NWT there were difficulties in attracting students from the east. In order to try to draw eastern arctic students (Inuit) to the program, in the fall of 1973, first year courses were held in Chesterfield Inlet, completion of which allowed the students to finish their training in Ft. Smith. Chesterfield Inlet, not one of the larger communities on the west Hudson Bay Coast, was

chosen for the prosaic reason that it had the space – the old school hostel Turquetil Hall. However, from 1974-1976 the location was moved to Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) where, as in Chesterfield Inlet, students could complete the first-year program before transferring to Ft. Smith (Lee, in Macpherson, 1991). However, difficulties remained with the program in the east. According to Mallon (1981) the attempt failed because of the “number of drop-outs and general problems” (p. 26).

In 1976 the entire program was once again located in Ft. Smith. A new association was developed with the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. This relationship continues to this day. The association allows the holders of the NWT Teacher’s Diploma to obtain advanced standing if they choose to embark upon the B. Ed. degree at the university.

The importance of training native teachers in the Northwest Territories grew as government reports show. For example: the 1972 *Survey of Education*; the 1972 *Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories K-6: A Handbook for Curriculum Development*; the 1973 Report of the Special Committee of the Council on the Survey of Education; and the 1977 *Northwest Territories Education Ordinance*, which made into law previous government policies; and the 1976 creation of the *Linguistic Program Division*, all gave increasing emphasis to the teaching and preservation of native languages (and culture) especially in the early primary years. The 1982 document *Learning, Tradition and Change*, added further impetus to the crucial role of native languages and culture in the curriculum of the schools of the Northwest Territories. This clear shift in policy from that of the assimilationist policies of the 1950-70s put increasing pressure on the need for the training of native teachers and, while the

introduction of native languages in schools was desirable, it brought a number of difficulties. As B. C Gillie explained in 1976:

We were convinced that the right approach was to begin with the children receiving instruction in their own language. Then gradually over a period of time change that so their own language became a subject in the curriculum and the instruction was all in English. Now that sounds like a very simple thing to do, but of course it is incredibly difficult to do if for no other reason than that you must have people, and a good supply of people, who are bilingual or in some way you must have a bilingual system in the classroom. The only way we could do that in most cases was by using classroom assistants who were bilingual working under professional teachers who were not. (Macpherson, 1991, p. 280)

This arrangement could not, notwithstanding the exemplary work of the classroom assistants, possibly produce the kind of results desired in the teaching of language and culture in school system. Qualified native teachers, *with the appropriate linguistic and cultural materials*, were required in sufficient numbers to be able to teach in native languages and reflect the native culture. This situation, in 2004, despite the work of the teacher education programs, has yet to be achieved in either Nunavut or the NWT.

However, with regard to the eastern arctic, there remained difficulties in attracting Inuit students to the Ft. Smith program. Questions about program objectives, location and political desires (Lee, in Macpherson, 1991) as well as cultural and linguistic differences, low-scholarity of many Inuit students, distances from home communities and the loneliness that ensued, and a general feeling of discomfort among Inuit from the eastern arctic with Ft. Smith, and the lifestyle there all fueled the desire to create a separate program for the east. Thus in 1979, political pressure and the reluctance of Inuit students to go to Ft. Smith for training caused the establishment of the eastern teacher

education program (Cram, 1985). Or as Wilman (1987, p. 1) describes it, “in response to growing pressure from parents and educators, the Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) established EATEP to train Inuit teachers to work in the schools of the Eastern Arctic”. To illustrate the need for an eastern arctic teacher education program one may be that between the years 1968 –1980 Ft. Smith had graduated 35 Inuit teachers, of which only 12 remained in teaching. In 1981, there were 120 K-3 classrooms that required teaching in Inuktitut in Nunavut. The responsibility for teaching in Inuktitut in these classrooms fell to the 90 or so classroom assistants then in the schools (Wilman, 1987). Wilman comments on the situation:

It was absolutely impossible to really implement the Education Act as it stood. So it was obvious really from the data and from the unrest in the communities and the concerns of the education councils that wanted Inuit teachers and paraprofessional training...something had to be done. There were major problems with the paraprofessional training as it was inappropriate in its format and dead-ended (Interview 2002).

TRAINING in the EASTERN ARCTIC 1979-1981

Agitated for by the then current MLA for Iqaluit, Brian Pearson, and pushed through by his successor, Dennis Patterson, the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP) commenced in Iqaluit in September of 1979. Running parallel to the classroom assistant program, the two-year pilot teacher education program (Mallon, 1981) began with two fulltime instructors, Peta Anne Jackson, the teaching principal, and Carol Munden, an instructor, and thirteen students. Later, Lena Evic-Twerdin (the first Inuk to receive a B. Ed. degree) joined the program and was responsible for Inuktitut language courses, arts and music and she also co-taught with non-Inuit instructors. In the

second year, 1980, another Inuit instructor, Rosemary Twerdin, joined the program, teaching social studies and science in Inuktitut.

The program, though ostensibly independent of Ft. Smith, was modeled on that program, borrowing its courses, awarding only its credits and largely being controlled by it for the first year at least (Wilman, 2002 interview). Seven students left the program after or during the first year but were replaced by another seven at the beginning of the second (Pitsiulak, 1981).

As the second year of the program progressed, changes were being made in Yellowknife that would alter the course of classroom assistant and teacher education in the east. In 1980, Brian Lewis, the Director of Education in the GNWT, appointed Mick Mallon to become the Director of Bilingual Programs and Director of EATEP (Wilman 1987). His responsibility was to develop the bilingual programs and organize the TEP program in the east with a mandate to create a field-based classroom assistant program. Further, he was to establish a connection with McGill University with the view of obtaining university accreditation for the courses taught. In Mallon's words:

So he (Lewis) had to invent something for me to do. And the first thing he said was, "You know those people in Kativik, they've got a good field based program so why don't you try and start that up." And I said the Kativik situation is different. They've got no such things as classroom assistants, there's no distinction between classroom assistants and teachers, everybody's a teacher in training and so you would have to put me in charge of the training of classroom assistants.... And then he said, "Sure, and the other thing to do is, let me see, is you've got this connection with Jack Cram of McGill. So see what you can do with that." (Interview, 2002)

At the same time, in 1980, David Wilman was returning from educational leave and was asked to become the coordinator of classroom assistants and teacher education

(Teacher Training Consultant with EATEP, Wilman, 1987), a new position based in Iqaluit created to “to start providing training and professional development for paraprofessionals to move them into teaching. And to start the notion that you can start training on the job and eventually become a teacher” (Wilman, interview 2002).

This reflects a shift in emphasis onto teacher education rather than the teacher assistants’ certificate and diploma program developed in Yellowknife and described earlier as a ‘dead end road’ and more forcibly here by Mallon:

It was a dead end. Because if you wanted to become a teacher you had to join the teacher education program and sit at the desk with a 17 year old high school grad with no experience whatsoever; your certificate was worthless, your diploma was worthless. (Interview, 2002)

The new position, of Coordinator of Classroom Assistants and Teacher Education, allowed Wilman to have an advisory relationship with the TEP program and thus positioned him to begin to fulfill one of the directives from the Deputy Minister of Education, Brian Lewis, which was:

...to start moving on to part-time delivery, field-based delivery of teacher education. And it wouldn’t be expected to be just summer school for classroom assistants but it would be in-service, during-term training, provided for Inuit paraprofessional teachers. And that some of it should be provided through the teacher education program in association with the teacher education program. So he saw the need to start amalgamating and to start to find a way to move more people who had professional experience, who had classroom experience, from paraprofessional to professional status. (Wilman, interview, 2002)

Amplified by the three regions, the training of classroom assistants took a new direction. Short two to three day workshops were organized in a number of communities as well as larger meetings of CA’s from throughout a region. Non-Inuit

teachers would be brought in to assist in the teaching of strategies and techniques and to begin to create and collect teaching materials. New courses were also developed from the Dacum Chart competency bands, combining several into a simple and more holistic course. At the same time Mallon was beginning to teach some courses in administration and to develop and teach courses in Inuktitut orthography, phonology, morphology and grammar to the students of the TEP program. These courses were to become, and remain though to a lesser degree, a major component of NTEP students' course profile.

In response to a request from a regional director (E. Colbourne), a proposal was written by Wilman and Mallon, and sent to the Deputy Minister of Education in Yellowknife, outlining how the classroom assistants' program could be merged with the teacher education program.

The concept paper was basically just three or four pages, and we drew a schematic diagram about how you could take three approaches. Originally it was going to be two approaches but we invented, developed a third. One approach was to take two years teacher training and get your certification. Another was to take the certificate and diploma through the competency-based model and you got your classroom assistant certificate at the end. But we said, if you got that, isn't it logical that you had done a good portion of your teacher training? So we proposed that if you'd done that you could jump, miss the first year, jump into the second year with full credit for the first year of teacher training. Basically, that was a big breakthrough. Just a simple step like that, putting two separate tracks together and you join the roles with one objective in the end-a good teacher. (Wilman, interview 2002)

The proposal based upon the McGill/ Kativik program for training Inuit teachers and the Navajo Teacher Education Development Project (Wilman, 1987) was taken by the Deputy Minister to the Minister, Dennis Patterson, who "...enthusiastically welcomed this proposal and in April, 1981 authorized me to proceed with its implementation"

(Wilman, 1987). Basically, the proposal created a dual-track training program. The classroom assistants courses being integrated with that of EATEP's to allow for either a full time institutional program or a parallel field-based program in which students learned on the job. It was thought that the field-based program would interest those Inuit who would find traveling from their communities for any length of time impossible due to family commitments. It would also allow the first year of the program to be completed in the field over a period of two years. The second year of the two program could be concluded in Iqaluit in one year if that was preferred by the student.

In February/March of 1981 meetings were held in Yellowknife where a proposal was presented to the senior managers of the Department of Education regarding student financing. The proposal was that long-service classroom assistants entering the fulltime second year of the program would receive funding approximating 50-60% of their salary. This provision was intended to allow these long-service CA's the ability to continue to support their families (though to a lesser extent) while they entered the fulltime second year of the program. While some opposition was voiced and modifications were attempted (Wilman, Mallon, interviews, 2002) the Department approved it, thus providing funding to the program to pay allowances to the long-service classroom assistants. This continued until the program was subsumed into Arctic College in 1987.

At roughly the same time discussions were being held with McGill University to fulfill the accreditation aspect of the project. Jack Cram, the Director of McGill's Centre for Northern Studies and Research, had already been involved in the creation of the teacher education program in Kativik, Northern Quebec, actively supported the EATEP project both in and out of the University. The proposed EATEP program was so similar

to that of Kativik's that only minor changes and additions in course offerings were necessary to secure the accreditation required by EATEP through the McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education (Wilman, 1987; Cram, 1985). Extra courses had to be developed to satisfy the NWT requirements for a 60 credit teacher-training program. Certain courses previously taken by students before the involvement with McGill were allowed advanced standing. Over a period of three years the program took 20-25 new courses through a process at the McGill Senate to obtain the approval. On occasion courses had been taught before approval had been granted and so the marks had to be held back until approval had been obtained.

The cost of field-based courses can be, due to the cost of transportation and accommodation, prohibitively high in the north. Wilman (1987), estimated that a two-week course for twenty students would cost around \$40 000. The field-based proposal to train classroom assistants and teachers envisaged, in order to try to get more trained Inuit into the classrooms, that all current CA's would be eligible for the proposed program. However, the Department of Education in Yellowknife modified the proposal and would only assure funding for a "short term pilot project to offer training in the field to six students" (Wilman, 1987, p. 3). Remembering the decision by Yellowknife brought this reaction from Mallon:

So I came over to see what this modified plan was, and instead of having a program where we were responsible for every classroom assistant, we had a program where six would be chosen for this field-based program and I said, "Well, that's ridiculous. We're talking about a three-year program; six people, how many are going to drop out in the first year?" There was nothing much I could do about it but I couldn't display my bad temper. So I said "This is ridiculous; Wilman and I were on the spot in the field, there was a problem; we analyzed the problem logically and there was only one answer and this is not it. So we're going to do what we were going to do

in the first place. And Brian Lewis replied, “ Well, Mr. Mallon, the cabinet, they’ve approved this and they’re not going to be very happy when they find out that their wishes have been completely subverted.” And I said, “Well in that case it will be one of the few cases in the history of education in the Government of the Northwest Territories when you’ll know who is to blame. It’ll be us.” I was all bluff and posture (Mallon, interview 2002)

It was clear that the GNWT's decision to finance only six students would not enable the program to make much headway with the serious shortage of Inuit teachers. As Wilman (1986) put it this way, " Our proposal appeared doomed" (p. 3).

As the academic year 1980-1981 came to a close there appeared to be growing dissatisfaction with the EATEP program in Iqaluit. There was concern that there were only four graduates from the original thirteen “there was pretty strong dissatisfaction particularly by the three educational regional education offices who were concerned with high drop-out” and “people were agitating for a bit of a change” (Wilman , interview 2002). While it is not clear who these people were, given all the activity surrounding the program and yet not seemingly involving the current principal, one can assume the situation may have been uncomfortable for her. Whatever the reasons, Jackson left the program and in July of 1981 Wilman assumed the role of principal of TEP. Carol Munden also left at the same time.

The Donner Foundation

Jack Cram, while in Calgary in the early summer of 1981 making a presentation on the Kativik Teacher Education Program, happened to mention the current negotiations with EATEP regarding a similar program for the eastern arctic. Fortunately, for EATEP a representative of the Donner Foundation, Catherine McKinnon, was present and

approached Cram regarding Donner's interest in the project. A proposal was quickly written by Cram, Wilman and Mallon for the establishment of a field-based teacher-training program and submitted by Cram on 20th July, 1981 to the Donner Foundation. Representatives of the Foundation visited Iqaluit in October and McGill/EATEP were awarded a grant of \$400 000 payable over a period of four years. The program was under way, though Mick Mallon puts it a little more colourfully: "And we got the money and we thumbed our noses at the bastards and, we created basically the program as it is now" (Interview, 2002).

The grant included a number of important conditions; McGill while administering the money couldn't charge a fee for doing so; the GNWT would provide \$800 000 over the four years of the Donor Foundation grant; the GNWT guaranteed to continue funding the field-based program after the end of the four year period and a guarantee from the GNWT that graduates of the program would be employed by the government. The Deputy Minister of Education, Brian Lewis, accepted these conditions for the NWT, on October 28th, 1981 and two days later the Principal of McGill University accepted the Donor Foundation Grant. On November 19th, 1981, a mere three weeks later, twenty-five students from across Nunavut embarked upon their first course in Pangnirtung (Wilman, 1987, Wilman, interviews 2002).

The Program

Students enrolled in the two-year program earned two certificates upon completion. The first was the McGill 45 credit Certificate in Northern and Native Education and the second the 60 credit NWT Teaching Certificate, which was, in essence, the license to teach in the territory. All the courses received McGill accreditation

(Cram, 1985). Each modular course was two weeks in length, 10 full days of instruction. Full time institutional students could complete both certificates in two years of study. The academic year began in September and went through until June when a two course, three-week summer program, was offered.

The Field-Based Program

The program offered to field-based students was more intricate and required far more planning on behalf of both the program and the schools from which the students were to come. Students could begin their training by taking a two-course summer program followed by three courses taken throughout the school year. This cycle would be repeated, allowing for the completion of the 60-credit NWT certificate in four years. Alternatively, they could follow this pattern for just two years, thus completing the first year and then joining the full time institutional program to complete the second year and earn their certificates.

The Deputy Minister of Education was adamant that the field-based program was going to be successful and so insisted that those involved were allowed the necessary time off from school to attend courses. Of course, allowing teachers to have 6 weeks out of school for training during the school year met with some resistance over the years from the principals who had to deal with the rhythm of classrooms being disrupted three times a year and with the problem of finding substitute teachers to replace those going on courses. In communities this would have been a difficult and unwelcome task.

The logistics involved in moving and accommodating 20-25 people from all over Nunavut to one community were more complicated than they would be now (though it still wouldn't be easy). Flights have to be coordinated so that students arrive on time for

the commencement of the course and are able to leave as soon as the course is completed to get back to their home community with as little 'dead-time', time waiting for flights, as possible. Accommodating the students in the local hotel, even if it had the capacity, would have been prohibitively expensive and so arrangements were made to billet the students with local families. While I am not sure, I recall that the billets, in 1988 at least, received around \$39 per night for room and board. Billeting naturally brings with it its own set of problems that have to be dealt with, for example, inadequate billets or students preferring to be somewhere else or with someone else. Wilman recalls his response to some of those who confronted him with "I don't want to stay there, I want to stay here", as being, "These are the people who are going to be paid. If you want to stay there, you pay them!" (2002). However, by and large things worked and in the first year EATEP delivered 4/5 field-based courses (Wilman, interview, 2002).

Given the resistance by some of the principals it was necessary to allow enough information and advanced notice to be given to them regarding course dates and prospective students. Consequently, the principal set up a system of advisement. This was initially a manual system as the widespread use of computers had yet to begin. Each student had his or her own file and when a course or courses appropriate to that student were offered a *letter of recommendation* that the student should attend went to the student, the regional superintendent and to the principal outlining the dates and locations of the courses. Though it was called a *letter of recommendation* it was according to the Deputy Minister of Education, a *letter of extraction* in that there was no excuse, other than illness, for a teacher to miss an offered course. Inability to find a substitute teacher was not an acceptable excuse (Wilman, interview, 2002). One can understand why some

principals might have become irritated.

This last section has dealt primarily with the reorganization of the EATEP teacher education and classroom assistants program. The following deals with the actual EATEP program as it began, in 1979 until reorganization in 1981.

EATEP: THE FIRST TWO YEARS: 1979-1981



Photo 24: The DPW building, the former home of EATEP.

The program was first located in a space that was part of the Department of Public Works (DPW) building, from 1979 until 1988, when the new Arctic College building was completed. It was comprised of a room with kitchen facilities, one large and one smaller classroom, a small room that was used as a library, and several offices. The air always smelled of diesel fuel.

What was the program like from the students' perspective? At one level the program seems to have done well. The students enjoyed it and they appear to have learned a lot about teaching. Here are the voices of two graduating students of this initial two-year program. Their comments not only tell us they remember the program fondly

but also about the kinds of teaching strategies employed at the time. The first student to speak is Annie:

We also had instructors who believed in using actual schools and actual students for us to practice with. So when I was going to TEP we visited the school a lot

When we were learning about something in child psychology, about Piaget and Vygotsky and all those guys we actually observed the children following the text to see if they were, to see what they said was the same up here, actually doing Piaget type things with the children.

We certainly had more presence in the school than I think today's students do. Our instructors also made us do a lot of hands on stuff, they made us make things, they made us learn about why things happened the way they happened. They just didn't tell us... We certainly got to see what happened with children, what actually happens with children...

Our math teacher was the kind of person who believed in teaching children using manipulative things. Her main focus was using a lot of manipulatives to teach children the skills and concepts. I certainly learned a lot from her. (Interview, 1996)

The initial program certainly was one that had the students actively involved with their learning.

Mary, the second Inuk interviewee to speak about the program, talks of how the courses were timetabled, the practicum and the relationship between the students and the instructors:

The courses that were offered were semesterized. There were a few courses here and there that were offered when the principal hired contract instructors to teach certain courses, then those courses would be a couple of weeks. But the overall program was semesterized and we, we got to apply and practice what we were learning in the class. It was not all theory, we would teach once a week and try the new things that we were learning. We did a lot of self-evaluating and reflection on how the lessons went.

I don't know how long our practicums were, I forget now, but a few weeks. During the practicum we wouldn't start to teach all day we had a chance to ease into the full day of teaching. But throughout the year we also got to observe real teachers in the classroom. So, if we were learning about how

children behave, how the teacher disciplined or managed the behaviour of kids, then we would go in and observe the teacher. I think a number of us evaluated the teacher so that there would be comparisons between our observations. We would go back to our TEP class and report what we saw and there would be a lot of critical analysis of what went on. Not just analyzing what we saw but what we would do in that case. That kind of analysis really helped us to analyze our own teaching when we taught. (Interview, 1996)

The practicum was actually six weeks in length and took place after the Christmas holidays in each of the two years. Pitsiulak (1981) describes how the practica were organized and the duties she had to perform:

We have six weeks practicum every year right from Christmas holidays until February. Each of us practices teaching in a different settlement. Usually we select the community to practice teaching in and we select the grade level we want. It is very different for the first year students and the second year students. In our second year, we do more teaching in the classroom. During the first year practice teaching sessions, we have fewer lessons per day. In our second year, for the first week, we teach for the whole afternoon, in the second week, all morning, and after that week, we teach all day.

At the moment, I am practice teaching in grades 3 and 4 in a split class. I am teaching math, language arts, physical education, science, social studies, art and music (mostly singing songs), and I am teaching mostly in Inuktitut. In the language arts classes, I teach phonics and reading in syllabics. For the other subjects I just translate the ideas into Inuktitut for the students.

I am the first one to teach the students science and social studies in Inuktitut. The students seem to like that. They understand more in Inuktitut because English is their second language. (p. 33)

I believe the next section from Mary's interview shows the importance of the intimate relationships that can be built between students and instructors (regardless of their origin) when the program is small and the instructors have, by necessity, to teach a

number of courses, some outside their area of expertise, and thus really get to know their students:

Because there were only two fulltime instructors the first year, the first several months anyway, we had another fulltime instructor after that, the program was small....During the two years, we had the same instructors and they taught several courses. And looking back, I think that was good because they knew our strengths and weaknesses, and during our practicum, they could see that we needed to work on certain areas of our teaching skills. They were able to relate things in one course to the other, and so in a sense it was quite cohesive, I guess. Things just weren't isolated in one course or one teacher, one instructor. So it was quite coordinated. And there was a lot of discussion and just a lot of analysis and critical feedback. And that's what it was like! (Interview, 1996)

Were there any negative feelings about the program from these two interviewees?

For Mary, there was one course that was very theoretical, and problems arose with the level of English used and there was a sense that, on this occasion at least, the instructor was not practicing what was being preached. For Annie, the only problem arose was with cooperating teachers in the schools where problems were caused by:

Just basically a couple of old, how do you call it, old-fashioned people, teachers who certainly made it clear they didn't want us in their classrooms. I guess the hardest part was being told straight to your face that you're after their jobs, but that's in the school. (Interview)

However, as the following quotations attest, the experience was positive for both students, though Annie leaves the door open for the possibility of critical comment from others.

No, I don't have any (bad memories) at all. I don't have any memories like that. Somebody who had gone to TEP with me might have very

different views, they might have ten things that they didn't like about TEP, but I can't say. I mean nothing comes to mind. (Annie, interview)

I don't remember it being negative. It was very positive. We had a lot of, as students, we had a lot of opportunities to, to do things together in a positive way and learning how to take feedback, which I think was very important because it got us used to hearing what others thought about our teaching. So I can't think of too many negative things. I just thought it was a positive experience. (Mary, interview)

Positive as the experience seems to have been, for these two students at least, there were only four graduates out of the original thirteen students who began the program in 1979. What accounts for this lack of success for the program? According to Wilman (interview, 2002), one contributing cause was the fact that "...almost none of the original classroom assistants had been considered for admission and the majority of the people who had been admitted had not been classroom assistants." What seems to be implied in this statement is that experience as a classroom assistant would have prepared one for the program and would have increased the chances of success. Yet, according to Annie "*Most of the students that I came with were experienced classroom assistants.*" (Interview, 1996). There were 7 classroom assistants and 4 high school graduates in the original group. If this is the case, there doesn't seem to be a clear linkage between experience as a classroom assistant and success in the program in this situation.

Students in the program and the future administration differ in their reasons for the lack of graduates at the end of the program. First, the view of Wilman (Interview 2002) who succeeded Jackson as principal of the program in 1981:

Some people said to me they felt overwhelmed, swamped by Peta Anne doing too much for them. They felt it was of little significance to Inuit. I have a tendency to think it was probably because too much was being

done for them rather than letting them get through the process of being students. The sort of stuff going on, the students being picked up every morning at home and driven to the program and delivered back at lunch time. Unnecessary and it doesn't engender independence and perseverance. Everything is done for you and given to you on a plate. It's not challenging enough, it's not demanding enough on an individual. I think that might have been what probably underlay it.

Mary (Interview, 1996) in response to the question about being challenged at TEP:

I believe so, yes. During the two years when we were training to be teachers, I felt as though we were challenged because our instructors really provoked us and challenged us into doing better and helped us to do that ourselves, to challenge ourselves to strive to become more creative and become good teachers.

This quotation of Mary casts doubt on the notion that the program was not challenging from an intellectual point of view for the students enrolled. Yet, I have no doubt that Wilman's description of how well the students were 'taken care of' is accurate, for I have similar memories of, what amounts to a kind of paternalism, when I joined the program in 1987. Students were still taken to and from their homes, as described above, as well as to the airport upon arrival and departure. Most materials were provided for them. On my first community course, taught in Arviat (then Eskimo Point), I took with me paper, pencils and pens, more than enough for all the students. I bought and made coffee and supplied cookies for the entire two-week course and at the end the students were treated to a meal in the hotel. Mallon, in answer to the question concerning the students being spoon-fed and being provided with everything, plainly shows they were well taken care of:

Well, we were new, glamorous and on a bandwagon for a while and every program that was new was treated that way. We were, I'm admitting

it. I mean no student ever arrived that wasn't met. We looked after people. All the way through there was a fostering and looking after to the extent that when they did come to Arviat they were little princes and princesses. (Mallon, interviews, 2002)

Now whether this kind of treatment is considered paternalism or just good PR is debatable but I certainly don't think it causes people to drop out of individual courses or the program -- now or then.

Wilman argues (Interview, 2002) that the lack of Inuktitut content was also a factor in the dissatisfaction with the program felt by the regional education offices:

But the other thing that possibly underlay it (the reorganization of TEP) was very little Inuktitut content and neither Peta Anne nor Carol Munden, despite all their best efforts and good intent, could bring that in. Neither could I.

However, once again there is evidence that seems to contradict the view that there was little Inuktitut content. Moore (1981) in a survey of native teacher education programs describes the program as "one of the two programs in Canada in which the native language is a major language of instruction" (p. 47). Annie, in response to a question concerning what language was used in the TEP classrooms said, "*Both, because we had one instructor who was Inuk, and even though the text was always in English, we certainly did things in Inuktitut.*" (Interview, 1996).

Peesee Pitsiulak, now the IQ coordinator for the Department of Education, but a graduating student of TEP (1981) wrote this in Inuktitut Magazine 1981.

We also do social studies and science in Inuktitut. Both these subjects are about the north. We do language arts in Inuktitut as well, reading, writing in syllabics and that kind of thing. There are no materials for us to teach with when we start so we make a lot of our material for language arts,

papers, posters, language games, that kind of thing. We also put science and social studies material into Inuktitut....

We have two Inuit instructors –Lena Ivik from Pangnirtung and Rosemary Twerdin from Gjoa Haven. Lena teaches us Inuktitut language arts, arts and music all in Inuktitut. Rosemary does science and social studies in Inuktitut. (p. 31)

Without doubt, TEP at the time would not have had as much Inuktitut as one might have wanted, for some it still doesn't, but Pitsiulak's (1981) description certainly indicates that there was Inuktitut, and not an insubstantial amount.

If then the high drop-out number for this two year program was not caused by lack of challenge or by lack of Inuktitut, what were the causes? Mary, in a 1996 interview, spoke of a number of reasons why students had difficulty in the program and why they may have left. None was concerned with either the lack of challenge or Inuktitut language. The students usually had difficulty due to:

Mostly with personal issues. Because they were away from their families and relatives. People didn't just move away from their home communities that often, and it wasn't very common in the past. And it was quite an ordeal for families to move away from their support at home. So I think part of that was the reason. But because it was the first TEP program, people entering TEP, some of them were not really serious about wanting to become a teacher. So, during those two years there were quite a few people that just quit because they, they realized that they didn't want to be a teacher.

And there were four high school graduates that entered the program. One stuck it out, the other three just decided they didn't want to be teachers. They had just come out of high school, and they were the ones that were having a lot of difficulty managing kids. They weren't used to just dealing with a number of kids and it didn't really appeal to them. (Mary, interview, 1996)

Pitsiulak (personal communication, 2004) attributed the drop-out rate to homesickness and the relative lack of academic background of some of the students.

While the reasons given by Wilman (Interview, 2002), the lack of challenge, the lack of Inuktitut content and the lack of school experience on the part of some of the students may all have some merit, my experience tells me that the more particular reasons given by Mary and Peesee's understanding of the situation are the far more likely. And the reason for this is simple; these are the same problems that bedevil the students of NTEP twenty-three years later. The reasons students leave the program or are asked to leave the program revolve around academic difficulties due to a lack of educational background or inability. Personal problems generally concerned with immediate family often related to family abuse, homesickness or the simple realization that teaching is not for them. A further discussion of the difficulties faced by students occurs later in the chapter.

EATEP 1981-1987

The program was very successful in its initial stages. Cram (Wilman, 1987) predicted twenty to thirty Inuit teachers would be trained over the life of the Donner Foundation and by 1985 there were a total of 24 graduates. And by the summer of 1987 the program had graduated 49 Inuit teachers. The design of the program allowed it to become more economic and comprehensive than anticipated. The program arranged its timetable so that a number of field-based courses took place at the same time as the institutional ones, thereby allowing both groups of students to meet and create what Wilman (1987) describes as a cohesive unity in the program. What emerged was a pattern of field-based students completing their first year of courses over a period of two to three years and then entering the institutional program and joining the full-time students for their second and final year. The GNWT encouraged this by generous 80%

salary allowance of classroom assistants' pay while attending EATEP fulltime. First year full time students received "regular student allowances, which were quite generous, housing was basically free and there was no tuition charge" (Wilman, interview, 2002). . The success of the program was seen in the increased number of classroom assistants attending courses and the growing support received from the once reticent principals. In 1983, the first six McGill/NWT certificates were awarded in Iqaluit. This number increased to 11 in 1984 and in 1985 there were a further seven graduates (Cram, 1985).

The importance of the McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education is that is provided (and still does, but now under another name) eligibility for the holder to apply for advanced standing in the McGill B. Ed degree for Certified Teachers.

The B. Ed. Degree

The program moved towards having a B. Ed. degree in 1984. Wilman, returning from his second year of residency at the University of Albuquerque had seen how the Navaho teacher education program had developed degree-granting status in partnership with Albuquerque University and the University of Arizona. On what seems to have been a memorable flight from Iqaluit to Winnipeg with the then Minister of Education, Dennis Patterson, the notion of a degree program was proffered and Wilman was promised a letter to that effect from the Deputy Minister of Education within a week. However, despite a handwritten memo from the Minister saying something to the effect of " Great idea, go ahead, keep me informed." a more official letter from his Deputy, the program's immediate supervisor, arrived later with a contradictory message remembered as being words to the effect that, "Under no circumstances should you proceed with this" (Wilman, interview 2002). A needs assessment was deemed necessary. Ironically,

Wilman had by this time already invited a group of second year students to attend if the program went ahead, had arranged with the regional supervisors for accommodation and student financing. Why this reticence on behalf of the Education Department for a B. Ed. program at EATEP? Wilman explains:

The big issue in YK was that Ft. Smith hadn't moved in the same direction and that there was a sort of political question as to whether we should be allowed to move ahead like this unless Ft. Smith did as well. Because Ft. Smith by the western people was still seen as the big brother. The fact that there had been a divorce three or four years earlier didn't seem to catch. There was no acrimony between Ft. Smith and ourselves it was just that the contact that had been there in the first year and the borrowing of courses had stopped. They were running a different program for a different set of clientele, in a different social and political environment. (Interview, 2002)

The B. Ed. program went ahead. This involved the negotiation and development of new courses for the program with McGill. For example, it was at this time that the Inuit literature and dialect courses were developed. These courses remain a major part of the B. Ed year.

In 1984 EATEP, with an increased number of course offerings extended the program to three years and offered a McGill B. Ed. Degree for Certified Teachers in Iqaluit. In the first academic year six Inuit and two Qallunaaq students began their B. Ed program. The first B. Ed. degree awarded to a student from the eastern arctic was awarded in 1985 (though this student spent time at McGill); two more followed a year later.

Students

Who was a typical student during this period? Mallon describes her as:

Someone at least in her mid to late twenties or older, married, three kids, four years experience in the classroom already. And I felt they were much better than the high-school graduate. The high-school graduate could whip through the academic stuff and then have a nervous breakdown during teaching practice. And the classroom assistants would have to be guided very carefully; everything would have to be graded for them, gradual steps and so on. But in the end they were rock in the classroom. (Interview, 2002)

While it is probably rare for a teacher-training program to worry about student discipline, the situation and set-up of the program, and the responsibility incurred by the program when classroom assistants traveled warranted a close eye being kept on some of the students. However, there appears to have been only rare occasions when any disciplinary action had to be taken. Mallon attributes this partially to the fact that the principals of the schools would have already weeded out those who were irresponsible before they had a chance to attend EATEP. However, there were problems within families. Then, as now, many students had personal problems within the family and one cannot underestimate the gravity of these problems. There is one graduate photograph from the early 1980s that illustrates the difficulties that many students faced; it shows the graduating class all dressed up for the occasion. One of the students, however, had to be taken from the hospital by her fellow students and heavily made-up to cover the bruises she had received from a spousal beating so that she could attend the ceremony and thus appear in the photograph. I have reflected many times on the inner strength of many students whose personal lives have been in such disarray yet still manage to attend classes. For many the program must have been the one safe, steady place in their lives.

The students did not have any professional counseling support within the program. What support they had came from themselves and from what could be offered by the instructors. Initially, this as Mallon admits would have been little:

There were some serious, serious personal problems that people had and there wasn't the support system that there is now; there wasn't a student counselor and so on. And David (Wilman) and I, as two white males in charge of the program, it wasn't a particularly efficient setup for dealing with some of the problems. (Mallon, interview, 2002)

Budget

For this period in EATEP's history there appears to have been no feeling that budget was insufficient. Mallon recalls:

We had an incredible budget – I mean we had a budget that we were able to run the B. Ed. year without any extra money whatsoever. We had the budget to run the teacher education program and I brought over my share of the old Eskimo Language School budget. We were spoiled rotten. (Interview, 2002)

Despite this some care had to be taken. Wilman (Interview, 2002) recalls how on occasion it was touch and go once the B. Ed. program was instituted. "Running it on a shoestring" caused some nervous moments and calculated risks had to be taken to ensure the program stayed in the black:

There were a number of years when we went in knowing that if everyone succeeded and we delivered all the courses that we were offering and no more other money came we were going to be broke. We were going to be in the red. But you take a calculated risk or if a couple of people drop out or become pregnant you saved. And we were right down to the dollar on some things. (Interview, 2002)

Wilman maintains that with the help of a Kpro computer he managed to keep a spreadsheet that indicated the day-to-day financial state of the program far better than has been done since the program became part of the college.

In 1981 the budget for EATEP was approximately \$1.4 million, by 1986 it had risen to \$1.8million. This amount was to cover all instructor and administrative salaries and benefits, student and staff transportation, accommodation costs, salaries for substitute teachers while the classroom assistants were attending courses and all materials. The program began with a fulltime staff of four, the principal, an instructor and two Inuit trainees. By 1984, EATEP gained another staff member and by 1986 it had a fulltime instructional staff of six plus a secretary and an administrative assistant. There would also have been a number of contract hires to teach specific subjects. There was also a secretary and an administrative assistant.

There is little doubt the program was running well. It had become a vital part of the educational landscape and it had become almost independent in its operations. There was, naturally enough, a proprietary feeling towards it from those who had spent the last seven years running and organizing it. However, changes were coming. Arctic College was beginning to be developed and this would effect the EATEP program, with changes that were not universally welcomed.

CHANGES 1986: EATEP and ARCTIC COLLEGE

We got away with murder and then the bloody college came and we know we were just... and then I left, to hell with it. (Mallon, interview, 2002)

In October 1986 Mark Cleveland, the Vice-President of Arctic College, arrived in Iqaluit with the sole purpose of establishing the newly formed Arctic College in Iqaluit. The preparatory administrative work was to last through the year with programs scheduled to commence in the fall of 1987. The autonomy the EATEP had become used to was about to end. EATEP basically was the college during this initial period and so it is no surprise that the Vice-President would want to begin exercising some modicum of control.

It appears as though the government expected Cleveland to set up the college without a budget, staff or space other than what it could take from EATEP. The college was, in Wilman's opinion (Interview, 2002), to be built upon the back of the established EATEP program "Mark came in with no budget and so the whole development of the college came out of TEP. I mean that was a substantial amount" (Interviews, 2002). The program gave him an office and almost lost its secretary and administrative officer to the college. After a somewhat acrimonious exchange EATEP kept the staff but relationships between the Director and EATEP were soured. The result was that in the summer of 1987 Wilman resigned from his position as principal of EATEP, partially because of the poor EATEP college relations at the time and partly to pursue the completion of his Ph.D; and the college continued its development.

With EATEP now an integral part of the college changes in budget and organization were inevitable. For example, the attractive student allowances that some

students were eligible for ended and were replaced by regular student financial assistance (SFA), a system that for years was so inefficient it caused a lot of hardship to students.

EATEP 1987-1991.

Noel McDermott becomes the third principal of the teacher education program in August 1987. The program continues with a staff of six, one of whom is an Inuk.

There is little change, other than the formation of the college administrative structure and the subsuming of EATEP under it. In 1988 Arctic College's new building opens and TEP moves and occupies its new premises on the second floor of the building.

The number of students graduating, while staying steady, is not enough to satisfy the territory's growing need for Inuit teachers. A number of the students, if not the majority attending NTEP at this time are actually classroom assistants so their graduating does not actually increase the absolute number of Inuit in the schools. And so in 1990 a major change and challenge comes to the program in the form of the demand for community-based programs.

One reason given for the relatively small number of students in the institutional program was not the lack of prospective students, nor the program itself, but a strong reluctance on behalf of many potential students to come to the community of Iqaluit for their education. There were and remain a number of perceived reasons for this reluctance.

TOO FEW STUDENTS

A Bad Reputation

Iqaluit had earned a reputation as being an unsafe town in the 1960s and early 1970s. This reputation stemmed largely from the open availability and abuse of alcohol. The memories and stories of this period in the community's history were and still remain strong in the minds of people and, while they are no doubt exaggerated as they spread to the smaller communities, they continue to serve, rightly or wrongly, as a deterrent to students coming to Iqaluit.

Adding to this reluctance is the existence of mixed memories in the minds of many of the parents and former students of the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre (GREC, now Inuksuk High School), the secondary school, and its residence, where students from other communities attended for post-grade 8 education. Even at the outset, the creation of this former residential school in 1975 caused much resentment from Inuit (Brody, 1991). There was unwillingness on the part of some parents to send their children to the school because of the community's bad reputation, as this quotation from Annie illustrates: *"There was only a regional high school and not everybody wanted to send their kids to sin city, Iqaluit, Frobisher Bay, as it was called then"* (Interview, 1996).

Regardless of its poor reputation, Iqaluit was so different from the majority of communities in amenities and size that in the minds of many people living in the smaller communities it was an intimidating place. Annie again:

This is a very big community compared to what people are experiencing at home. Like myself, having grown up in a community of 300 people,

coming to the big city, and this is no big city, this is just a little dot in the world, but it's still very big, the world is still very different. (Annie, interview).

Notwithstanding the perceived reputation of Iqaluit as a community, other factors also influenced attendance at the institutional TEP program. The overriding factor is simply that the social and personal lives of those living in the smaller communities make travel to Iqaluit too difficult. Despite Inuit travelling the world over in official or personal capacities, and the enormous amount of travel that goes on across the territory, a large proportion of the population is still very community bound. They simply do not wish to leave home for any extended time.

Family

Reasons for this vary but the most common reasons are those related to the family. Many people naturally find it difficult to leave the support system of a closely-knit extended family. They cannot imagine living without the care and help of other family members, and other family members may not be able to conceive living without the support of the potential student.

I think Inuit are still quite traditional, very dependent on their relatives and family either for moral support or sometimes financially. And because there's not a lot of employment in the small communities sometimes you have to lean on relatives in terms of giving you food, caribou meat or whatever. (Mary, interview)

Though the college does have a Department of Student Services complete with student councilors, it does not and cannot replicate the home community family or friendship networks. Creating new friendships in a new community requires some time and effort on behalf of the individuals concerned. Students who leave early in their

program do not give time for a new friendship network to develop. It has proven very helpful for students when two or more from the same community join the program together because it immediately creates a small support system.

Apart from the support and maintenance of family networks there are other impediments discouraging students from coming to the main centre. In order to leave their community to attend NTEP for a period of one to four years, a family may have to give up the housing they presently hold in the community; as discussed elsewhere in the dissertation, housing is in a critical state across Nunavut. Consequently, some potential students are unwilling to take the risk of giving up their housing even though upon graduating they would become eligible for government housing, if available.

Student Accommodation



Photo 25: The old Butler buildings once married quarters for EATEP students.

Student accommodation, provided by the college itself, can also be a deterrent to those wishing to come here. The college has a limited number of units it can provide for its students. Single students are accommodated in the 'Old Res', a former US and then Canadian military barracks located close to the far end of the runway. Prior to being the college residence it was also used as the residence for secondary school students from

other communities. While it has room for numerous students, it is far from being an ideal student residence. It is old and uneconomical and no matter what the renovations it remains a military barracks.



Photo 26: The 'Old Res'

It has a heating system that defies reason, often over heating the rooms on mild days and then allowing them to freeze on cold ones. Students are usually accommodated in pairs, each having a bedroom separated by a small communal lounge area. Bathrooms are all communal. There are three self-contained apartments within the building, usually reserved for visiting staff, though they have been used for families when the need has arisen. The large dining room serves as an area for a variety of functions. Student lounges with TVs are located on each of the two floors currently used. When space is available, other groups or individuals are allowed to rent accommodation there. Van transportation is provided to and from the residence to the main college building and to major areas in town. However, the residence now has a number of college programs located within it and so students from Iqaluit may be bused there.

Students staying at the residence pay \$440 a month for room and board. They are also subject to the usual rules associated with such student's accommodations. Like all

buildings with similar histories it has numerous stories connected with it - not all pleasant. The building itself is very expensive to run and though there have been plans to move out of it for a number of years, funding, or lack of it, has so far prevented its closure. However, a new financial plan may, if it is executed, allow for the closing of this residence and the building of a new single student residence near the main campus.

Married students are located in what are known as the Q units, terraced housing built at the same time as the main college building. These twenty-six, one-two and three bed-roomed self-contained units are located just behind the main building and are much prized by the married students or single parent families.

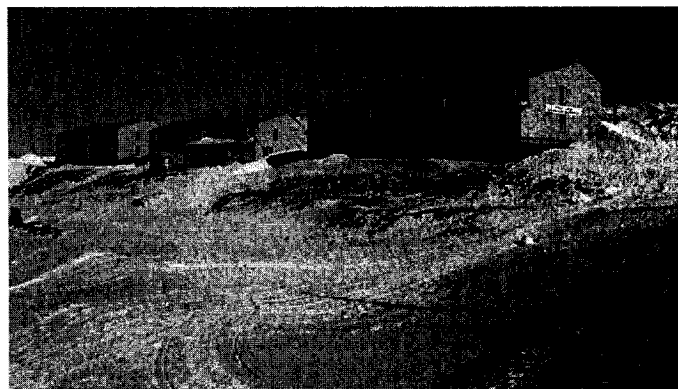


Photo 27: The Q Units

Families pay between \$190 for one-bedroom and \$440 for four bedroom units a month depending upon the size of the unit. This is approximately 25% of the cost of the housing to the college. However, married students who are not lucky to be allotted Q units are housed in what is known as White Row. There are actually a number of rows of these old terraced houses. They are neither liked by students nor the city population at large, yet they provide essential accommodation. The college presently leases over 30 of

these and other units, some in the 8 story highrise, for its students. Needless to say this is, like the maintenance of the 'Old Res,' a financial burden for the college.

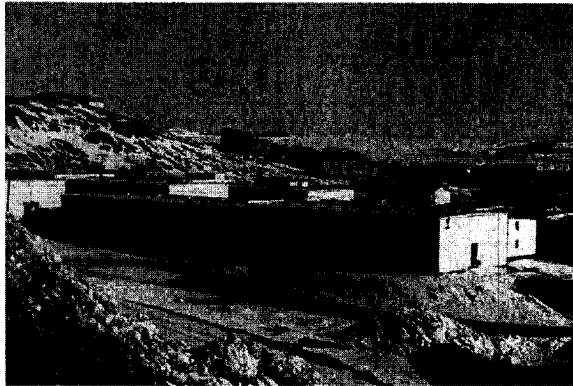


Photo 28: A section of White Row Housing

It is hoped that a number of these expensive leases can be returned with the prospective building of 20 new married units near the Q units within the next 5 years. However, simple math shows that the college will still have to rely on leasing property without even taking into consideration student growth over the next 5 years.

Moving to Iqaluit is further complicated if the spouse of a student has a job. Obviously, people are reluctant to give up a position unless, more likely in the case of a government job, it can be transferred to Iqaluit. So, a family has to make a decision to either keep the position and split the family for a time or reject the idea of going to Iqaluit. Regardless of the question of jobs, spouses, predominately men, can be reluctant to leave their community and their social network.

The aforementioned reputation or amenities of Iqaluit can also play a part in the decision to enter the program here. An overwhelming majority of the students in the program are female and many express concern over and experience difficulties with their

partner, and sometimes themselves, discovering the easy access to alcohol in the bars of Iqaluit.

COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMS

It was obvious that NTEP would have to change somehow in order to try and remedy the situation of too few teachers going to the program in Iqaluit and the critical need for more Inuit teachers in the schools. The government, and NTEP itself, while obviously wanting to increase the number of Inuit teachers, also wished to cut down the delivery costs of teacher education. Community programs do not require the college to provide housing as the potential students already have it, and travel costs are cut as only the instructors have to travel. Community programs also were perceived to have the potential to lower the drop-out rate due to homesickness and pressure, from family in the community, to return home. Homesickness, though declining in importance due to the growing sophistication and travel experiences of Inuit, remains a problem for many students. And while the student him/herself may try to overcome the feeling while attending courses in Iqaluit, there is often pressure from family members at home to return that prove too strong.

Bert Rose, the former Dean of Arctic College responsible for the teacher education program, remembers the change in mood and the feeling for the need for renewal in the program:

NTEP was a key component in the process of building a popular college. At the deterioration of the initial success, as the funding base eroded, there was almost a loss of vision. I think historically you could look back at the Chesterfield Inlet program and see exactly the same thing happen. A

wave of enthusiasm of 1969-70-71 kind of runs down in the late seventies. The wave of enthusiasm over EATEP kind of runs down as we move through the eighties. There had to be a new approach. (Rose, interview 1996)

The catalyst for the 'new approach' came in 1990 when the Director of the Keewatin School Board requested and offered to partially finance a TEP program in that region to train a cohort of Inuit to become teachers in the region's schools. Rose comments:

I was asked to go and see if I could find a different way of delivery of teacher education. As a result of consultation with the staff and consultation with Brandon University we stole their model for their field-based or community-based teacher education program and instituted a community-based teacher education program where we rotated the instructors instead of rotating students. (Bert Rose, interview 1996).

Not everyone was enthusiastic about such a program. Noel McDermott, the principal of NTEP at the time, had initial doubts about it, "I was very reluctant and very sceptical of the efficacy of such programs probably because at the beginning, they seemed to be politically driven. But I didn't have the vision to see how they could be beneficial." (Interviews). However, early doubts were dispelled, or at least muted, and in 1991 the first community-based program began. Wolforth (1994) cites two principles that McGill insisted community-based programs should adhere to, 1. community-based programs should allow the students the opportunity to receive "a high quality program without the disruption of leaving their own communities" (p. 5) and 2. the programs themselves must "draw on the values and culture of the community itself (p. 5). While it is certainly true that the first principle has been adhered in the case of NTEP adherence to the second is more speculative.

The 1988 GNWT Report *Strategy for Teacher Education in the Northwest Territories* outlines three areas of positive impact the community teacher education programs can have upon communities: educational health, social health and economic health. The statements below taken from the document are ideal and optimistic claims in some instances but they nonetheless illustrate the potential positive impact a three or four-year program can have upon a community.

Educational Health

Culturally appropriate programs and services which are locally controlled, healthy learning environments, accessible and equitable education for all children, and community learning networks were ranked high on a list of priorities. Continuity and stability are essential to the success of northern schools, particularly schools in smaller communities which experience constant high turnover of teachers. Aboriginal teachers with family and cultural ties in the community are more likely to make a long-term commitment.

Social Health

There is more likelihood of congruence between the aims of the parents and that of the school. The teachers relate to the parents from a shared knowledge base of community expectations. They are also able to converse in the language of the parents, so there is immediate and meaningful communication between the school and the community

Economic Health

If 15 diploma graduates entered the teaching workforce within a region, in the first year there would be an infusion of \$641.565 salary dollars into the economy

(GNWT, 1998)

The NTEP Community Program began, not in one community but in three, Rankin Inlet, Arviat, and Baker Lake. Each community had a 'home' instructor who was

responsible for the administration of the program in that community as well as the teaching of his or her area of specialization either, math & science, language arts or psychology. One of the three instructors was designated as the coordinator of the program. It was a two-year program at the end of which the students would receive their 45 credit Certificate of Native and Northern Education from McGill University and their 60 credit Teaching Diploma from Arctic College. The courses were two weeks in length (10 instructional days) and the instructors rotated from their home community to the others at regular intervals. This initial community based program was very successful; over thirty new Inuit teachers were graduated for the schools of the Keewatin Region. Notwithstanding the minimal training they had received, the impact of these new teachers upon the schools at the time was enormous. A number of these original graduates have now earned their B. Ed. Degree from McGill.

Here, a former student comments upon various aspects of the program, especially the limitations imposed by short 10 day courses.

When they went into the program, for some of them they realized that there's a lot more to teaching than what they'd seen in the classroom. Having to think of the objective, having to think of the curriculum, what you have to cover and how to deliver it in the classroom and how to meet the needs of the students. The practical stuff was where it was too short. And How Children Grow, How they Behave and Learn I think those courses were too short. When we were going through the program there were many things that you wanted to get into more because of how you were brought up. I wanted to really get into how things really were with the Inuit and the problems that we have and to make it relevant.
(Elisapee, interview. 1996)

Since this initial program, NTEP has conducted 21 community-based TEPs in 13 communities. (Appendix J). Presently (2004), NTEP is conducting community-based

programs in the following communities: Taloyaok (B. Ed. year), and Arviat (2nd year). Arctic Bay and Igloolik are scheduled to commence an initial foundation year before the commencement of year one of the program in the fall of 2005.

While there have been major changes in the teacher education program, there has been only one that is exclusively associated with the community programs. This is the change in how community instructors carry out their responsibilities. In the first (Arviat, Rankin Inlet, Baker Lake) and the second series of community-based programs (Igloolik, Arctic Bay, Pangnirtung) the instructors rotated frequently. NTEP has since changed to the model of having community instructors stay in one community as much as possible. Other program instructors, institutional, community-based or contract hires will go to the community to teach courses for which the community-based instructor has no experience.

Strengths of Community-Based Programs

One of the reasons mentioned above for the reticence of potential students to come to NTEP in Iqaluit is the closeness of family ties and the difficulty in leaving the extended family behind. When examining the responses to the question of the benefits of the community-based programs, being close to family was the primary benefit mentioned by those students interviewed as the following examples from the interviews illustrate:

It's a big advantage for the students that live in that community. They don't have to leave their families. It's a day's work. You wake up you go to school, you go home to your families. (Malaya, former community-based student, interview 2002)

It was easier (to be in a community program) because we were all in our families and with husbands and children. It was easier, but I find it harder being away from them, learning and thinking about them. It was

better in my home community. (Alice, former community program student, interview 1996)

I think it's a lot better because we Inuit, our families are important to us, like our grandparents and relatives are important. There's lots more Inuit graduates because they didn't have to leave their families. I have a feeling it's a lot more practical for teachers staying in their community and finish their teacher's certificate. (Ooloota, interview 1996)

More people can take it in their homes with their families and if they run into financial or personal problems they have the support system there. Their children have their grandparents, aunts and uncles to go to. (Winnie, interview 2002)

We know the community and we're able to get out more and get involved. And also, it's kind of hard to leave the family who could take care of the children and also help financially. I think it's more positive in our own community. (Meeka, former community-based student, interview 1996)
Your family, even though they would get in the way when you really want to get into it, but it's good in a way I guess because if you're really working then your family always comes first and you never lose perspective of it.... You have family and everything and the support is there you don't have to worry about where you are going to leave the children tonight because I have to go back to the classroom or I have to be back at the weekend (Elisapee, former community-based student and instructor at NTEP, interview 1996)

While the following quotation does not explicitly mention the family the implication that it was the family network that was the primary benefit is, I think clear. It also shows that there would be less Inuit teachers in the schools were it not for the community programs.

If the course was in Iqaluit I would never have went. But it was in our community and our region and I was happy it was in our home community. Most of the people from Arviat, Baker Lake and Coral Harbour and Repulse Bay all those they say that if this course was in Iqaluit they never would have went. (Linda, former community-based student, interview)

Other reasons that were mentioned by students as being of benefit continued to do with support, but from the school and the community itself and towards fellow students:

There's a lot of support from the community, from the family, friends, and it wasn't as stressful as here in Iqaluit. We were really welcome in the classrooms and we were, we felt part of the school community. (Amelia, graduate of a community program, interviews, 1996)

And you had teachers, you had people who had worked in the schools before, you knew the people in the community, if you needed information you knew where to go. If you needed elders you knew who to go and see. So there's that and everybody knowing each other and supporting and also knowing where your classmates came from and you knew how to try and help them out because you knew what happened the night before. And I think it's a good thing for the community to see a whole group of people who are trying to reach a goal and for the children to see you being in the classroom and actually sitting down at desks also working away, or using their library, using their classrooms for materials and talking to teachers. (Elisapee, former student and instructor at NTEP, interviews, 1996)

Elisapee makes a very crucial point regarding the importance of role models. The NTEP program did allow the wider community to gain confidence in its members and in itself with the successful completion of a teacher education program. It also had the potential as an agent of decolonization as it allowed the community to see that Inuit could work and function in a Qallunaaq world and do jobs once thought of as belonging only to Qallunaaq. Elisapee again:

It's probably the biggest support there is and for people in the community who thought, who still think that Inuit can't really do what the Qallunaaq are doing and for them to see a group can stay together, work together and support each other. (1996)

While not all the students are successful in the program and some may decide to follow a path different from teaching, even if successful, there was always a benefit to the individual because full or partial attendance at the program in some way changed a student's outlook and raised the level of their education, even if only minimally. Winnie describes it like this:

I don't know if they allow it but just having as many students as you can even if they don't want to be teachers. I think that going through the program itself prepares people to go on and do other things. (Winnie, interview 2002)

What are the benefits to community based-programs as seen through the eyes of NTEP instructors and those outside of the program but related to it? Instructors tended to see the primary benefit from the student's point of view of family support but also add other benefits:

To offer them a community program suits their needs, they don't have to break up the family, they can do their instruction and their learning in the community, and so it stays unbroken, the family situation. (April, classroom teacher, interview 1996)

It's that whole thing isn't it with relatives. There's a closeness involved there and if they have a problem they can walk to a cousin's house or what ever. (Michael, former community instructor, interview 2002)

They feel like they can give a lot more to the program and to learning if they are closer to home and family. (Paula, former community instructor, 2002)

But the big value of community programs is obvious and apparent once you stop to consider the benefits of the closeness to the extended family. You also have the benefit of the instructor who can go to the students, has time to spend with them and help them overcome any problems. The

students are also not dislocated from their culture centre. (McDermott, Instructor, interviews)

Oh, the benefits, they're pretty visible when I traveled to Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, last year and Cape Dorset this year. The students are home, they're with their families, they're with their friends. There's a feeling of more solidness where they are. The students are more supportive of each other, they don't seem to go their separate ways like they do here (Iqaluit). I saw more support, more enthusiasm from the students in the community-based program. (Lucy, instructor, interview 1996)

Their education is much more intimately tied in with their lives, the community, so it's a lot less stressful, I would say. They don't have to deal with all the other problems that come up with being absent from their children, emotional problems that kind of thing. They also have a bigger contribution they can make to the community because they are there succeeding. So they act as role models in the school, they act as role models in the community. They can also give back to the community. They know the students and the resources. They are much more comfortable in the schools because they know the students and they're part of the fabric of the school, whether they have been there as a CA or as an NTEP student. (Gladys, former community instructor, interview 1996)

The potential is the link with the schools. I think we saw it last year in Cape Dorset, where the program was an integral part of the life of the school. At the same time the students were students. They were involved in more of the day to day life of the school so that for example they saw what the first day was like, they saw what report cards were like, they saw what some of the normal annual kind of events in the school life are like so that when they become teachers they'll be a little less surprised by some elements of school life that normally a teacher education program, if it's isolated from the schools they're not aware of.

The other real strength that I saw, particularly in Cape Dorset last year was the effect of the teacher education program on the teachers who are teaching in school. There was a wonderful carry-over from the math methods course for example, working with manipulatives with the students. When they went to work in the classrooms. The classroom teachers were saying, "Wow, I could really use that, that's a good strategy." (Cathy McGregor, former Director Baffin Divisional School Board, interview 1996)

There have been a four occasions where the community-based program was actually located in a school classroom: Cape Dorset, Coral Harbour, Clyde River and the present program in Arviat. Most schools do not have the space to allot to a community based-program for a period of at least three years. As the quotation above shows, the potential, given the right personalities and opportunities, for mutual benefits for the program and the school exists in such instances. Of course, there is the potential of conflicts over jurisdiction and philosophies in such a close relationship between a school and an education program. This was evident in the second round of community programs when there was considerable disagreement between the school and the program over the duties of the students. The school, to suit their needs wanted the EATEP timetable to allow the students to alternate between being students and then returning to the school to be teachers. The problem was resolved but not without some effort and bad feeling.

What is clear from the interviews is that the ties of family and community and the support that they can give to the students are perceived to play a considerable role in the success of the students within the program. That the students automatically benefit from the support of the school is less clear, as there have been incidences where the students in the program in particular communities have initially been less than welcome in the schools. This was based primarily upon the belief that with little education and training students would not be able to take on the role of teachers. And also that some teachers felt threatened. They might lose their jobs. It took considerable effort from the instructors in those communities and from the students themselves to convince the school of the worthiness of the program and the ability of the students. However, in the vast

majority of cases the schools have given the program and its students considerable help and support during their education.

The idea expressed in some of the interviews that the program gives back something to the community whether it be pride in their members, or as expressed by Elisapee, it can act in some way as an agent of decolonization has a great deal of merit. One only has to attend a noisy community graduation to see how a large proportion of the community turns out to see the honours being bestowed on the students by the college, McGill University, and politicians. The recent B. Ed. graduation in Sanikiluaq required the chartering of two planes to carry people from Iqaluit to the Belcher Islands to attend the graduation. The Premier and the Minister of Education were part of the entourage. The people of the communities can see, that with some sacrifice, achievements are made that have the potential to change the vary nature of community dynamics. As Peter, a former school supervisor, notes “Within the community it has been a community achievement too, it’s not just an individual achievement” (Interviews, 1996).

One benefit to the community that was not mentioned by the interviewees is the economic one. This was a core argument in developing the Teacher Education Strategy (1998). Basically, when a NTEP program is established in a community there is a large boost to the economic health of that community with the influx of the extra income and spending that the program creates.

The benefits of the community programs can be summed up as follows: more Inuit teachers are trained than would be without the programs, this increases the likelihood of home/school/community congruence; the programs act as agents of decolonization. As pride in the achievement of Inuit increase so does the self-confidence

of individuals and the community at large and more control is taken of the educational enterprise and there is the all important positive economic impact upon the community. There are though, weaknesses to the program, mainly from a pedagogical point of view, that need to be expressed.

Weaknesses of the Community Programs

The community-based programs have enabled a number of Inuit to become teachers who may never have done so had the programs not been located in either their home community or at least a neighbouring one. And, despite the success in educating the increasing the number of Inuit teachers in schools, there are some problems inherent in the community-based model that are often ignored because of giving importance to numbers produced and weight to the affective reasons for community programs stated above. Yet, as we will see, there are criticisms even with those affective reasons.

While community and family ties are strong and for the most part positive there can be difficulties with them. For example, often the extended family just does not understand the responsibilities of being a student and how time consuming it is. They expect the person to continue shouldering previous family duties, often assuming new ones as the student now has a small but regular income:

And you don't stop being a member of the community and you don't stop being involved in supporting it. Where if you went from your community to another community you haven't started being involved with the community. It's easier to concentrate on your studies. (Jeannie, former student and instructor, interview 1996)

It's good to see different things. I mean the other side of it is that some people have to get away. I'm saying all these wonderful things about the family but sometimes your family can be a distraction and you're

weighted down with these responsibilities because you are still there. Maybe this is a generality but many of the TEP students, the female ones, carry an incredibly heavy load in terms of family responsibility and so while they are home they have to look after the kids, maybe their husband and the extended family. (Bob, former school supervisor, interview 1996)

There is no doubt that over the course of the life of NTEP the evidence is clear that the students, predominately female, shoulder enormous family responsibilities whether in the community or in the institutional program in Iqaluit. Not infrequently, these responsibilities are compounded by overt family abuse that further hampers the students in their studies.

If one's view of a teacher is someone who is open-minded, willing to take risks, and looks at the world through wide-angled lens, who welcomes all experiences, filtering them through a critical eye, then there is less likelihood of becoming one if you are confined to life in a small community. The very strong statements below from two influential Inuit, both former teachers and administrators, both of whom come originally from small communities, aptly show the danger of a parochial education.

By staying in a community like _____ they don't get exposure to the faster pace of lifestyle, they don't get exposure. They're still confined even though they are expanding they're still in the same bubble they've always been in. Like teaching here (Iqaluit) and in _____ it's like day and night. Now I'm referring to Inuit staff. Their imagination, I don't want to say negative things about them but their thinking is very closed, they're like in a confined bubble when there's no way out. When you are down here (Iqaluit) you have 5/6 different instructors to bump into and maybe 10 other programs on the go and so you are bumping into all kinds of people all the time and when you go into the schools for practicum or whatever, observation you bump into even more variety of teachers and some are very creative and are willing to share with you. That revives the interest within teaching. They won't get that with one instructor or one coming and going. (Winnie, former student, interviews)



Photo 29: Pond Inlet NTEP building

The program was located in the old high school residence. The instructor stayed in the one-bedroom apartment in the building.



Photo 30: Taloyoak NAC Centre

The Taloyoak program had a classroom in the three class-room NAC Community centre built adjacent to the school gym.



Photo 31: Cambridge Bay NAC Centre

This NAC building was the final resting place of the second Cambridge Bay community program. Prior to moving here it spent two years in a room rented from a hotel.



Photo 32: Sanikiluaq NTEP building

The building was rented from the local Day Care Association. It consists of one large room an office and a bathroom area.

Photo : Some of the buildings in which the Community Programs have been housed.

I see good and not so good points about them (community-based programs). The good points are we are going to get more Inuit teachers that way. But that's not what we are hoping for- quantity rather than quality. I see the poor side of it being that mentality, the small town minds that some people use. When you come to take your B. Ed. in Iqaluit, even Iqaluit, that's really, really small compared to cities, it still makes you learn a lot more, it opens minds more than in a community. Iqaluit has a bigger range of different kinds of people like Qallunaaq, French, people from all over the world are living here. We have community libraries, bigger centres that we can go and learn from like the museum, the library and the visitor's centre.... I don't know if I should say this, but you don't learn as much from different people as you would in a bigger centre. Because if you are going to be a teacher, you have to be able to go anywhere, you have to be able to be open-minded and have gone places because you bring your experiences to wherever you go and with everything that you do. (Annie, former student and instructor, interviews)

The two quotations above show concern for the need for quality teachers, teachers who do not just know different teaching methodologies but ones who have an understanding of the outside world, understanding and experiences that do not come from staying in a small isolated community and cannot be learned from the TV. There is a perception that life-experiences need to be varied not only for personal growth and development but also to become a teacher:

Another limitation is very straight forward, you remain in your community. You literally remain in your community. You are not open to other people's ideas, other places, they don't get a chance to share ideas. Another concern I have is that we are trying to train teachers to be researchers, pursuers of knowledge, and they don't have a library to do that. (McDermott, former NTEP principal).

Part of teaching has to do with getting along with other people, personal relations and in a small community where you have personal relations they don't learn anything about getting along with people who may be different than they are or have different pedagogical ideas. So in that sense, they don't enhance their life experience at all. (Gladys, interviews 1996)

Students often seem to have a limited knowledge of the world outside of their own life. I find this even more so with our community students. (Mavis, interview 2002)

The need for student teachers to experience a variety of instructors was expressed by a number of informants. The communities do get a selection of instructors for the three-week modular courses but this doesn't compensate not being able to interact with six or seven over a period of time.

I think the disadvantages of the community programs are that students may not be exposed to as many different instructors and different ways of doing things. And, they are kind of isolated self-contained little programs. (Natasha, former instructor)

The instructor becomes a one-man education program, though that is alleviated in a way by other support people. (McDermott, former NTEP principal).

The idea of the one-man teacher education program is not so far fetched. What happens is that often, due to budgetary considerations or lack of forethought and planning from Iqaluit, community instructors have frequently been asked to teach outside of the their area of expertise. It is all too easy to agree to this request and the net result is the students are taught by a person who no doubt will 'get through' the material but are not exposed to some one who knows their material and is an expert in it. Of course, the willingness for community instructors to help out in this fashion further reduces the experiences the students could have with different instructors.

Not only may community students miss exposure to different instructors they also fail to experience how different schools can be. The majority of communities have only one school; the school in which the NTEP student has been a pupil; the school to which

she sends her children, and the one in which she will do all her three practica. What a school is and what it can be in the mind of the student teacher is limited to her personal experience of the community school and its staff. There is little chance of exposure to different people, different ideas, and other ways of organizing and doing things. The dearth of outside stimulus extends to the NTEP classroom as well as students share the classroom with people, relatives sometimes, they have known all their lives.

Well I think the top disadvantage is just the lack of interaction with other people, different people, new people who are also working in the same profession. I mean collaborative learning is a fundamental skill and I think small communities don't provide the same level of that because our students know each other so well and they tend not to spend time together as a group, whereas if they were in a larger centre I think they would spend more collaborative time together.

A further disadvantage is that students are doing three practica in the same school. They should have at least two school experiences, two different school experiences, an opportunity to meet more teachers and gain more networks and confidence. (James, 2002)

In comparison, in Iqaluit there are five schools in which students can have a practicum experience. Institutional students are also given the opportunity to have their second year practicum in their own community. Thus, they will at least experience at the minimum, two different schools with a possibility of three. There is therefore interaction with a greater number of teachers, a greater variety of experiences and contact with students other than those from their community.

As I have already written, students in community programs are obviously known by the community at large, there is little anonymity, and this, as this next quotation shows, can be a handicap for them:

I think that they are disadvantaged in that everyone has a lot of knowledge about them, their character and their families and I don't think is a particularly necessary thing and I think it is disadvantages our students a little bit. People have formed opinions about them outside of their NTEP student role and these opinions are still held good or bad. (James, 2002)

I have commented that students in community programs do not have enough experience of different instructors. This year, an anomaly one hopes, one community program embarking upon their B. Ed. year will see no one else but visiting instructors, none of whom come from the institutional program. Thus, there will be no central thread running through this final year, no checks and balances on expectations, performance or professionalism. No instructor will have any basis for comparison and will have to make all decisions, regarding standards and course expectations in isolation from anyone who knows the program or the students. This is not an ideal situation for the instructor or the students.

Communities also lack materials. Generally, there is no library in a community and the program itself only establishes a small classroom library at best. Journals would be unheard of, and the idea of browsing among the stacks unimaginable. Carlene's quotation shows contrast between the support one has in the community and the realization that there is a need for and a benefit in the availability of materials and different instructors:

One advantage in the community is you have support. Where in Iqaluit you have the advantage of materials and instructors and the library. Because when you are in a small community you don't see the other side of the world; and being in a community you don't see or experience what's out there. (Carlene, interview 1996)

If we had a library it would really have helped us. (Nancy, former community student, interviews 1996)

Not having materials. And I wish for myself, it's my own opinion that there was more contact with the college here, with NTEP and also with other NTEPs. (other community-based programs) (Amelia, interviews, 1967)

They don't have access to the books, videos, the library and the standards might not be the same. (Gladys, interviews 1996)

It is evident that in community programs, because of the lack of materials and libraries and the tendency to see far fewer instructors during the program, students have quite different experiences of teacher-education than those who attend the institutional program. While all the courses are, of course, the same, at least in description, there will be inevitably differences in content and student expectations.

Expectations in academic performance are not standardized among communities. Community instructors may be required to instruct in areas outside their expertise. The same courses taught in different communities by different instructors may have widely different content material. (Sam, former community instructor, interviews 2002)

That there are differences between the institutional program and the community ones is evident when an institutional instructor visits a community for a three-week course. Very often he/she will immediately notice a difference in the rhythm and the pace in the community and also more often than not in the students themselves. Things are slower; time is more elastic. What can happen is that the expectations of the visiting instructor can ease to fit those that have been established in the community.

Community Instructors

Students in community programs have, as the research attests, all the family support they need but what of the community instructor? What will her experience be? Typically she will come to the north alone. With the exception of three, all community instructors have been single or at least on their own when they have worked for NTEP. This may be a function of the fact they are offered only one year term positions to commence and this may not justify a couple making considerable changes to their lives to move, especially when the spouse may not find work. More likely than not, she will be hired late and arrive in Iqaluit just prior to, or after the program has officially started for the year. She will spend a few days in Iqaluit collecting materials, filling in forms to ensure she is paid, receiving instructions (and helpful and unhelpful hints from the old hands), packing some materials to take with her, looking through binders at the courses she will be teaching (possibly for the first time in her life) and wondering why. She will then take the flight to her new community. Upon arriving, she will be met perhaps by the adult educator or perhaps by someone from housing who will take her and her numerous cases and boxes, some accumulated in Iqaluit, to her unit. There will normally be a couple of days or a weekend to prepare for the first class.

Usually the instructor will have little orientation to either the north or the program and almost certainly no orientation to the community to which she is going before beginning work. When in the community, he or she might find themselves working in one of a number of possible locations. Community programs have been held in one-room buildings, NAC community centres, schools, a room belonging to an hotel and an old student residence. There is a possibility the instructor may be on his or her own except

for the students. If this is the case, until the instructor is established in the community it can prove to be a solitary life. Just as the students need to have contact with other students in the program and other instructors, so does the community instructor.

The community instructor has a number of tasks to do that in the institution would be shared.

I think in broad strokes we face a multitude of tasks each of them very important. They are; administration, counseling, teaching, supervising practicum experiences, liaison person for the schools and spokesperson for NTEP and everything else that falls in between the tracks. (James, Interview 2002)

Although community instructors are on the same pay scale as the NTEP instructors in Iqaluit, their duties are twofold: not only must they instruct the specific courses, but they must also be involved on a myriad of administrative tasks. Furthermore, the community instructors take the majority of the responsibility for practicum. The practicum is an entity unto itself, and requires an array of organizational skills and techniques to implement, execute and evaluate. (Sam, interview 2002).

There has also been a tendency for the community instructors to have to teach more and more outside their areas of specialty if they have one. This stems from the fact that there has a) been no insistence on the community instructors having an area of particular expertise and, no recent advertisement has specified more than "Instructors wanted" and so we have on occasion failed to give the students the expert tuition they are entitled to, and 2) to avoid hiring too many contract employees and thus keeping the expenses down. Both these reasons are short-sighted and in the case of budgetary considerations actually erroneous. The program has had to return on two occasions, hundreds of thousand of unspent dollars.

Done well, a community instructor's job is a very busy one. James (interviews, 2002) mentions that one of the tasks for a community instructor is that of counseling. This is an important function but one that must be treated with care. It is one thing to counsel students in the day to day activities of the program and choices they have to make, but it is quite another to be involuntarily involved in major personal problems and to be called at all hours of the morning. It is all too easy to be manipulated and it is very important to have strong boundaries, of which the students are aware, to prevent too close and personally costly involvement with students' private lives. Michael explains some of his experiences:

There is a danger in getting too close. I have had over my two years here some situations that I have had to roll back from because it was getting into a situation where maybe they were asking you for things that weren't part and parcel of your role in the community. A couple of students wanted to borrow this and borrow that and as long as it had something to do with the program I didn't mind doing it. But when it was money and other things that's when you have to put the clamps on and get them to understand what your role really is and you weren't a banker or anything else here. (Interviews, 2002)

James stresses the need for clearly set boundaries.

There's a danger that exists in all helping relationships. And I think that's something as professionals in those professions that work with people we have to know our boundaries very well. And we have to set our own boundaries very clearly... You know it was a matter too of training and educating the students from becoming dependent on or working with misinformation. And I think you can do that in a respectful way. (Interviews, 2002)

One recurring theme, when talking to the community instructors was the importance of communication with the institutional program. Unfortunately, all felt that the lack of this was a serious problem within the program. Communication is difficult at

the best of times between certain communities. There is a slight time delay on some phones and often one loses contact for a few seconds. The email service is also quite unreliable. The difficulties with the technology merely heighten the frustration community instructors can feel when they perceive they are being ignored by the institutional program. While they are contacted by the community coordinator and included in bi-monthly conference calls with all the NTEP staff, there was the perception that they were not contacted as much as they needed to be.

Definitely the biggest one would be the lack of communication with fellow instructors. And you know it is very, very difficult to talk on the phone. I mean there're lots of times it's so much easier if you can see a person face to face. There are situations or things that come up or even things about subject area that would be nice to be able to walk and see another person in the same situation who has your students and just to be able to sit and hash things out like that. (Michael, interviews, 2002)

The distance can be a bit tricky when it comes to communication. Sometimes being the only community-based instructor in a community can be a little difficult. (Cindy, interviews, 1996)

Community instructors are placed in communities essentially alone. The only contact with other NTEP instructors is through e-mail, Fax and telephone. Because of the nature of the environment in which we work, it is not always possible to contact others in time of need. (Sam, interviews 2002)

And having support is I think very important. Being able to pick up the phone and contact somebody at head office would be really helpful for us; having individuals that we can pass people to quickly would help. (James, interview 2002)

It may seem by the informants' responses that being a community instructor was unpleasant. But this is not so. There are great benefits to being in a community.

Instructors develop a close relationship with the students and this, as James explains, can help the teaching situation.

We certainly get to know the students very well. We get to know them very well in terms of their character and in terms of their background and in terms of their life experience. I think this really does help us in designing methods or designing activities or experiences that meet the needs of the students and it also helps us with the evaluation process.

Community instructors spend more time with their students and consequently are able to get to know their strengths and weaknesses a little better than instructors in Iqaluit. This is beneficial if the program can be aligned to cater to their strengths and improve upon their weaknesses. In the small communities the instructors can get to know the community, and may be better able to serve the needs of the community. (Sam, interview 2002)

It is good to be able to know the students well but this is not reserved for the community programs. The instructors in the institutional program can also become close to the students but there is a safety valve in Iqaluit. And that is that there are other instructors to temper ones views of students and so possibly get a more rounded knowledge of them.

A key benefit of being a community instructor, and it is a two-edged sword, is the independence that one has.

Of course, it's that independence and the whole program feels like your students; the students are really your students and that's a great feeling I suppose when you see improvement and a lot of cases it's because you've put a lot of work into that situation. (Michael, interviews 2002)

There is a danger that the propriety nature which may develop towards the students in community programs that may cloud the instructor's judgment if she is not

careful. The instructor gets to know the students well, they become hers, and she wants them to succeed. And this may blur her judgment.

The program is finding it more and more difficult to staff the community positions. Though the positions have been offered to suitable applicants a number have changed their minds at the last minute and left the program to scramble for replacements.

SETTING UP A COMMUNITY PROGRAM

A community program is established in response to an official request to NTEP from the local District Educational Authority (DEA). The DEA has to demonstrate that they have an adequate number of potential students (usually around 15), appropriate classroom space and suitable accommodation in the community before NTEP begins the process of setting up the program. NTEP oversees the regional distribution of the programs in that each of the three regions must have a program running, the Baffin region, because of its greater population is permitted two programs at any one time. There have been a number of delays in the commencement of some programs due to insufficient preparation on behalf of both the DEAs and NTEP. These delays have been due to the lack of student and instructor accommodation, inadequate preparation of students and delays in hiring instructors.

The advent of a fulltime three-year program to a community is an exciting event. As already stated, a program has the potential to bring important and lasting benefits. From an individual perspective, however, NTEP offers three years of paid study in communities where there are few jobs to be had. Upon successful completion of the program a student is almost guaranteed employment in the school. Even when students

have failed the program and have been asked to withdraw, it is not uncommon for them to find jobs in the schools. They are still more qualified with a few NTEP courses than some one off the street. It is therefore not surprising that there are often more than enough applicants for the program. And for a few of them, while they may have the necessary entry requirements, there is no guarantee they really want to become teachers or have any real notion what it means to be a teacher. It is an economic opportunity (this is equally true for some students in the institutional program, too). The result is that these students do not have the commitment required for the program as illustrated in the following two comments from my informants:

From what I saw of the students taking the program it wasn't too serious for them. For example I heard them say things like, "Why should I come into class early, it's just a course. I'll start coming into my teaching at 8:30 but this is just a course and I can pop into the class when I want to. (Malaya, interview 1996)

For one thing it's your home-town. So there's a lot more people missing classes, a lot more coming late and a lot more not calling to say they're not coming in or are going to be late. (Paula, interview 1996)

The core strength of the community program lies with the opportunity it offers to train teachers who, for a variety of reasons, mostly affective, wouldn't come to Iqaluit for the institutional program. However, as the testimony of both students and instructors show, there are serious flaws in the program that revolve around experiences and learning opportunities. In my discussion on standards I will illustrate the depth of these problems.

The community programs are now 13 years old. Are they still as economical and beneficial as when they first began? I am not sure. One of the strong points of the programs was the retention rate of the students. It was suspected that the drop-out rate

for community programs, given all the support available in the home community, would be noticeably less than the institutional program. Ironically, this has not proved to be the case. Cathy McGregor, former Director of Baffin Divisional School Board comments:

We were surprised at the meeting last week or two weeks ago in Yellowknife that the drop-out rate from community programs is higher than what we thought it would be. I was going to say that I hadn't thought that would be something that we would find, as having the community-based programs would encourage people to attend and to stay in. And, it evidently that's not what the statistics show. (Interview, 1996)

Obviously, it is not only homesickness that is causing the drop-out rate. This trend continues. Since 1997, NTEP has had to close two community programs, Rankin Inlet in 2000 and Clyde River in 2004, due to the severe drop-out rate of students. Both Rankin Inlet and Clyde River closed at the end of their second year with one and four students respectively. A third program in Taloyaok, completed its third year with only four students remaining from the eleven who entered.

I end this section of the chapter with an observation from the person who was responsible for the start-up of the community programs, Bert Rose.

The initial benefit is that it's a question of Mohammed and the mountains, and the logistical nightmare of relocating families across the north. The failure of families to flourish in a location that's foreign. The institution of the community-based teacher education simply put the programs where there were large groups of people. I think that the effectiveness of the community-based program will go down and it appears to me like it may have gone down because there were special aspects of what was designed for the Keewatin in 1991 which allowed it to work in that location, and when the model was wholesale imported, revised into Pang, Igloodik and Arctic Bay, immediately there were design features that started causing trouble. And the design features were as simple as where did the teachers live, where did the rotating instructors live and it was insoluble, it worked in the Keewatin, the assumption was that it could be lifted and implemented somewhere else, it didn't work.

We have moved away from the rotation of instructors to we now have instructors going to a location for a semester at a time to try and stabilize the situation, stabilize their relation. But that decreases the exposure of the students, who are supposed to be working at a tertiary level of education. It decreases their flexibility and it decreases their exposure.

The issue of what kind of exposure the students experience starts becoming too real when we see school boards wanting increased subject specialization from the graduates. If they have never read a book, how can they teach literature? And what books are available in their home community? (Interview 1996)

I believe Rose is correct in thinking that the community-based programs are in decline. I don't think it was correct at the time he made the statement. Then, they just needed some design changes to accommodate what had been learned from the initial program and to adjust to the new situations in which they found themselves. But now there have been some major changes brought about by the creation of Nunavut that are affecting both the institutional and community programs.

Three major changes have affected recruitment for teacher-education since the creation of Nunavut. These are; the policy of decentralization of government positions to the communities, the increasing presence and importance of Inuit organizations, and Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1993) that requires the government workforce to represent the ethnic make-up of the population, i. e. 85% of government positions should eventually be held by Inuit. Where once NTEP provided almost the only training program available for Inuit, it now faces competition from a variety of organizations and professions as well within the college itself, from for example, the nursing, interpreter translation, law and social work programs. Nunavut has a small population base and these other employment opportunities draw potential students away from teacher training. In the communities the program and education face competition

from the decentralized positions of the government and from Inuit organizations, both of which offer comparative salaries without the stress often associated with teaching. That the competition from the government, the Inuit organizations and the service industries they create is real can be seen in the number of people trained as teachers who have now left the profession and occupy other key positions.

Thus while the demands on NTEP are increasing, the percentage of the population qualified and suitable for teaching may be decreasing. This must force a reconsideration of the program's goals and objectives and its mode of operations.

STANDARDS

It was important that we got Inuit into the classrooms in significant numbers.
(Wilman, interview 2002)

“ ‘Ad Hoc’ has been the policy, ‘expediency’ the strategy, and ‘hurry’ the tactics” (p. 181). This is Cram's 1978 description of the kind of teacher training the Inuit of Northern Quebec received in the early days of the Kativik teacher-training program. This is only three years before McGill's involvement with the EATEP program. He justifies this, from the point of view of a McGill University representative, in these words:

To have insisted on formal academic education and linguistic qualifications would have been self-defeating: no one would have entered. To have done nothing would have left the Inuit in a permanent state of dependence on Qallunaat teachers, languages and values. (p. 181)

These words were as applicable to Nunavut as they were to northern Quebec. But as the quotation from Wilman states, the point was to get Inuit into the classroom as

expediently as possible so that children could benefit socially, linguistically, and culturally from their presence. While there were some at McGill who questioned the ability of the students and the quality of the content of courses, Cram's tireless efforts on behalf of Inuit ensured that the entrance requirements could be met by mature and alternative entry requirements already acceptable to McGill (Wilman, interview 2002).

The majority of EATEP students in the first years would have had very little formal schooling. On average the first students into the program probably had a level of education anywhere between grade 5 and grade 8, with some exceptions. The level of English would have varied considerably but certainly few would have had anything near English first language fluency nor the level of academic qualifications generally looked for by universities. Yet they did, of course, have what Mallon describes as, "this immeasurable advantage of the skill and the language" (Interview, 2002). They, more so than students today, were also culturally as well as linguistically stronger in Inuktitut.

Was the content of the courses offered then comparable to similar courses in McGill? Wilman believes so:

We did some evaluations and some comparisons of specific courses and we compared our content. Well our content had to be approved by McGill as you know, but we compared our marks with marks from students in the same courses delivered by different profs. at McGill and we were in every measure, median, mode and average, we were comparable to McGill. (Interview, 2002)

Comparing marks and finding similarities does not account for the content required to achieve those marks or the accompanying possibility of mark inflation. The marks given, if they were equal to those given at McGill, as Wilman believes, appear to reflect an overly optimistic assessment of the students' academic abilities at the time. In

fact, Wilman admits that the first courses were “Far more practical than any course you would get at McGill in terms of how to teach. Cookbook style of teaching and less academically rigorous” (Interview, 2002).

And this, from an earlier quotation from Mallon, again shows that the classes the students attended were not the same as those one might expect when taking a university course, “And the classroom assistants would have to be guided very carefully; everything would have to be graded for them, gradual steps and so on.” Mallon describes how to a certain extent the lack of educational background of the students was compensated for and gives an opinion of the level of scholarship:

We’ve always had this problem, that our students, if you give them a set of readings that you would to privileged students in the south and they struggle through. But, what we had was the fact that we’ve got smaller classes that we could adapt to what the students did know and need to know. We could spoon-feed them to a certain extent, stuff would be pre-analyzed. I would go through the textbooks and I’d put things down in point form and I’d have diagrams and the rest of it....Our students are well below the level of scholarship of McGill. (Interview, 2002)

That students in the initial years of the program did not have the traditional entry requirements that would have enabled them to take university level courses is hardly surprising given the newness of the formal educational system. However, once the university connection was made, and it was made early in the life of the program, then certain expectations and obligations must eventually come with this new status.

Entry Requirements

Initially, the program had a more or less open entry policy. The driving force for the program was to get Inuit, with some level of training, into the classroom as quickly as

possible. The actual level of scholarship of many of the first students, whose formal education was not extensive, was not high. The major entry requirements for the program (and McGill once they became a partner) were, 1) Mature entry: a candidate must be over 21, 2) recommendations from the school and community DEA and, 3) classroom experience. A number of the students would have had only a rudimentary grasp of English, certainly not enough to deal with the language of text books.

One can still enter with the above criteria except that now a student have to take three basic tests in Inuktitut, English and Math. The student must score at least at the 130 level on these Nunavut Arctic College tests. This is roughly at the grade 8 level. With a small but growing number of younger high school graduates there are some applicants who hold a high school diploma. Notwithstanding, they also have to take the tests. Students in Nunavut may graduate with an academic High School Diploma or a general High School Diploma. The differences lie not in the certificate itself but in the transcripts of the students. Most of the NTEP students with a high school certificate have the general diploma. Students also have to write a 500 word Letter of Application, pass health and an RCMP clearance and provide references from the DEA chairperson, local principal and a third non-related person.

Though the number of applicants with high school diplomas is rising it does not guarantee success in the program. Often the older, less qualified student with teaching experience in school, does as well if not better than her younger counterpart. This is possibly because the older experienced student is more committed to teaching, has had experience of it, while the younger, inexperienced graduate student is less sure that

teaching is for her. These remarks from an experienced teacher and a former NTEP instructor compare earlier students with those of today:

There were a lot of students who didn't have much academic education. But they had a lot of experience. They didn't know how to read or write well but they could speak from experience. They knew what they were talking about. They worked hard and they understood kids and they knew how to handle them. But nowadays, I see kids out of high school and they don't have any experience in schools. Their minds are open but they have no experience and so they don't know how to ask the right questions. (Jennie, interviews 1996)

Secondly, it may be possible to question the quality and the accuracy of the general diploma as an indicator of academic ability. The Minister of Education recently told a group of NTEP students in answer to the question, "How can the Department assure equality of education across Nunavut?" that at present this is impossible to do as there are no territory-wide standards for the schools to achieve (Minister-student meeting, Fall 2004). He went on to describe how at the high school level one community's grade 10 may be another's grade 12. This reinforces the doubt about the quality of the general high school diploma as a measure of a student's ability. The complications of varying grade 12 graduation requirements are described here:

Grade 12 graduation requirements are different depending on what the person is going to graduate with. There're different courses that can get you through. But as long as everybody knows the rules of the game and they don't expect everybody, when we say grade 12 graduate, is an academic graduate but could be a person graduating with what we call level 16 courses, which are, you know, more vocational general courses. It still means the person has graduated. It's a legitimate graduation, but they can't go on and become accountants or teachers, hopefully. (Bob, interview 1996)

NTEP entry requirements are lower than those for the College's programs in Nursing and Environmental Technology, both of which ask for an academic high school diploma or the 150 level on the adult education tests.

That there is a mounting disquiet about the academic standards of the students in the program is evident from the following comments from students and instructors:

Academic limitations. A lot of students have low academics. How do you get a person with low academics to teach well? How do you make a teacher out of someone who really doesn't know how to do simple math. How do you make a teacher out of somebody whose reading and writing skills are so poor. (Annie, interview 1996)

Generally, for all of us it could have been better (academic knowledge) I'll speak for myself. My Inuktitut could have been improved. Math. I hate math, but I think it could have been better if there was a pre-NTEP crash course or something. (Winnie, interviews 2002)

Language is a problem. Though we talk about Inuktitut, most of their courses are done in English. Content is another area they have problem with. (Michael, interviews 2002)

The background knowledge of students is, in many cases, insufficient in terms of reading the course content. Academic background is an issue for the students. (James, interview 2002).

Well, I found them shockingly poor (academic standards in a community program). (Gladys, interview 1996)

I think that in both groups, whether they are high school graduates or not, come in with difficulties in English language, in terms of understanding. People have functional language skills but difficulties in understanding academic language, and also difficulties in terms of background knowledge. Even if they have grade 12 there are often gaps in math, English, science and other academic subjects. The problem is, and it's not the student's fault, is that they think that they know what they are supposed to know. (Natasha, interview 2002)

This last remark from Natasha is telling. I will rephrase it to, they often don't know what they don't know. Students have frequently been so under-challenged and over-marked at school, and sometimes at NTEP, that they are unable to form an accurate picture of what it is to be a teacher education candidate, the depth of understanding that is required, the amount that needs to be learned, and the amount of work necessary to accomplish this.

The disquiet about student knowledge and abilities is not limited to NTEP. Those involved with graduate teachers also have their concerns:

An NTEP graduate who had been teaching for a number of years told me that she was uncomfortable moving from Grade 2 to Grade 3 because she didn't feel as though she had the math concepts. I mean the program is doing the best it can under the circumstances, but as for academic competence, we sure have a long way to go. (Bob, interview 1996).

I didn't talk about their academic background, but from my perspective it's a huge impediment for us the fact that we don't have people that are capable of teaching in junior high, if not grade 4. (Peter, interviews 1996)

There are tensions in NTEP regarding academic ability and standards. While no instructor will deny the academic difficulties many of the students face, often the average marks belie the fact there are difficulties. This inconsistency in the marking is often more obvious between the institution and community programs. The community program instructors are generally more generous with their marks than the institutional instructors. Also, contract instructors who, for their own reasons, are very generous with their marks help establish high marks as a norm. The result is students do not get a real sense of their abilities nor the standards of work associated with degree level courses.

The open entry concept with rigorous leaving standards has not worked as efficiently as one would have liked it to. Subtle pressures play upon the program to give one more chance, to sometimes support the unsupportable and in the last resort to pass those who perhaps should not graduate. Students do not remain distant from the instructors. In classes of four to ten one gets to know the students well, their strengths, weakness and details about the lives that would normally remain unknown in regular college settings. This more intimate knowledge sometimes affects one's judgement to give the benefit of the doubt long after there is any doubt. When a student is dismissed from a program she loses income, a home and an anticipated future. It frequently involves returning to the home community where there may or may not be suitable accommodation or a job. The pressure is more acute in community programs where the instructor lives a far more solitary existence, without the ready sounding board of other instructors close at hand. This kind of pressure is not just found in the NTEP program but extends to the school system as well, as this quotation from Cathy McGregor illustrates:

We are working hard with people to help them decide whether teaching is really what they are meant to do or whether they want to do it and whether it might be best for them to find some alternative employment. Again, we're all reluctant to see anybody leave, even if they are having problems. I'm saying this as much to myself as I am to TEP, that we need to maybe be a little more up front in doing that, for everybody's sake. (Interview 1996)

There is also the pressure of numbers. This political pressure has to be acknowledged as Bob does in this response to a question about the effect of politics and economics on the NTEP program:

I think there is political pressure to have Inuit teachers, and because of that, some times I believe, teachers likely come out that TEP feels maybe shouldn't graduate. And likewise the board says we just hired that person and we know we can't support them to the extent they need support, but we also know that the constituency wants a program and the only way to have the program is if a Inuk person is there. So we all turn a bit of a blind eye.

Ironically, often when NTEP has withdrawn a student teacher from the program, a school immediately hires them. They are after all, notwithstanding the gentle dismissal from the program, possibly the most qualified person around. There are also numerous cases of unqualified staff within the school system that are not pressured by their school divisions to go for training.

It is clear that the entrance requirements are too low for a teacher education program. And though suggestions to raise them have been voiced and acknowledged, nothing concrete has yet been done by administration. Regardless of the efficacy of such a move there is perhaps resistance to it as it would certainly affect the number of applicants accepted into the program and thus the number of graduates. Though there is concern with the quality of the NTEP graduates in some quarters, it would appear that quantity rules the day. I have already mentioned the need for 240 teachers in the near future.

What NTEP has begun this year, though it has been two years in planning, is to start a foundation year for the program in two communities. The foundation year includes courses in Inuktitut, Math, English, Teaching Foundations, Canadian Social Studies, Study Skills and a period of Teaching Experience. Successful completion of the program (success depends upon the final grade level) will allow the student to apply for admittance into the program proper. It is hoped that all the students who take the course

will, of course, enter NTEP in their community; however, those who do not make the required grade, or decide teaching is not for them, will at least have had more education and be better prepared to apply to other college programs if they wish.

It is likely, that if this initiative proves to be a successful strategy and increases the academic level of the students, it will become a college-wide foundation program. The two programs, however, got off to somewhat shaky starts due to staffing problems, only one of which has been solved.

That there remain difficulties in finding suitably qualified students for all college programs, and not just NTEP, points in large measure to the educational system that the potential students come from. Bob again:

We're part of the same cycle. The students that you get are a product of the educational system. If you have an educational system that continues to water down the knowledge base and the skill level of the instructors by the product of the graduates that come through that school system that then become future teachers, in theory, you could have a very watered down educational system. (Interviews, 1996)

There is little doubt, that despite the efforts of many individuals, the school system is in need of close examination if it is to do what it needs to do. Perhaps the first thing it must allow is open criticism. There is now an Educational Advisory Committee established by the Minister of Education to inform and advise him on the state of the education system in Nunavut. This is the first stage in a process that could change the nature of education in the territory.

NTEP, alone or in partnership with McGill, has made a number of changes to its program over the last twenty years to try to compensate for the lack of educational background of many of its students. We have over the last number of years:

- a. Increased the course length to 15 full days from the original 10.
- b. Lowered the number of courses students can take during semester from 5 to 4.
- c. Increased the number of credits for the McGill Certificate from 45 to 60.
- d. Increased the degree program from 90 to 105 and finally to 120 credits. Basically increased the length of the program by one year.
- e. Designed a Foundation Year, increasing the program length to 5 years.

These changes, while important, do not seem to have been enough. The most obvious change, an increase in entrance standards, while suggested has not been implemented.

One last word about standards comes from McGregor:

If people are getting a McGill Certificate, they should be living up to McGill standards, and that means we have to be clear on what those standards are and then be willing to encourage people who can't meet those standards to look for alternatives. (Interviews, 1996)

INUIT STAFF

From the very beginning of its existence there have always been Inuit on the staff of the program. This has been an integral part of the philosophy of the program. Initially, the Inuit staff would co-teach with a southern instructor and then after an Inuk instructor became comfortable with the content material she would teach on her own. To bolster confidence and ease the work-load during the summer schools Inuit instructors would often teach in pairs. This not only helped instructors confidence it also maximised the exposure of Inuit to program teaching experiences.

In the mid-nineties money was found that allowed NTEP to have three trainee teaching positions, and so along with the fulltime Inuit staff there were three trainees. Whether or not this actually worked as it should have done is debateable but it did give valuable experience in a less threatening way for these trainees. All three eventually left the staff but two returned and work there today.

The first Inuk became principal in 1997 and stayed for three years before leaving and taking a position with the Department of Education. Ironically, the only time NTEP was without Inuit staff was the following year. This was a situation that couldn't last and the program quickly poached a teacher from one of the schools to be the Inuktitut Language Arts teacher.

The program now has its second Inuk principal and second Inuk co-ordinator of Community programs. Presently, there is also one other Inuk Instructor.

Taylor et al (1993) write of the possible manipulation of inexperienced aboriginal administrators. It would be disingenuous to say that that has not happened at NTEP.

PROGRAM REVIEWS

The program has had three reviews over its lifespan. All have been positive about the program and its achievements. A fourth review was scheduled for 2003 but was cancelled after NTEP staff unanimously agreed that procedures that were being suggested were undemocratic and poorly thought out. This review has been rescheduled and,

— hopefully with better planning and full cooperation from the staff, will be ready to commence this fall.

The program is not immune to criticism, Martin (2000) writes:

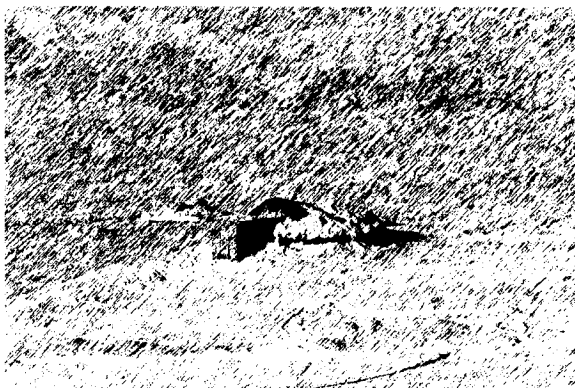
The present study was not able to carefully assess the strengths and weaknesses of the current teacher pre-service training, offered by Nunavut Arctic College through NTEP. We did hear numerous anecdotal criticisms of the programme, and the Inuit research associates of the LOI (Language of Instruction) project feel that Inuit teachers must be qualified, with a good academic background and strong in Inuktitut and IQ knowledge, and area where the NTEP programme is weaker than it should be. (p. 58)

The report goes on to suggest NTEP be replaced by a *Nunavut College of Education*. It is interesting to note that Martin did not converse with any instructor at the program and that his anecdotal knowledge from his LOI associates contradicts the responses I received during my research. All the participants were positive about the program and their experiences within it. This is not to say the program does not have faults. The present chapter discusses some of them. It is to say however, that recently, and I include the Martin Report, there has been a number of discussions in the government and Inuit groups about teacher training, yet none of them has asked the program to participate, nor have they sought advice or information about the program and how it works. To illustrate this an educational policy analyst from NTI publicly announced in the local newspaper that within five years Nunavut could have Inuit teachers from K-12 teaching in Inuktitut! The analyst had not visited the program nor spoken to anyone about teacher education and the difficulties it faces.

PARTNERSHIP WITH MCGILL

It is perhaps fitting to end this chapter by mentioning the long and fruitful partnership the program has had with McGill. The two programs have been in partnership for over twenty-three years. Over this time the relationship between the two parties has developed to one of respectful autonomy. A number of years ago NTEP explored the idea of a new partnership with a different university precipitated by the Quebec Government's decision to change the fee structure and the resulting increase in cost to NTEP. The NTEP Steering Committee in the final decision chose to remain with NTEP. Since then there have been two further contracts each resulting in higher costs to NTEP. While these costs are outside the control of either party they may force NTEP, as costs to the program become more and more critical, to investigate the possibility of a new partnership.

Chapter 8: REFLECTIONS



A Qarmaq

It is a commemorative time for the teacher education program of Nunavut. NTEP is twenty-five years old this year. As a result of the program, Nunavut has two hundred and five qualified teachers. Success has provided an avenue for entry into other professions and a number of graduates have left teaching and now hold prominent positions in the Government of Nunavut, including Assistant Deputy Ministers, Directors and Program Managers as well as a host of other administrative positions in government and the private sector. For those who spent time with the program in Iqaluit, or in one of the communities, and left before graduating, no matter what the reason, they left knowing a little bit more about the world and themselves.

One hundred and seven students have been awarded the B. Ed. for Certified Teachers from McGill University. The remainder have either the older 45 credit Native and Northern Certificate or its replacement the 60 credit Certificate in First Nations and Inuit Education and have the opportunity to work towards their B. Ed. when they are

ready (OFNIE statistics, June 2004). A small number of graduates have taken courses towards a Master's degree.

NTEP is the most successful and celebrated program of Nunavut Arctic College and has served as a model for the establishment of other college/university partnerships within the college. The Nursing Program, for example, is modelled on the NTEP program and graduated the first two Inuit nurses in the summer of 2004.

ROLE MODELS

The successful graduates have become role models for both the communities at large and for students specifically. I have written in an earlier chapter of the genuine pride that communities feel when *their* program has its graduation. It is a time when most of the community celebrates and enjoys *their* students' successes. Wolforth (1991) describes an arctic graduation, "These are moving occasions, in which the entire community participates and in which there are joyful tears as everyone shares in the success of the graduates" (p. 87).

The success of NTEP and its students has sent a message of what can be achieved with determination and hard work. It has help opened up a world of possibilities that was not seen before. Society's expectations have been raised and the program has brought positive changes in the self-images of the Inuit student teachers (Weber, 1996). Here are the words of a determined young graduate teacher:

When I wrote my teaching philosophy, when I related my own education and who the teachers were, they were always Qallunaat. I never saw an Inuit teacher. And I thought when you are an Inuk it's very hard to have a role model when they are not your fellow Inuit. So I thought, what if I

become a teacher as an Inuk I can tell my fellow Inuit and the younger group, "If I'm an Inuk and I can do it, you can do it you can. You never say you can't do it because only these people can. No, it's not true, If I can you can" And I thought it would be better to relate to someone that's part of their community and someone they know of and who could be a good role model. (Malaya, interview 2002)

Though there are great concerns about the level of proficiency in Inuktitut and anxiety over cultural knowledge, the graduates, Inuit teachers, are the only ones upon whose shoulders rests any chance of cultural and linguistic preservation and rejuvenation within the schools. While a non-Inuk teacher can learn cultural knowledge and teach it, it is the Inuk teacher, who lives and represents the culture and understands the nuances of Inuit society. Qallunaaq simply cannot bring to the task what an Inuk can. There rests with aboriginal teachers the responsibility to modify the imported formal education process so that it can reflect aspects of traditional education (McAlpine, L., Cross, E., Whiteduck, G. & Wolforth, J., 1990).

In reading over the dissertation I realise from my vantage point as an 'insider' just how much has not been put on these pages. Details of people and events, problems and solutions, chicanery and noble behaviour, the many joys and hardships shared with students, the staff, those who taught with cool detachment and those full of dangerous missionary zeal are not here. And so I feel doubt as to my representation of the program and the world in which it lives. But I know there will always be details missed, omitted consciously or unconsciously and this is not one story but only a part of a continuing one.

We have done a lot of things wrong in the program. We have largely ignored standards, we have let our hearts rule where our heads would have made better decisions, and we thought we knew better when student voices were wiser and we have done this

with all the best intentions. But despite the program's many short-comings, what a terrible amount of good it has done. The focal question in the dissertation is almost identical to what the program describes as its *Purpose* in the NTEP Purposes and Principles booklet (1997). My question reads:

What role does or may the teacher education program play in producing knowledgeable critical teachers who can promote the language and culture(s) of the Inuit? Does the program ensure that its students receive a sufficient academic and social education that will allow them to teach their students to be citizens of both Nunavut and the wider world?

Given the present academic background of many of the students, and the organisation of the education system and NTEP this goal is almost impossible to reach and so no, the program doesn't do those things yet. But I am confident that it will, if given the support of the college and the community.

TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM AND CRITICAL EDUCATION

NTEP is not a teacher education program based on critical inquiry. Yet, in many ways it is an ideal program to be just that. The program is small, and so there are manageable numbers of both staff and students - to date in the institutional program there are 7 members of staff (presently 3 are Inuit) and approximately 30 students. There are a further 3 members of staff and 30 more students in Arviat and the two foundation year programs. The institutional staff generally gets to know each other very well. The community staff less so because of the great distances from each other and the infrequency of meetings.

Politically and economically the Inuit are still in a largely internal colonial situation and this history is ripe for critical interrogation. Schools, their purpose and their organization have been imposed upon the population - historically with some disastrous effects (Taylor, 1997). The language and culture of the Inuit have largely been ignored and unvalued by the school system and other government and non-government organizations. Certainly, there is much to criticize and change. I wish to look briefly at some of the reasons why the program is not a critical teacher program.

Integral to such a program is a staff supportive of critical pedagogy, having the necessary historical, political, cultural (in this case that of the Inuit), and sociological knowledge (Shor, 1990). They must also have the will to affect the kind of change proposed by critical theorists. NTEP staff, though qualified to teach in the areas in which they are assigned, have shown no particular interest in critical pedagogy beyond tentative conversations about some of the ideas - as ideas - not as possible forms of action. Certainly, as the critical theorists believe, this has to do with the educational histories and experiences of the staff, but there is more.

Personal histories aside, the organization of tertiary education in the north does not lend itself to critical thinking or pedagogy. The political drive is for more education, done quickly, and preferably for specific occupations - skills training. A government mandate dictated that 50% of all teaching positions would belong to Inuit by the year 2000. While this goal was not reached, the mandate still puts pressure on the teacher-training program, and there is the danger of quantity taking over from quality as these numbers are chased. A new pressure caused by the need for approximately 240 new Inuit teachers to enable the government to implement the Language of Instruction program will

cause added pressure. In fact, discussions are already taking place regarding the training of these teachers without, as yet, the participation of NTEP. This is unfortunate because, given the generally low formal educational achievement of the students, time is needed for them to increase their general knowledge and their subject knowledge as well as learning how to teach. This cannot be rushed if any depth of understanding is desired. The program remains, in the eyes of government, and due to pressures from the school divisions to produce, very much a service industry. There is increasing pressure to graduate teachers specifically trained for the middle and high schools without there seeming to be any cognizance of the difficulties in trying to educate students to teach in the elementary grades.

This pressure for training rather than education has the effect of narrowing staff and students' vision towards areas that are specifically job related. For example, students request more methods courses (regardless of how repetitive they may become) and courses on classroom control rather than content courses (yet, without knowledge how can one teach? and, often it is the boring unimaginative class that leads to a loss of control). The program does not offer any educational courses related to philosophy, history, sociology, or as Shor (1987) suggests, ethnography and cultural anthropology. Though, a recently designed course, entitled *Issues in Aboriginal Education*, does contain some sociological content and is quickly becoming a standard B. Ed. course. These are the kinds of courses where critical thought could be explored. Critical theorists would say, no doubt, that all courses should contain elements of educational politics, sociology etc. however, when there are only three weeks to teach, for example, all the background math content, there is little time for thought provoking discussions.

Looking at Giroux and McLaren's four major areas that need to be critically studied, power, history, language, and culture, the program does not investigate any of them. Although the staff and the students do try to include aspects of Inuit culture in the courses, it is very much of the craft variety not the kind of radical examination that critical theorists stress. The conditions for the creation of transformative intellectuals just do not exist at present. With Shor's (1987) and Liston & Zeichner's (1987) suggestions some of us do better but perhaps not in the way they intend. There are efforts to reduce teacher-talk and engage in some form of dialogue-teaching with the students but this proves difficult not just because of the educational histories of the students and staff but also because of cultural differences. The staff is not radical and thus cannot model radical education.

Students are exposed to little critical literacy within their education. Some reasons for this have been mentioned above. However, the program is trying to include the language and the culture of the students far more than in the past. This can be seen in the increased presence of Inuit staff and the fact the principal is an Inuk. We are also trying to bring aspects of the community into the classroom through such things as visits and discussions with the elders, members of the government and Inuit NGOs. This is a welcome and important change but it too has a negative side. For example, more classes in Inuktitut take away time from becoming more proficient in English, the language in which all the professional journals and texts are written. What is the impact of this for further studies and the ability of students to go outside of this accommodating environment for further education? (Crago, 1992).

As an instructional agency for change, the program again has the potential to do better. Little time is spent on examining change of any kind within or outside the program. Students are not exposed to outside organizations. Ironically, the compulsory course, *Education in the NWT*, a course in which the government, unions and educational law can be investigated, is the least popular course among the instructors and many students; yet it has great potential to have a critical orientation. One aspect of community-based programs is that teachers need not leave their community. There are great benefits for the students in this, but questions do arise about the narrowness of student experiences - there is little chance for Friere's 'opening of windows' when students do not experience life outside an isolated community of 1200 people or less.

The program encourages some reflective thought though not as systematically as Smyth's (1989) four forms of action and questions. Within courses, the students are asked to reflect upon what they are learning through journals/logs, presentations and discussions. We also try to have discussion seminars with all the students, though infrequently. Success is mixed. However, the program seems constantly to be asking the students to do and reflect upon things that are foreign to the rest of their lives and yet are essential to what we, as southerners, consider to be education. This is why it is important to ask the questions posed by Giroux and McLaren (1987), "What kind of society do we want to live in?" and "What kind of teachers and pedagogy do we want." Yet, there is no time to discuss these questions. We are a teacher education program with a limited amount of time to educate teachers. A disproportionate amount of time is spent counselling on social and personal problems, on trying to fill the gaps that exist due to the lack of schooling and language difficulties.

Shor (1987) writes that quality of time is more important than length of time when discussing teacher education programs. I think he is right in many respects but for our situation, with the kind of students we have, more time and using it well is crucial! It takes time to learn, to read and to digest and reflect upon the work one does. This is especially so when students are engaging for the first time in academic study.

To produce teachers who model critical inquiry there is a need to have students work with these teachers in the classroom during their practica. This is almost impossible at the present time. Though we have good teachers to choose from, none could be classed as critical in the theorist's sense. There are few known critical Inuit teachers with which our students could work.

The program is located in an institution, like other education programs, which is part of a system that is not prone to change. Ironically, those who are in charge of or who work in such institutions are effected by the same professionalism and conservatism that Smyth (1989) mentions as being impediments to change - the apolitical, ahistorical and atheoretical view of education. Grace (1978) argues that it is the professionalism of teachers and a general 'inertia' that prevents them confronting the invisible controls (e.g. curriculum guidelines, examinations, etc.) that dominate the teaching enterprise - and thus prevent the growth of critical thought. It is this 'invisibility' and apparent benignity of the controls that makes them difficult to confront. Many teachers see the political as having no place in the classroom and consequently cannot be confronted - we at NTEP are no different. We have not made the pedagogical political nor the political pedagogical.

It is challenging to become a critically adept educator. I personally believe that it is essential for teachers and education programs to become far more critical and active. Yet, it would seem it requires a level of activity and philosophical thought that few teachers or institutions have the time or the energy to give. Teachers are often conservative by nature and one must also question how many would even agree with the concepts of critical pedagogy. Nonetheless, NTEP has to find a way to include far more opportunities to investigate the sociological, philosophical, economic and cultural aspects of education in a critical fashion. Our students do not get a broad-based understanding of what education is or could be and this I believe is a loss for the children they teach.

There is the need for a far deeper understanding of our own abilities as teachers and to include as much as possible in that investigation the voices of our students and the communities from which they come. Despite the weaknesses and narrowness of the program, it has great strengths and has experienced considerable success as a 'traditional' teacher education program. Whether or not it can improve substantially, given the dominance of conservative educational thought, is debatable but there must be efforts to do so. Critical pedagogy has a lot to offer education programs even if none of us ever reach the utopian heights of its proponents.

If we do not teach in opposition to the existing inequality of races, classes and sexes, then we are teaching to support it. If we don't teach critically against domination in society, then we allow dominant forces a free hand in school and out. (Shor, 1990, p. 347)

And yet! The very presence of the program, its initial and continuing insistence on having Inuit staff, the promotion, no matter how limited sometimes, of Inuit language and culture and the fact that has helped educate two hundred and five teachers for the

benefit of Inuit children and society means it has been an agent for change, considerable change, though perhaps not enough. It has helped the decolonisation process (Battiste, 1998; Battiste, Bell & Findlay, 2002) of northern education. While my comments and reflections are reserved about the amount of critical pedagogy extant in the program, the following quotations from NTEP students show perhaps that there is more critical pedagogy going on than I suspect. “My husband hates NTEP because it makes me stronger.” And “Until I came to NTEP I didn’t know there was any other way to think.” Both these quotations illustrate how, for these two students at least, the program has enabled them to think differently and to break out of modes of behaviour dictated by others. It has helped them to become critical. And perhaps these small incremental steps for these two students are just the ‘tip of the iceberg’ of changes that occur in many other students as a result of the time they have spent in the program.

NTEP is a program built upon the vision and hard work of a number of individuals. It is a program that has developed over the years and needs to keep on developing. We need to become more critical and not be afraid if feathers become ruffled. To do this we have to renew ourselves by developing new programs as time dictates and to be proactive in the educational arena. We cannot afford wait until someone else tells us what to do.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

NTEP is just one of a number native teacher education programs both here in Canada and abroad. Studies of other programs would lead to comparative data on the

success of the students, the success of language and cultural preservation within the program and the academic success of the students.

NTEP began its relationship with McGill after the Kativik program. Yet, it could be counted more successful merely by counting certificates and B. Ed. Degrees. But this is simplistic for Kativik has quite a different philosophy for its program. A comparative study of the two programs focusing on language abilities, cultural knowledge, academic achievement and teaching styles, program delivery in general, could be beneficial and insightful.

Though this study dealt with community programs and outlines the strengths and weaknesses, an in-depth study of the differences between the institutional and community programs would, I believe, yield some valuable comparative data regarding instructor beliefs and behaviours, student attitudes and academic and teaching success.

The vast majority of NTEP students are female. Though there has been some research as to the reasons why women are employed more than men (Cousins, 1994) there has, to my knowledge, been no research regarding lack of male Inuit teachers. While some preliminary questions were asked in this research regarding the lack of male students, the questions were not of an in-depth nature.

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Appendix A

Glossary of Common Inuktitut Words

Amauti:	woman's parka with hood for carrying a baby
Angut:	man
Anaana:	mother
Aput:	snow
Arnaq:	woman
Ataata:	father
Aujaq:	summer
Iglu:	snowhouse; now any dwelling house
Ilinniarniq:	education
Ilinniati:	student
Ilinniavik:	school
Ilisaiji:	teacher
Irniq:	son
Isuma:	thought; intelligence
Isumataq:	leader; thinker
Kamik:	boots
Nanuq:	polar bear
Natsiq:	seal
Nuna:	land
Nunatiao:	beautiful land
Nutaraq:	child
Isuma:	thought; intelligence
Isumataq:	leader; thinker
Panik:	daughter
Qamutiik:	sled
Qarmaq:	a permanent home, a sod house
Qulliq:	stone lamp
Sikituuq:	snowmobile
Siku:	ice
Sila:	weather/outside
Tariuq:	sea
Titiraut:	pen/pencil, any writing implement
Tuktu:	caribou
Tupiq:	seal/caribou skin tent
Ukiaq:	fall
Ukiuq:	winter
Upirngaaq:	spring

Sources: Kusugak, Thomas & Spalding Alex. (1998). *Inuktitut: A Multi-Dialectal Outline Dictionary*. Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College.
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Appendix E

Interview Guides: Combined

Students

Section 1: Personal History

- Could you tell me about yourself and the community you come from?
 - What changes have you seen? What have been beneficial and what detrimental?
 - What was the language use when you were a child? What is it now?

Section 2: Education

- Tell me about your school experiences.
 - Where did you attend?
 - What language was spoken at school?
 - Is more Inuktitut spoken now?
 - Was there any evidence of Inuit culture in the schools?
 - What do you think are the most important issues facing teachers in Nunavut?
 - Do children face any difficulties in coming to school?
 - What would a good school in Nunavut look like?

Section 3: NTEP

- Describe why you wanted to come to NTEP.
 - Are there any difficulties that students face in coming to the program?
 - Do you feel as though you had the background education to come to NTEP?
 - Could you describe a typical NTEP student?
 - What is/was your NTEP experience like? What memories do you have of NTEP either positive or negative?
- *Describe the Community-Based program you attended. What do you see as its strengths and weaknesses?
- Which delivery format do you prefer - modular 3 week course or semesterized ones?
- Do you think NTEP has the right balance between methods and content courses?
 - Should there be more 'how to' courses or more courses about subject matter itself?
- Were you given enough personal responsibility for your learning?
 - Were you spoon-fed?
- Were you challenged as a student?
- Should the B. Ed. Year be mandatory?

- Do you think NTEP graduates feel equal to those who graduated from a southern University?
- Do you think it is beneficial for a student to attend a larger centre like Iqaluit or McGill?
- *At the end of the program did you feel ready to teach? Or do you think you needed more training?
- Do you think NTEP has graduated teachers who were not ready to teach or perhaps not suitable for the teaching profession?
- Do you think Nunavut politics and economics affected NTEP program decisions at the expense of good pedagogy?
- Do you think NTEP graduates are strong in their language and culture as well as in academic areas?

Section 4: Language and Culture

- What does Inuit culture mean to you?
- Do you think Inuit culture and language are in danger?
- What does 'traditional education' mean to you?
- What do you think of ideas lying behind Inuit Qaujimanituqangit (IQ)?
- Do you think the way you have been taught to teach conflicts with any Inuit values?
- Does NTEP have enough language and culture in its program?
- Why do you think so few men enter the program?

Do you have any more comments to make?

Staff

Section 1: Personal History

- I'd like you to tell me about how you became involved with the north. And particularly with NTEP?
- How long have you been involved with NTEP and in what capacities?
- In which communities have you worked? Could you elaborate on any differences between them?
 - What are the changes you have seen since you came north? Which have been beneficial and which detrimental?
- What have your responsibilities been while working for NTEP?

Section 2: The Students/ Teachers

- •Could you describe a typical NTEP student /graduate?
 - What characteristics would he or she have?
- Could you describe the difficulties that NTEP students/graduates have to face in coming to the school?
 - What difficulties do they face within the programme?
- What differences do you see between southern and northern students?
- Have you noticed any changes in the students in NTEP?
 - Could you elaborate upon these?

Section 3: Content

- Do you see NTEP as an imported southern institution?
 - How can that change?
- Should education in Nunavut be different from the Canadian mainstream? In what ways?
- What role could or does NTEP have in this area?
- Many teacher education programs contain a large percentage of methods courses. What do you see as the role of content courses given the general educational; background of NTEP students? What should the proportion be?
- What difficulties have you had working for NTEP with regard to your own personal philosophies of teaching?
- What are the most important issues facing teachers at NTEP?
- What are the benefits of the community-based programs?
 - What are the weaknesses of them?
- Are there any benefits in NTEP students attending larger centres like Iqaluit or McGill?
- Have you felt that politics and economics have effected the program at the expense of pedagogy?
- What changes would you make were you the principal of NTEP?
- Do you see a continuing role for non-Inuit instructors within the program?

- How do you think TEP can ensure academically, linguistically and culturally strong Inuit teachers?
- How would you redesign the NTEP program?

Section 4: Language and Culture

- Do you think Inuit language and culture are in jeopardy?
- What does Inuit culture mean to you?
- Whose responsibility is it to teach language and culture?
- What role does NTEP have in preserving or encouraging Inuit culture and language?
- Can this be done without affecting the academic content of the program?
- As an instructor what do you see yourself being able to do about these issues?
- What do you think non-Inuit teachers should know about Inuit culture?

Do you have any other comments you would like to make?

Other Educational Personnel

Section 1: Personal History

- I'd like you to tell me about how you became involved with the north. How long have you been involved with NTEP and in what capacities?
- In which communities have you worked? Could you elaborate on any differences between them?
 - What are the changes you have seen since you came north? Which have been beneficial and which detrimental?
 - What changes in language use have you seen over the period you have worked here.
- What relationship do you have with NTEP?

Section 2: The Students/ Teachers

- •Could you describe a typical NTEP student /graduate?
 - What characteristics would he or she have?
- Could you describe the difficulties that NTEP students/graduates have to face in coming to the school?
 - What difficulties do they face within the programme?
- What differences do you see between southern and northern students?
- Have you noticed any changes in the students in NTEP?
 - Could you elaborate upon these?
- How have you found living and teaching in the North?
 - Is it getting easier or harder? In what ways
- In which communities have you worked?
 - Could you elaborate on any differences you have found between them?
- What language was used when you first came in day to day activities in the community(ies)?
 - Has this changed now?
 - In what ways? (Is more spoken English now and how has this affected Inuktitut?)
- What relationship do you have with NTEP?

Section 3 TEP Experience

- What are your expectations of TEP? Have these expectations been fulfilled.
- What difficulties do you think students face when coming to TEP?
- Describe the community based TEP programmes that exist within your board that you have experienced. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of community based programmes?
- Do you think it's beneficial for students to attend larger centres, for example, Iqaluit of a southern institution?

- Many teacher education programmes contain a large percentage of methods courses. What do you see as the role of content courses given the general educational background of NTEP students. What should the proportion be?
- What are your thoughts on the semesterized courses? How do you compare them to the short 3 week courses?
- Do you think NTEP gives enough personal responsibility to the students? Or do you feel initiative was taken away from them?
- Do you think the students are challenged enough?
- At the end of their training are you confident that NTEP students are 'ready' to teach? Was the programme long enough?
- What is the board's responsibility in training?
- What do you think the benefits of the B. Ed year are?
- How do you think TEP can ensure academically, linguistically and culturally strong Inuit teachers?
- Do graduates of TEP see themselves as equals of southern teachers? Do communities see them as equals?
- Do you think TEP has allowed students to graduate who were not ready or perhaps not suitable for teaching? Has the board kept them as members of staff. Is the probation year used?
- Do you think politics and economics has affected programme decisions at the expense of pedagogical considerations?
- What are the most important problems facing TEP today? Can you suggest anything to remedy these problems?
- If were you in charge of TEP what things would change?
- What would the ideal board NTEP relations be?
- Is there a gap between the documents and rhetoric and actually what goes on in schools?
- Education for what? What is the future for education in Nunavut?
- What is the role of politics in teacher education and elementary education. Do the boards accommodate some teachers because they are Inuit. Too early promotion. Paternalism.

Section 4 Language and Culture

- Do you think Inuit culture and language is in jeopardy?
- Could you tell me what Inuit culture means to you?
- Have young people 'lost' cultural and linguistic knowledge?
- Is the deeper meaning for culture disappearing?
- Whose responsibility is it to teach Inuit language and culture?
- What role do you think TEP has in the areas of culture and language?
- Does the southern style of teaching contradict any Inuit cultural values? (discipline, questioning, projecting oneself).
- Do you feel that TEP has imposed any values, actions upon students that go against Inuit cultural mores?
- Why do you think there are so few men in teaching?

- Do you think TEP has enough Inuit language and culture in its programme? Do you think the schools have? Would you change this? And how?
- What do you think non-Inuit should know about Inuit culture?

Section 5. Nunavut

- What does Nunavut mean for you?
- What social changes do you think Nunavut will bring about?
- What do you think the political changes will be?
- Do you see a role for non-Inuit in Nunavut?
- Do you see any signs of increasing racism in the eastern arctic? Can you give any examples?
- How can we ensure the children of Nunavut don't grow up with racist attitudes?
- Do you think TEP will change with the creation of Nunavut? How? Will the school boards?

Do you have any more comments you would like to make?

Appendix F

Nunavut Communities

Inuktitut Name	Meaning	Old Name	Region
Aqviligjuaq	Lots of bowhead whales	Pelly Bay	Kitikmeot
Ikaluktutiaq	Good fishing place	Cambridge Bay	Kitikmeot
Kingaok	Like a nose	Bathurst Inlet	Kitikmeot
Kugluktuk	Place of rapids	Coppermine	Kitikmeot
Omingmaktok	Places of many musk ox	Bay Chimo	Kitikmeot
Oqsuqtooq	Lot of blubber	Gjoa Haven	Kitikmeot
Talurqjuaq	Caribou blind	Spence Bay	Kitikmeot
Arviat	Bowhead Whale	Eskimo Point	Kivalliq
Igluligaarjuk	Place with few houses	Chesterfield Inlet	Kivalliq
Kangiqsliniq	Inlet	Rankin Inlet	Kivalliq
Naujaat	Seagull nesting -place	Repulse Bay	Kivalliq
Qamani'tuaq	Far inland	Baker Lake	Kivalliq
Salliq	Islands in the south	Coral Harbour	Kivalliq
Tikiraqjuaq	Where many people arrive	Whale Cove	Kivalliq
Ausuittuq	Place that never melts	Grise Fiord	Qikiqtani
Iglulik	Place of houses	Igloolik	Qikiqtani
Tununirusiq*	People who live behind the shadow	Arctic Bay	Qikiqtani
Iqaluit	Place of Fish	Frobisher Bay	Qikiqtani
Kangiqtugaapik	Beautiful cove	Clyde River	Qikiqtani
Kimmirut	Looks like a heel	Lake Harbour	Qikiqtani
Kinngait	Mountains	Cape Dorset	Qikiqtani
Mittimatalik	Place of Mittima's grave	Pond Inlet	Qikiqtani
Nanisivik	Where people find things	Nanisivik	Qikiqtani
Pannirtuuq	Place of lots of caribou bulls	Pangnirtung	Qikiqtani
Qausuittuq	Where there is no daylight	Resolute Bay	Qikiqtani
Qikiqtarjuaq	Big island	Broughton Island	Qikiqtani
Sanikiuaq	Name after a hunter	Sanikiluaq	Qikiqtani
Sanirajak	Flat land	Hall Beach	Qikiqtani

*(Ikpiakjuk on other maps)
Nunavut Implementation Committee (1995)

Appendix G

Syllabarium

Syllabics Chart

Δ i	▷ u	◁ a	.
Λ pi	> pu	< pa	◁ p
∩ ti	⊃ tu	⊂ ta	◁ t
ρ ki	d ku	b ka	◁ k
∩ gi	J gu	l ga	◁ g
Γ mi	┘ mu	L ma	◁ m
σ ni	⊔ nu	α na	◁ n
∩ si	∩ su	∩ sa	◁ s
⊂ li	⊃ lu	⊂ la	◁ l
▷ ji	◁ ju	▷ ja	◁ j
Δ vi	▷ vu	◁ va	◁ v
∩ ri	ρ ru	◁ ra	◁ r
◁ qi	◁ qu	◁ qa	◁ q
◁ ngi	◁ ngu	◁ nga	◁ ng
◁ nngi	◁ nngu	◁ nnga	
◁ rngi	◁ rngu	◁ rnga	
◁ & i	◁ & u	◁ & a	

Appendix H

The Bathurst Mandate (Education Section)

We believe that: To achieve the dreams of Nunavut we all need to listen closely and learn well in order to acquire the skills we need to increase our independence and prosperity.

Principles that will guide us are:

- The value of teaching and learning shall be acknowledged at all levels and from sources inside and outside of our communities;
- Learning is a lifelong process;
- Equal opportunity and equal access across Nunavut is fundamental to our success;
- It is important to recognize all of the potential teachers in our communities, beginning with elders and in families;
- Land and language skills and respectful pride in our cultures and languages are fundamental for adults and children;
- Our education system needs to be built within the context of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit;
- Respect for individuals is the basis of effective learning and a healthy workplace.

In 2020, Nunavut is a place where:

- Our population is adaptable to change and welcomes new skills, while preserving its culture, values and language of origin;
- We are a fully functional bilingual society, in Inuktitut and English, respectful and committed to the needs and rights of French speakers, with a growing ability to participate in French;
- We have a representative workforce in all sectors;
- Educational programs are offered on a strategic basis, based on community by community needs;
- There is a full range of interlocking educational programs allowing individuals continued access throughout the spectrum;
- Inuit professionals of all kinds have been supported in their training and have taken leadership roles in our communities;
- Our history and accomplishments have been preserved and recognized in books and artworks, in recorded stories, in places of learning, and in the common knowledge of our people. We are a source of pride to all Canadians;

(Appendix H continued)

- In our areas of strength, we have assumed a leadership role in Canada and have looked beyond Nunavut to give and receive inspiration and support, and to lead an active exchange of ideas and information.

Over the next five years, Departmental Business Plans and activities will give priority to completing these objectives:

- A government-wide effort to support training and learning for a Nunavut-based workforce as one of the two primary commitments of this government's mandate;
- Train more elementary and high school teachers in Nunavut;
- Train nurses in Nunavut;
- Provide educational programs for a wide range of health and social services providers;
- Improve student/teacher ratios Nunavut-wide;
- Train in Nunavut for all the trades;
- Respond to the generation of passive speakers of Inuktitut in all its forms;
- View every element of the government budget as a potential training budget;
- Graduate more students from school, college and universities;
- Under the leadership of the departments of Human Resources and Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, every department will develop and implement, for current and future employees:
 - a strategy to support the Inuit Employment Plan;
 - a strategy for on-the-job training and mentoring;
 - a Nunavut orientation and language skills program;
- Increase opportunities in Nunavut for post-secondary learning;
- Begin the re-writing of the K-12 school curriculum, to emphasize cultural relevance and academic excellence, to be completed over the next 10 years;
- Support and improve the teaching and learning of Inuktitut in all its forms, and the teaching of language generally, in our schools;
- Put into place strategies to develop Nunavummiut in every profession as part of a resident workforce

Appendix I

NTEP B. Ed. PROGRAM

Nac#	McGill#	Title	Credits	
YEAR 1				
012-249 EDEE 248		Inuktitut Orthography and Grammar	3	
012-105 EDEE 241		Teaching Language Arts	3	
012-113 EDEE 230		Elementary School Mathematics	3	
012-203 EDEE 242		Teaching Mathematics	3	
012-110 EDPI 212		Perceptual Motor Skills	3	
012-101 EDEE 245		Orientation to Education	3	
012-117 EDFE 444		Field Experience 1	3	
012-330 EDES 365		Experiences in Communication (Eng)	3	
012-123 EDPT 200		Software Applications	3	
012-114 EDEE 248		Reading & Writing Inuktitut	3	30
YEAR 2				
012-207 EDEA 242		Cultural Skills	3	
012-214 EDEE 243		Reading Methods in Inuktitut	3	
012-214 EDEE 261		Reading Practicum	3	
012-116 EDPI 211		Social & Emotional Development	3	
012-112 EDEE 246		Culture, Language & Thought	3	
012-204 EDEE 240		Use and Adaptation of Curriculum	3	
012-205 EDEE 382		Teaching Social Studies	3	
012-217 EDFE 422		Aboriginal Education Practicum I	3	
012-221 EDEE 372		Teaching Science	3	
012-118 EDEE 270		Elementary School Science	3	60
YEAR 3				
012-215 EDEM 202		Education and Administrative Institutions	3	
012-222 EDPI 341		Instruction in Inclusive Schools	3	
012-226 EDEC 220		Curriculum Development	3	
012-317 EDFE 423		Aboriginal Practicum II	3	
012-311 EDEE 340		Special Topics in Inuktitut	3	
012-320 EDEC 200		Inuit Studies	3	
012-326 EDEA 241		Basic Art Media	3	
012-309 EDKP 204		Health Education	3	
012-108 EDKP 304		Measurement & Evaluation	3	
012-108 EDKP 224		Foundations in movement Ed	3	90
YEAR 4				
012-312 ENGL 100		English Lit and Comp	6	
012-345 EDEE 345		Literature & Creative Writing 1(Inuk)	3	
012-346 EDEE 346		Literature & Creative Writing 1(Inuk)	3	
012-339 EDEE 344		Advanced Inuktitut	3	
012-244 EDEC 244		Issues in Aboriginal Education	3	
012-320 EDEE 473		Ecological Studies	3	
012-213 EDEE 325		Children's Literature	3	
012-319 EDEC 403		The Dialects of Inuktitut	3	
012-362 EDPT 320		Desktop Publishing	3	120

Appendix J

NTEP Community-Based Programs

1991-1993	Arviat	Two year program
	Rankin Inlet	Two year program
	Baker Lake	Two year program
1992-1993	Taloyoak	One year completion program
	Cambridge Bay	One year completion program
1993-1995	Igloolik	Two year program
	Pangnirtung	Two year program
	Arctic Bay	Two year program
1994-1997	Cambridge Bay	Three year program
	Kugluktuk	Three year program
1995-1998	Cape Dorset	Three year program
1996-1999	Coral Harbour	Three year program
1997-2001	Pond Inlet	Three year plus B. Ed year
1999-2001	Rankin Inlet	Program closed after two-years
1999-2003	Cambridge Bay	Three year plus B. Ed year
2000-2004	Sanikiluaq	Three year plus B. Ed year
2001-2005	Taloyoak	Three year plus B. Ed year
2002-2004	Clyde River	Program closed after two years
2003-	Arviat	Three year program
2004-	Arctic Bay	Foundation year
2004-	Igloolik	Foundation year