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INUIT VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION:

A Nunavik Case Study

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate Inuit values and needs in Inuit Adult Education. These can only originate from the Inuit themselves: those attending and employed in Adult Education Centres in Nunavik, graduates of both vocational and academic adult education programs, Elders, local education committee members, directors of Northern educational institutions and community leaders. This study examined values in Inuit adult education of one Inuit community's educational and community representatives and students, and how these educational needs may be met so as to respect Inuit traditions. In this qualitative study, research methods included: filmed interviews, surveys and open-ended questionnaires, field notes, and participant observation. It was found that the Inuit are in effect finding themselves between two cultures and two education systems. There is a gap in knowledge between the Inuit vision of education and the non-Inuit vision of education. It was concluded that there is a perceived need to integrate the teaching of traditional Inuit skills and knowledge with contemporary curricula: to unite both into a curriculum that embraces the advantages of both traditions and cultures.

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Résumé

La présente étude visait à analyser les valeurs et les besoins des Inuits en matière d'éducation des adultes. Ces valeurs et ces besoins ne peuvent être définis que par les Inuits eux-mêmes: étudiants et employés des centres d'éducation des adultes du Nunavik, diplômés des programmes de formation professionnelle et classique des adultes, aînés, membres des comités locaux de l'éducation, directeurs des établissements d'enseignement du Nord et dirigeants communautaires. Il s'agissait de déterminer les aspects de l'éducation des adultes qui revêtent le plus d'importance pour les représentants des milieux scolaire et communautaire et les étudiants d'une collectivité inuit et la façon dont ces besoins peuvent être comblés dans le respect des traditions inuites. Les méthodes de recherche utilisées dans cette étude qualitative comprennent la réalisation d'entrevues filmées, de sondages et de questionnaires à réponses libres, la prise de notes sur le terrain et l'observation des participants. Les données recueillies indiquent que les Inuits se trouvent pris entre deux cultures et deux systèmes d'éducation. Les connaissances privilégiées dans les visions inuites et non Inuites de l'éducation ne coïncident pas. Il y a donc lieu d'incorporer l'enseignement des compétences et des connaissances traditionnelles Inuites dans les programmes d'éducation contemporains de manière à ce que ceux-ci mettent en valeur les avantages des deux traditions et cultures.

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This study is dedicated to Sophie and Tristin, in hopes that you come to know and live the values it has sought to discover.

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Chapter I
Introduction

Research Objectives

The goal of this research was to investigate the values and needs in Inuit Adult Education. These can only originate from the Inuit themselves: those attending and employed in Adult Education Centres in Nunavik, graduates of both vocational and academic adult education programs, Elders, local education committee members, directors of educational institutions, and community leaders.

This study examined what is valued in Adult Education by one Inuit community's educational and community representatives and students and how these educational needs may be met so as to respect Inuit traditions while at the same time prepare Inuit for participation in a post-industrial world. This necessitates an understanding of traditional Inuit forms of education - the transmission of 'tacit knowledge' (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p.30) that defines Inuit values, culture and traditions. An education system that addresses Inuit needs must have the preservation of their language, culture and traditions at its core. Once these traditional values are elucidated, educators may be in a better position to integrate those values into an educational system that enables Inuit students to acknowledge and use the best of both cultures.

Anticipated benefits of this study include the articulation of Inuit needs and values, and how Adult Education might best serve these needs. It is a position of this paper that one of the most devastating effects of the colonization of the Inuit has been the conflict between two diametrically opposed systems of education. I hope that this research may become a mouthpiece for Inuit values, and a bridge to meeting those expressed values and needs through Adult Education.

Theoretical Framework Underlying Methodology

As Inuit values emanate from the Inuit themselves, such a study necessitates a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research methods allow us to examine the issue contextually, to study, "the perception and lay understanding of [Adult Education] in aboriginal populations or the social and cultural meanings" that this specific Inuit population attaches to adult education (Boston, Jordan, et. al, 1997, p.5). More specifically, I intend to do a case study.

"Inuit Values in Adult Education" must be presented in a case study format, as, in their very essence, values are relative to those to whom they pertain, and the researcher interpreting them. Case studies allow people to infer the findings of the research to other such situations. "A qualitative research report characterized by rich description should provide the reader with enough information for the reader to determine whether the findings of the study possibly apply to other people or settings." (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p.47). The findings from this research on "Inuit Values in Adult Education" could enable other researchers to make assumptions regarding values in other forms of Aboriginal adult education, and to acknowledge these values in any curriculum planning exercise.

In qualitative research the design is emergent. As much as one may be able to understand Inuit adult education needs from a teacher's perspective, I am not Inuit, and can therefore only make educated guesses as to what values Inuit culture places on adult education, or what personal, community, family, etc., values they might see as desirable components of an education program. One begins with certain assumptions and questions, and through investigation, patterns and theories evolve and the design emerges. Research design must develop from the perspective of those researched.

"In an emergent research design, the researcher will not be able to specify exactly what will happen, but it is possible to present procedural information about the proposed study." (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p.65). Guideline questions and objectives have been set (see Appendix B) and are subject to change as research patterns in Inuit values toward adult education evolve. "Important leads are identified in the early phases of data analysis and pursued by asking new questions, observing new situations or previous situations with a slightly different lens" (Ibid, p.44).

An example of this helps to illustrate the point: I had intended to film most of the interviews and filmed my first interview with an Elder (and a translator), which went well. I then interviewed two students separately (on film) and found that the camera served as a distraction that made students uncomfortable, and as a result, shy and withdrawn. In turn, this resulted in quick responses, 'one-liners' in order to "get out from in front of the camera" as soon as possible. I did not use it again.

This research involves living in both a northern Inuit village as a community member, and working at the Adult Education Centre of that community as the English Academic Adult Educator. An advantage to this study is that I have already "done community outreach" and worked in the community in question for a few years. Acceptance into such a community is at times a lengthy and difficult process requiring great persistence, openness and trust. Having lived in this community facilitated participant observation as trust and intent had already been established.

Trust and respect must be central to any ethnographic research, and this trust must come from and extend to both the researcher and the "researched". The researcher must trust and respect Aboriginal traditions, but also be aware that trust and respect for

them (by Aboriginal peoples) is often hard to come by, and takes time to establish. Too many transient workers (from all professions) in the North are here 'for the money', and to service their own needs, be they financial or academic.

As Aboriginal participation in academia has always been marginalized or "bordered", researchers in this area must take into account the history of this Eurocentric tradition and its effects on Aboriginal peoples. Too often, researchers and their research are attempts to fulfil academic requirements that in the end will only serve to benefit the researcher - where the community being researched is, at best, "disrupted, having given the very heart of their perception of themselves and their world" (Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996, p.257).

In essence, such research represents a situation where the non-Aboriginal person is "using" the Aboriginal people for her/his own ends and benefits. Non-Aboriginal researchers may not see themselves in this light, especially if they see themselves as "helping" the Aboriginal people, but this is how Aboriginal peoples often perceive such research and therefore the awareness of such a perspective is crucial. "First Nations people have been subjected to too many researchers who gather information for personal and professional benefit, without giving anything back to them" (Haig-Brown, 1995, p.32). Aboriginal distrust runs deep, and is historically warranted.

In their article, "Transforming First Nations Research With Respect and Power", Haig-Brown & Archibald (1996) stress the importance of 'Native peoples as experts' that the researcher can learn from - not the reverse. We have everything to learn from our 'Native Experts', if we have the respect and dignity to listen.

Above all, the researcher must adapt to Aboriginal ways, rather than imposing their own set of questions and research directions on them. I recall meeting my former (Inuit) Centre Director from the first Inuit village I was to live in, in Montreal, on the first of three orientation days of training before flying North. I anxiously asked him if he knew where my house was going to be. After a long pause, he very quietly answered (without looking at me), "I know where you will live". That was all.

We did not share further words for the following two days until on the aeroplane. This was my first important lesson in relinquishing control that our non-Aboriginal society has become accustomed to having "right away". He was teaching me an important lesson and it frustrated me intensely. One must learn to listen before speaking:

Tolerance, patience, respect for differences, a willingness to listen, the inclination to admit that one may be mistaken, the ability to reinterpret or translate one's own concerns in a way that makes them comprehensible to others, the self-imposition of restraint in order that others may have a turn to speak, and the disposition to express one's self honestly and sincerely. (Burbles & Rice, 1991, p.411).

Basic humanistic principles of qualitative research are congruent with the experiential principles of Andragogy, and are therefore most essential in researching Inuit values in Adult Education. Qualitative research methods and andragogy examine human experience in an open-ended manner.

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Chapter II

Traditional Inuit Education

The manners in which we view our purpose in life, origins and futures are structured into stories, or narratives which we collectively live by. "A story gives us direction by providing a kind of theory about how the world works - and how it needs to work if we are to survive." (Postman, 1989, p.134). In Aboriginal societies, storytelling has been a fundamental necessity in the cultural transmission of knowledge. The oral tradition was the most important means of intergenerational articulation and passing-on of values, knowledge and the skills needed to survive.

In the past we had our parents and elders to teach us, but The Land was our greatest teacher. Learning to live on the land, overcoming the difficulties with intelligence, ingenuity, patience, courage, cheerfulness and cooperation - this is what taught Inuit spirit and shaped who we were as a people. (Kativik School Board Development Group, 1995, p.28).

Traditionally, Inuit education was handed down from generation to generation, in the form of legends and wisdom from Elders. All that one needed to know about one's place in society, the Earth and universe, and how to survive off of the land was provided by the Elders, parents, communities and through experience. "Schooling was not separate from daily activity. Children were integral parts of the community and were expected to participate with adults to whatever degree their skill level and physical development permitted" (Haig-Brown, 1995, p.51).

A father would teach his sons all of the skills necessary to provide for his family, to hunt and fish, to make shelter, tools and clothing. A mother would teach her daughters

all of the necessary skills needed to provide for her family, to care for small children, to manage a household, and prepare hides, fish and meat. "They learned by watching a task being performed many times; gradually they took more and more responsibility for it." (Haig-Brown, 1995, p.51).

Although the learning of sex roles may seem sexist to contemporary society, this division of labour was vital to the survival of the Inuit in the harsh Arctic. "The duties of women balanced those of the men. One without the other could not survive the environment. Thus, a joining together in cooperative effort was essential" (Minor, 1995, p. 50). Skills were learned according to ability: some of the best sewers are men and some of the best fishers are women. Inuit culture, values and survival has always centred on the act of sharing.

"In our Inuit heritage, learning and living were the same thing, and knowledge, judgment and skill could never be separated." (Kativik School Board Development Group, 1995, p.15). To live was to learn. Traditional Inuit understanding of "lifelong learning" was essential to survival, thus giving education a more practical utility. "When the teacher is the land, patience and wisdom go together."(Ibid, p.12). To learn from the land bred wisdom, which enabled one to survive with greater ease and share this knowledge with all.

"Before the coming of the Europeans our people had an education system that was practical, reality-based, and environmentally sound. Everybody was involved in the on-going learning process. Most important of all, that system was firmly rooted in our people's culture." (National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, 1980, p.6).

When colonizers of the Eastern Arctic imposed their lifestyle and system of education on the Inuit, the bonds that for thousands of years held a people and heritage strongly fastened together, began to be untied. "The imperative of formal education, a necessity in the new order of life, touched every Inuit family in all of Canada's Arctic, no matter how isolated their location." (Nungak, 2000, p.40).

Since exposure to foreign cultures (and rule), the importance of passing on culture through story has greatly diminished, having been replaced with the dominant cultures' stories via cable television. I recall an important Inuit political and educational leader in one community telling my class of Inuit students that he knew half as much traditional knowledge as his father did, while his son (who was one of the students) would learn only half that amount (Simeonie Nalukturuk, 1996). According to this estimation, fifty percent of Inuit culture disappears with each new generation.

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Chapter III

A Foreign Education System

Europeans brought with them a foreign education system that, once imposed on the Inuit, had no bearing on traditional values, teachings and survival. This was a system, “aimed at radical change of [Amer]Indian societies for the purpose of promoting order in the larger economic and political system” (Iverson, in Altbach and Kelly, 1978, p.149). This ‘radical change’ included the eradication of Aboriginal cultural identities and ways of life, the assimilation into “white European” culture and society, and the financial profit, domination and exploitation of the land and its natural resources.

As education and language are key methods of retaining one's cultural identity, when the colonizers completely cut off both of these essential defining elements of the colonized, they arrested the process of history, and transmission of culture. When the colonized's only chance of success and advancement in their society is predicated on their speaking the colonizer's foreign language, all sense of cultural worth and identity is asphyxiated. Indeed, their only choices are, “assimilation or petrification” (Memmi, 1965, p.102).

Both the colonizers and missionaries from the respective “mother countries” made varying contributions to the colonization of indigenous peoples: “Both saw education as a means for accomplishing their own ends” (Altbach and Kelly, 1978, p.2).

Colonial schools served to devalue indigenous peoples and cultures, by providing them with an extremely limited educational system that was not only markedly inferior to educational systems of the mother country (and their Canadian counterparts), but

was also detached from the societies of the colonized. "In promoting assimilation through segregation, the government system prepares students in isolation from both their own societies and white society and then expects them immediately to take their place as good citizens" (Iverson, in Altbach and Kelly, 1978, p.164). Students became detached from both cultures.

Those colonial schools that did not serve to remove Aboriginal children from their homes displaced entire families of nomadic peoples, as in the case with the Inuit, and forced them into villages. "Those who have grown up as an administered people, born and raised in the years since World War II, have been removed far from the world of their parents and ancestors." (Coates and Powell, 1989, p.16).

Colonial schools were, in effect, piecemeal offerings that improperly educated students for the world of the colonizer, and served to remove students from the world of the colonized. What they did provide, was the ideal that education (in the European sense) was the key to prosperity, both personally and for the colonized societies. "The implications of this are enormous, for what occurred in colonial education was a simultaneous obliteration of roots and the denial of the wherewithal to change, except on limited terms" (Altbach and Kelly, 1978, p.15).

The underlying premise was that schooling would make them better people and a better culture, as, "Western education was seen as for the most part a means of social mobility" (ibid, p.16). As multinational institutions, these schools lumped all Aboriginal students into the category of "Indigenous peoples", thereby condensing their respective nationalities, identities and cultures into one inferior entity that "needed to be Modernized".

Upon their return from residential / colonial school, students were inadequately prepared for either world, finding themselves in a volatile state of limbo, as it were, caught between two cultures, for both of which they had been ill-prepared. "The problem, which was realized far too late, was that these same children would leave school poorly equipped for modern life and with little access to the world they had studied in the classroom." (Coates & Powell, 1989, p.132).

The colonial systems of education were designed to serve the needs of the colonizers, both economically and socially. Although appearances seemed to dictate that assimilation was at work, we have discovered that, conversely, what was being enacted was a politically-motivated plan to demolish Aboriginal identity without assimilation. "Colonized people, then, have their identity conflicts compounded by the fact that the two competing cultural identities are themselves poorly defined templates." (Taylor, 1997, p.60). This has left entire Aboriginal Nations struggling to adapt to an idealized foreign lifestyle and ideology, while grappling onto pieces of their own drifting cultural identities.

Where once the teacher was the oral tradition and the Land, now Inuit students found themselves sitting in rows of desks in sterile, European one-room classrooms being spoon-fed *Dick & Jane*:

In it [the classroom], Inuit values collided with Qallunaat¹ imperatives, each shattering the protective window of the other... This education cum-punishment displaced the gentle and firm show-by-example upbringing practices of our parents, and caused immediate stress trauma in many Inuit children. (Nungak, 2000, p.41).

As European societies have had exposure to and evolved with the European education system for hundreds of years, they have adapted to succeeding at it, accepting education as the sole means of social mobility. European descendants have been sufficiently steeped in a rich educational heritage, and have become culturally conditioned into accepting the role education plays in that society, around which most other societal aspects are structured. "Aboriginal people had European education thrust on them but they were not provided with a clear understanding of its role and function." (Taylor, 1997, p.62). Nor were they provided with the context.

Aboriginal peoples were forced to do something that completely contradicted their cultural values, that they were told was for their own good, yet never explained why. As the current struggle for autonomy and self-government continues to push into the twenty-first century, the realization of the above issues has caused divisions within First Nations communities. "While struggling to gain recognition of their rights, the Indians and Inuit face the social and cultural problems of sustaining a way of life that is under attack, from within as well as from without" (Coates and Powell, 1989, p.16).

During the question period that followed a "Native and Non-Native Relations" lecture by Grand Chief Joseph Norton that I attended at McGill University in Montreal (sponsored by the St. James Society, in 1997), a question was asked by a young Mohawk man in the back row. Referring to Chief Norton's request that the Canadian government simply apologize before the healing process could begin, the man asked Grand Chief Joseph Norton when he was going to apologize to traditionalist First Nations people who are opposed to the creation of the band council and Native adoption of "white European" systems of government. The Mohawk Traditionalist, Mr. Tracy, was ruled "out of order" and ejected from the hall on the grounds that he had

violated a "house rule" to not challenge the speaker. "Where colonization has been internalized, the conflicts between the new indigenous elites, 'the Indian bureaucrats', and both the militant youth and traditional old create" divisions such as this example (Iverson, in Altbach and Kelly, 1978, p.174).

Mr. Tracy's point was acknowledged by Grand Chief Norton, who explained that the current First Nations position must be to learn to utilize the dominant political system so as to have greater leverage in dealing with governments. "We've got to find a way of living together, and I believe we're on the path to doing that, but as you can see there are already things we disagree on." (Grand Chief Joseph Norton, 1997).

Similar such divisions have occurred in Nunavik. Many Inuit objected to the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement on the basis that no amount of money could compensate future generations of Inuit for the loss of their land, hunting and traditions. Despite the Government of Québec's (inevitable) victory in the end result, two communities remained dissident: Povungnituk and Ivujivik, with Puvirnituk (as it is now called) remaining separate from Nunavik until 1993. The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement was never signed by these communities, and as a result, feelings of mistrust, colonization, and dissidence remain strong.

This has had profound affects on education for the people of these communities, as, despite the Kativik School Board's mandate to provide education to all Inuit of Nunavik, schools in Puvirnituk have created their own curricula since 1975. This situation leaves many teachers and students in delicate positions between the schools and the school board.

As Jo-Ann Archibald (1994) optimistically states, "...our cultures [have] survived attempts by religious and governmental groups first to suppress and later to assimilate First Nations into dominant Canadian society." (p.342). First Nations peoples have survived the atrocities that European and later Canadian civilizations have inflicted upon them (and continue to do), and it is perhaps the very essence of this cultural strength that future studies in First Nations education must address.

"That strength, that independence, and that pride must surface again. We must prove to Canada that the original citizens of this country will not lie down and play dead. After all, the Inuit have been described by the United Nations as a people who refuse to disappear." (Amagoalik, J., 1988, p.209; in Petrone, P., Ed., 1988).

Non-Inuit education in Nunavik was first provided by Anglican and Catholic missionaries. "The Federal Government at this time was simply not interested in providing educational services for the Inuit. Its position was that there was nothing of value in the North which could justify spending a lot of money."(Colbourne,1989, p.64).

In the late 1950's, the Canadian Government struggled with what to do about, and what to do with, Inuit. This came to be known as 'the Eskimo problem', to which it engaged so-called experts who considered all manner of schemes. One of the direct results of this brainstorming was a federal program of building schools in settlements throughout the Arctic. (Nungak, 2000, p.41).

By the 1960's there were federal day schools in nine of the fourteen communities of Nunavik (Kativik School Board, 1995b, p.37). Some communities had both Federal and Provincial schools at various points in their history. Initial efforts to provide education did not address Inuit values, or the people.

Education was provided for the Inuit without consultation with Inuit. "It did not seem as if the government considered Inuit culture and customs when planning the schools in Nunavik. The government hired southern teachers and did not ask the advice of the parents of the children going to school." (Kativik School Board, 1995b, p.37).

Children of this system learned European languages, traditions, values, history and knowledge. "Parental involvement and local control of schools are standard practice in Canada - but not for Aboriginal people. Instead they have long been the object of attempts by state and church to use education to control and assimilate them" (Canada, Royal Commission, 1996, p.82).

These communities housed tiny one-room school houses in which basic southern curricula was taught. "Hard learned lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic were intertwined with harsh, baffling discipline frequently administered by a very stern Eva Brady" (Nungak, 2000, p.41). Inuit children confronted a foreign education system that starkly demonstrated the most distinct cultural differences between themselves and the non-Inuit. Teachers with little understanding of Inuit culture were implanted to provide a southern education to students who lived on the land. "The outcomes of this system of schooling were, at best, mediocre." (Colbourne, 1989, p.3).

Schooling in Québec had historically been dominated by the church. In the early 1960's the Québec government began to assemble a sovereignist platform and the control of education took on new meaning. "The establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1964 made clear that the state would take direct control of education" (Dickinson & Young, 1986, p.339).

Although funding was provided to create schools in most of Nunavik's communities, the fundamental problem of whose values and traditions were being taught was not addressed. As had historically always been the case, what was determined to be "best for the Inuit" was decided and enforced by non-Inuit.

It has long been recognized that education is one of the keys to a meaningful and fulfilling future. Native people throughout Canada have lived the paradox of having what is recognized as being one of the best education systems in the world fail dismally in meeting their needs... It became clear to Aboriginal leaders that the reasons for the failure of the education system were inextricably linked with the processes and practices of colonization - processes and practices which ensured that the educational / academic agenda was largely irrelevant to the health and survival of our cultures, nations, and people. (Ron Short, Forward to Haig-Brown, 1995, p.vii).

An unfortunate reality of all education systems is that they service the needs of those political and economic forces in power. In Canada education has been used to assimilate indigenous peoples by designing curricular material devised to meet political agendas and their rationale for historical domination. This policy resulted in an education that was markedly inferior to that of their non-native counterparts.

School textbooks perpetuate the dominant biased knowledge base, as texts are not necessarily objective knowledge subject to student scrutiny, but rather, "what is included and excluded in textbooks really signify more profound political, economic and cultural relations and histories." (Apple, 1992, p.5). Textbooks are expressions of the beliefs and values of those in power. Even "fact-based" texts demonstrate the values of those in power by virtue of being the facts chosen for dissemination.

"People are coming to understand that education is not value free, that it emanates from and strengthens the values and culture of the political system that governs education." (National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, 1980, p.31). Education is not value-free, it is value-laden. As such, whose cultural values education promotes is of extreme importance. "It is widely recognized that a major function of schooling is the transmission of culture. But up to now, we as Inuit have had to ask whose culture the school was transmitting." (Colbourne, 1989, p.68).

History is always moralized, or rationalized, to suit the needs of those writing it. One need only look at North American history and the ways in which it has been told (or related to successive generations) as a poignant example. For centuries it was common knowledge that Christopher Columbus "discovered" America. With the development of multicultural societies, came an increased awareness of the need for morally and politically correct and sound historical records and accounts, and history books were rewritten to include a Native perspective.

An example of moralizing Canadian history can be found in the curriculum of the current Ministère d'Éducation du Québec History course, the "History of Amerindians and Political Structures", where it is the position of the government that the Inuit and the Cree of James Bay, under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement of 1975, "agreed to financial compensation for the loss of their land". (MEQ History of Amerindians, HST 5035-2 provincial examination).

Although the point is made that, by virtue of there being Aboriginal signatures affixed to the J.B.N.Q.A. Inuit and Cree leaders accepted their plight, the expected answer along with the supporting text make no mention of the manipulation, coercion

and deviance that was played-out in the legal courts, in a system that was designed, developed and upheld by Europeans for hundreds of years, and one in which Aboriginal peoples had little or negative experience with over the past five decades.

Inuit and Cree leaders were coerced into signing the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement for fear that they would lose not only the rights to their land, but lose the financial settlements as well, as defeat was inevitable. No mention is made of the dissident Inuit communities that did not sign this "agreement". This one-sided view teaches generations of Canadians that the Inuit and Cree agreed with the Québec government taking control of their land and resources (accepting their role as colonized), and voluntarily relinquished all future control of their land, in the name of "progress".

In the 1960's, then Minister of Natural Resources, René Levesque began to realize the importance of the North in providing the Québec government with the necessary financial resources to fuel the Parti Québécois' Nationalist agenda. Hydroelectric power became the trump card in the separatist battle for sovereignty. "Nationalization of the remaining private power companies into Hydro-Québec in 1962 was the flagship of the "maitres chez nous" economic program" (Dickinson & Young, 1995, p.352). In order to realistically plan to separate from a country, a dissident collective needs to have substantial natural resources to tap into in order to survive. With the oil crisis of the 1970's came the urgency for new means of energy, which further justified the necessity of the James Bay project.

Construction of the huge James Bay hydroelectric plant began without consultation with the Aboriginal peoples of Northern Québec. "Both governments wanted to

impose extinguishment, ceding our right to the land. The governments made that decision without our input, without consulting us, and at the negotiating table they simply informed us there was no way around it." (Nungak, Zebedee; in Kativik School Board, *History of Nunavik: A New Political Era*, 1995c). Negotiations began with Inuit and Cree loss of rights to the land as the starting point, a given.

The imposition of this unconditional term was the entire problem. Opposition and anger at this colonial act are consequences and affects which are strongly felt in some communities today. This is a modern historical example of non-Aboriginal people coercively taking control of Aboriginal land. "We are going through decolonization, but the colonizers are not leaving" (Grand Chief Joseph Norton, 1997). Such practices not only continued well into the 1970s, but were made permissible through law.

"Our land, our people, and our wildlife were threatened by this project. Our only recourse was to stop it." (Charlie Watt, in Kativik School Board, *History of Nunavik: A New Political Era*, 1995c). Although the Inuit culture had never delegated traditional leaders and chiefs, respected members of some of the communities of Nunavik joined together in efforts to protect their land. "Enter Zebedee Nungak and his friend Charlie Watt, who together launched the Northern Québec Inuit Association in 1972 to present a unified voice on behalf of the region's Inuit during negotiations for the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, signed in 1975." (Pelly, 1995, p.26).

In 1973 Judge Albert Malouffe ruled in favour of the Inuit and Cree of James Bay and Northern Québec and construction on the project was halted - for one week (Ibid). "For the Inuit, Judge Malouffe's decision was their only leverage and negotiations began" (Zebedee Nungak, personal correspondence, 1999).

The government of Québec realized that their entire sovereignist agenda rested on the success of this (and other such) hydroelectric project (s), and was prepared to win this 'battle' at all costs. "Levesque came up north and announced some plans for his land. I thought it was my land too." (Charlie Watt, in Kativik School Board, *History of Nunavik: A New Political Era*, 1995c).

The rationalization that this project was for the benefit of all, colonizers and Aboriginal people, is the very rationalization that justified European conquering of continents three centuries earlier. The creation of institutions and organizations that better enabled the Inuit to complete the changing of Inuit culture themselves, finalized the colonization process, helping the Inuit to become more "non-Inuit", as it were.

Again, history books were rewritten to accommodate this moral perspective, as the following demonstrates: "The James Bay agreement with the Cree is an example of how Native peoples have negotiated with government to obtain a better deal" (Dickinson & Young, 1995, p.372). This very opportunistic reasoning of history teaches the idea that Native peoples have, as colonized peoples, always sought to 'better their lot'. In this context the Cree are portrayed as pursuing government in order to do so.

"Monies from the 1975 James Bay agreement between Native peoples and the Québec government for development of hydro-electric sites helped to build new Inuit communities and social institutions in the North." (ibid, p.373). As this statement from the history textbook used in the mandatory Québec secondary IV course, *The History of Québec and Canada* (HST 4016 / 17) indicates, money was provided to create southern / European social institutions in newly erected Inuit communities.

The Inuit had never lived in, nor desired to live in communities. This clearly states that this "helped". Helped who? At what expense? According to whose values?

The implication (and indeed what most non-Aboriginal students will accept as "fact") is that the Inuit accepted that their's had been an inferior and primitive way of life and were graciously being given a big cultural 'leg-up' with the "rewards" of this "agreement", in the form of extensive non-Inuit financial and organizational "help" at the expense of their land, lifestyle, mobility, wildlife, culture, history and future. Not all Inuit agreed with this.

For a settlement of 90 million dollars, the Northern Québec Inuit Association surrendered Inuit title to lands above the fifty-fifth parallel. We would keep exclusive use of 3,000 square kilometres of land around the municipalities: Category I lands. In Category II lands we would be able to hunt and fish. We would be involved in the resource development of Category III lands."
(Kativik School Board, *History of Nunavik: A New Political Era*, 1995c).

Geographically, Category I and II lands collectively represent only roughly ten percent of the total land mass of Nunavik.

Although this "Agreement" was viewed by some Inuit as a loss, to many other Inuit it is viewed as a major gain toward self-government. With this compensatory amount, the Inuit of Nunavik would create five organizations / institutions to render Inuit more self-reliant as a culture (the ultimate irony), by colonial standards:

- 1) The Kativik Regional Government was to look after the municipalities and various government programs;

2) The Kativik School Board was to be responsible for the education of all citizens of Nunavik;

3) The Kativik Board of Health and Social Services would attend to the health and well-being of Nunavik's citizens;

4) The Kativik Regional Development Council would support the economic development of Nunavik;

5) Makivik Corporation would administer the compensatory funds.

The Inuit historical and cultural institute Avataq was also established from these funds, although not initially planned for in the Agreement (Kativik School Board, *History of Nunavik: A New Political Era*, 1995c).

Many Inuit, however, did not agree with the terms of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and refused to sign the document.

The communities of Povungnituk, Ivujivik and some people in Salluit opposed the Northern Québec Inuit Associations' final decision to sign the document. "Dissidents believed that no one understood what the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement was, and no one had told the Northern Québec Inuit Association to negotiate for them." (Kativik School Board, *History of Nunavik: A New Political Era*, 1995c). The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement was never signed by representatives from the communities of Povungnituk and Ivujivik.

As a result of this refusal to sign the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, the communities of Puvirnituk and Ivujivik today remain fully represented through the six Inuit organizations created out of the J.B.N.Q.A., yet neither community has "Category I, II or III lands". Provisions laid out in section 6.1.1(C.C.6) of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement state that, "If selections [of Category I lands by each respective village] are not received by Québec within two (2) years of execution of the Agreement, Québec shall designate the allocated Category I lands from the areas withdrawn for selection" (Québec, 1991, p.72).

I had the opportunity to ask Mr. Zebedee Nungak if the presence of Kativik School Board general and adult education schools in Puvirnituk since 1993 signified the acceptance of the terms of the Agreement by this community, and he replied, "Two years passed and Category lands have still not been chosen or agreed upon. It would be a mistake to say that Puvirnituk accepted; they take advantage of services" (Zebedee Nungak, personal correspondence, March 1999).

More than twenty-five years have passed and these lands have not been decided upon. The 1991 edition of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and Complementary Agreements concludes its Table of Contents with a, "note regarding the maps: Since the Inuit lands have not all been allocated, they cannot be indicated on maps, but once the process has been terminated, maps will be drawn up and made available..." (Québec, 1991, p.VII). As we enter the twenty-first century this has yet to be resolved. The categorization and partition of land was the decisive transition for the Inuit, from being a nomadic people to a sedentary people. Although this change had begun decades earlier, the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement finalized this status by legally limiting and confining future Inuit mobility.

Since the signing of the historic James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement on July 11, 1975, the Kativik School Board was created to provide education to the Inuit, and has been mandated to place an ardent emphasis on the preservation of Inuit values. "The Kativik School Board receives its operating funds from both the province of Québec (75%) and the federal government (25%) with all monies channelled through Québec and administered by the Board." (Kativik School Board, 1992, p.195).

The Kativik School Board is charged with educating both children and adult learners in its academic and vocational institutions and has endorsed the following mission statement:

Developing a curriculum that embraces native traditions, culture and language, and preparing students for active participation in the modern world.

(Kativik School Board, 1995a).

The Kativik School Board has been acknowledged and credited around the world for its efforts to create this curriculum. "In any review of education among Canadian Inuit, advances in Native control of education in Arctic Québec should not go unnoticed. The school board of the Kativik School District, in many respects, is showing the way to assume responsibility of education programs." (Darnell, 1980; in Farrow & Wilman, 1989, p.33). Curricula in the Inuttitut language have been created, published and refined by the Kativik School Board to meet the needs of the Inuit students and communities it serves. "Children begin their schooling in Inuttitut and when they reach grade 3, they have a choice between French and English as a second language of instruction." (Palliser, Nappaaluk, 1989, p.127).

Despite the Kativik School Boards' novel attempts to create a curriculum in Inuttitut, questions concerning the cultural-appropriateness and effectiveness of programs in retaining and promoting Inuit culture were raised. "There was a widespread sense of accomplishment at having created an 'Inuit school system', but there were still many doubts about what constituted an appropriate, effective education, and how best to provide one." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.6).

In a 1985 study of the effectiveness of the school board by Makivik Corporation, criticism of the Kativik School Board's initiatives were strong: "KSB's idea of Inuit culture is such that they think they have integrated it by putting a harpoon and an Inuk in a book. It's the Inuit spirit that should be there. The Inuit are being deculturized. The culture is being treated in a very colonial way." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.40).

From this and other studies came the realization that there is a fundamental difference between operation and control of an educational system. The school board was effectively being operated: Schools had been built, teachers hired, and students in the classrooms; yet the institution was still functioning under a regime of colonial control. "Control requires some degree of wisdom, operation does not." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.58).

Although mandated to follow the Regime Pedagogique of the Québec Ministry of Education, the Kativik School Board was given a great deal of autonomy and latitude in the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement to create curriculum that would reflect Inuit culture and values. "The Kativik School Board has missed a golden opportunity to improve upon the MEQ programmes and to develop adaptations and/or

new programs which reflect more current thinking in instructional design." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.40).

Provided with the opportunity to become a veritable innovative leader in the field of education, it appears that the school board was more concerned with operations and the "running of a school board" than they were with addressing the real needs of their clientele. "Our present institutional structures for education in Nunavik are not serving us well. Although we have been operating these institutions we have not been able to control them, and so they grind on mechanically without any real benefit or connection to the people." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.69). A school board lacking such a connection to the people it serves is one in need of change.

The Council of Commissioners hold annual meetings to assess the needs of the school board and to "work out the problems". During the period from 1976 to 1985, the Commissions' allotment of time on issues of an educational focus was ten percent. Of these issues, problems in Adult Education were discussed most often. The breakdown of topics discussed by the Commission during the period from 1986 to 1991 again found problems in Adult Education at the top of the list in terms of time spent on issues. "What the commission spends most of its time on can be seen very clearly in this graph: general management." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.63).

A school board whose Commission is wholly preoccupied with general management issues, in times when focus was urgently needed on development of curricula and programs, is a school board that appears not to be in control of the

education it provides. Of the 2178 agenda issues put forth to the Commission in this fifteen year period, only eight percent of these items had an educational focus. Within this eight percent, "adult education was discussed most often." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.63).

The problem is not then one of having people with the wrong vision, for many at KSB are wholeheartedly dedicated to their work with the Inuit of Nunavik. The issue appears to be that the Kativik School Board is run from Montreal. The board is simply geographically too distant from the people it serves and as a result, has lost touch with the reality of educating Inuit based on their needs. "KSB is far removed from the communities, which makes it more difficult to see the needs of the communities clearly and develop a vision that truly reflects the aspirations and struggles of our people." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.63).

In the Kativik School Board's history, the issue of relocation of head offices from Montreal to the North has arisen as a Commission agenda item twenty-one times from 1977 to 1991 (ibid, pp. 65-68). Although the Board is more than aware of the necessity for relocation, the 'paralysis of analysis' problem still persists and in this, the 2000 / 2001 school year, head offices are still located in Montreal.

As once again, relocation is planned for the year 2002, "this history of this one decision illustrates the difference between operating and gaining control of an institution. It is essential to be able to plan, consult, and analyze, but it is also essential to be able to act." (Kativik School Board Program Development Group, 1995, p.68).

The first step in addressing the educational needs of the Inuit of Nunavik is to acquire ownership of the educational institution(s) mandated to provide those services. "The possession and control of one's own educational system is vital to the development and survival of a people... If Indians [and Inuit] in Canada are to survive as a people, we must develop and control our own education." (National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, 1980, p.5). Until this is achieved, education in Nunavik remains yet one more example of colonial control of an historically oppressed people.

During the writing of this research study the Kativik School Board's mission statement was revised to more accurately reflect their role in the education of Nunavik's citizens:

To provide the people of Nunavik with educational services that will guide and enable all learners to develop the qualities, skills and abilities that are necessary to achieve their well-being and self-actualization. (Kativik School Board, 2000a, p.4).

Changes articulated by this most recent mission statement are oriented toward reflecting the needs of each individual student, as opposed to a focus on the development of curriculum. This mission statement has shifted focus from the board to the students.

¹ The term "Qallunaat" is an Inuit word for those who are non-Inuit. This term is often interpreted as being derogatory in meaning (as many believe it to mean "white man"), which is not the case. The name "Inuit" means, "The people", and so by extension, those from all cultures other than the Inuit are referred to as Qallunaat. Respondents in this study use the term quite frequently so I have left the Inuktitut term as it was used. Due to dialectic differences the spelling Qallunaaq is used, as is also the case with the spelling of Inuttitut.

Chapter IV ANDRAGOGY

Historically, adult education is a relatively new phenomenon in the field of education. Although adult education has been practiced in various forms for centuries, the word "andragogy" only recently first found its place in the Webster's 3rd New International Dictionary, in 1981 (Knowles, 1990, p.53). This indicates how late those of us in education have been in recognizing the importance of andragogy as a distinct branch of the field.

The term "adult education" had been recognized much earlier in Canada. The Canadian Association for Adult Education was established in 1935, and the first degree program in Adult Education was created in 1957 at the University of British Columbia (Selman and Dampier, 1991, pp.66,68). Despite these growth steps, the field of adult education held little social significance and was often viewed as a subordinate adjunct to "education" proper. "Considering that the education of adults has been a concern of the human race for a very long time, it is curious that there has been so little thinking, investigating, and writing about adult learning until recently." (Knowles, 1990, p.27).

With the pioneering works of educators such as Paulo Friere in the early 1970's, andragogy gained recognition and acceptance as a necessity in addressing the educational needs of sociopolitically oppressed peoples attempting to empower themselves through literacy education.

The concept of andragogy was devised from a recognized need. This recognition pointed out that adult learners are distinct from young learners, as they bring

considerably more experience to the classroom setting with them. "It is different because adults are more mature than children, and so their experience is more extensive and plays a more significant role in defining their self-concept" (Selman & Dampier, 1991, p.33).

Increasingly, andragogy has taken on social significance as a means of educating adult learners who have either had their education interrupted, or are returning to scholastic endeavours to upgrade their qualifications and / or vocational skills in order to better-prepare themselves for the increasingly demanding employment markets of today's society.

Adult Education

The Dictionary of Education defines 'adult education' as, "any process by which men and women, either alone or in groups, try to improve themselves by increasing their knowledge, skills or attitudes, or the process by which individuals or agencies try to improve men and women in these ways" (Good, C., Ed., 1959, p.16).

In looking at the profiles of adult learners we find those who pursue learning for the sake of up-grading skills, vocational / career advancement, training courses, completing secondary and higher education; and there are those who undertake learning for its own sake. There are as many varied reasons why adults participate in adult education as there are adults participating in it. Every adult learner is unique and brings to the learning environment a vast wealth of experiences. It is because of these unique life experiences and individuality that adults acquire and develop their own unique motivations and tastes for lifelong learning.

The Oxford Reference Dictionary defines *teach* as: "1. To impart information or skill to (a person) or about (a subject) systematically; to do this as a profession. 2. To put forward as a fact or principle. 3. To induce to adopt a practice etc. by example or experience." (Oxford Press, 1986, p.843).

In contrast, *facilitate* is defined as: "To make easy or less difficult; to make (an action or result) more easily achieved" (ibid, p.290). When one contrasts these definitions, one sees the important difference in orientation required by the facilitator of adults: One does not "teach" adults; one makes it more easily achieved, easier for the students to achieve themselves.

Adult learners have (at this point in their lives) adopted their own ways of learning, and have their own reasons for continuing their education. These distinct needs first point to the importance of adults being involved in both the planning and evaluation process of their learning.

The second notion derived from these needs is that in lieu of these distinctions, the teacher's role is no longer constructive as a teacher, but instead, must reflect more of a supportive role as a facilitator. "As facilitators, we become resource persons whose function is to assist adult learners to execute the learning efforts they have designed for themselves." (Brookfield, 1986, p.96).

As such, how one facilitates adult learning is vital. One cannot simply transfer teaching / learning strategies effectively employed with children to the andragogical setting. This would be not only detrimental to adult learning, but would impede most adults from the learning process altogether. Boone (1985) refers to the adult educator as "change agent" (p.6). As facilitators of adult learning, we do not teach in the same manner as with children. Rather, we function as helpers, or guides along the path of change from one knowledge state to another.

One may view this notion of change as on a continuum, where the student is engaged in a process of inquiry aimed at the fulfilment of a perceived need. It has been helpful for me to view this process with respect to the students entering each class (or learning situation) with one amount of knowledge on a particular subject (possibly none), and leaving the class or learning situation with an heightened understanding or increased knowledge base on the subject.

It is important that the facilitator of adult learning not mistake this process as analogous to the gradual filling of an empty cup (or *tabula rasa*); for, quite the opposite, the adult learner has considerable insights and experiences for the facilitator to learn from in the process.

As Malcolm Knowles (1990) writes, "Experience is the richest resource for adults' learning; therefore, the core methodology of adult education is the analysis of experience" (p.31). This aspect of drawing on the learner's experiences and the sharing of these experiences within the class setting signified a remarkable departure from traditional models of education, and is reminiscent of the oral tradition of many Aboriginal societies. The oral tradition was based on the transmission of knowledge through the sharing of experience.

The adult learner's cup, then, is not the relatively empty childhood cup, but a cup with two handles: one for the learner; the other for the facilitator. In order for this process to have maximal (ideal) effect, both the inherent motives of the student and the facilitator must be identical on an hypothetical scale. When student motivation ranks below maximal or ideal, the educational outcome is effected.

Likewise, then, the facilitator's motivation should be measured accordingly. This is to say that both the student and the facilitator are learners in the process and have equal amounts of responsibility with respect to the learning. Motivation to learn is therefore a prerequisite for both parties.

The facilitator is then a person who guides and aids the transitional process. "To achieve this, they must be partners of the students in their relation with them" (Friere,

1970, p.56). It may be helpful to think of someone learning to swim; although the learner can observe the hand / leg coordination at work and make sense of the process, s/he still needs someone to hold her / him up until the "change" (in this case learning to stay above water through one's own efforts) has occurred.

At the root of this notion of facilitator as change agent is the notion of change. The facilitator of adults not only aids the adult learner in the journey toward change, but must also view facilitating adult learning as a non-static, ever-changing process that requires professional flexibility.

With drop-out rates as high as they are in Canada (including the North), a critical examination of all factors that contribute to this problem and an ensuing restructuring of the Canadian approach to traditional and andragogical scholastic systems is vital. In adult education, the facilitator's motivation is crucial to student success rates.

In this era of increased unemployment, under-education, and large numbers of school drop-outs, coupled with a job market characterized by increasing demands for higher education, it is extremely important to reevaluate the present education system and develop strategies to work with those whom it is failing. This notion gains increasing importance when one considers that the fate of our future rests on the education of our youth. While the present secondary education system (including adult secondary education) is not meeting a large percent of student needs, defining those needs, contributing factors to the dropout rates, and specifically identifying what changes need to be met in order to better address the student population which it serves, is a difficult and multidimensional task.

Further analysis is needed on the professional development needs of adult educators and ways we can both diagnose and improve upon our practice in order to facilitate adult learning more effectively.

As andragogy is a relatively new field still in the struggle for accreditation, it seems even more vital that a system of assessment for teaching / facilitating effectiveness be put in place now, so that it may become an integral part of the fields' development.

With the many varied sacrifices adult students make in order to return to school, being treated and "taught to" as children is belittling and demeaning - and contradictory to basic principles of andragogy in terms of relying on adult experiences, assessment of needs, group participation and evaluation. At best, half of the students can "put up with" this type of treatment as they have recognized the absolute necessity of a minimum high school education in this society.

Other students deal with additional factors such as supporting their own families, holding down full time jobs, being on welfare, often having a damaged sense of self-esteem with respect to negative past experiences in school, bad grades, or having dropped out. They reject being told what to do, how and when, by an authority figure in a classroom.

Although one must be careful to not identify "poor teaching" as the sole cause of student dropout rates, to omit it as a cause at all is to deny responsibility for the role that teachers / facilitators play in their students' education and lives. As societies become progressively more complex and competitive, all contributing factors to educational outcomes take on increasingly significant importance.

There are many other factors that have a hand in causing student drop out rates - such as the need for employment, leaving home, starting a family, not seeing the relevance of their education to their future, etc.; but one factor that we can change that would have a dramatic effect on student enjoyment and participation is facilitation methodology.

"Teaching is an activity inevitably associated by many with the world of elementary and secondary schooling; it conjures up images of an individual standing at the head of rows of desks and talking at a captive audience" (Brookfield; 1986, p.123). In facilitating adult learning one inevitably has to "stand in front of the class", yet one is not confined to this. Facilitators can move about the class or sit on the edge of the "teacher's" desk when facilitating, and during activities and group exercises one can sit with as many students as possible in order to facilitate personal connections.

I have found that one can deal with the rows of desks by simply moving them. Although many educational facilities promote discipline and education through conformity, facilitation of adult learning requires being open to educational innovations, and often more humanistic approaches to learning.

One can place the desks in a circle for some learning situations, and groups of four or five for others. In a multi-level classroom, grouping of students according to levels, and peer learning are essential andragogical strategies. Facilitators should not find themselves "talking at" an audience, when they can talk with their students, relying on their experiences. "Silence is a traditional helping skill among the Inuit and is respected. The facilitator who speaks too much will be ignored." (Minor, 1992, p.25).

I would suggest that one of the most desirable qualities of adult educators should be to strive to become better listeners. As facilitators we have to "teach" specific knowledge, but it is the process that makes adult education different.

Rather than write on the blackboard the ten to twelve modes of communication one has compiled (for example), one can ask the class to "brainstorm" and create the list. When the class has reached eleven one can ask what else remains, rather than providing it for them.

In this manner the class is not only mentally "working the concept", but is "rewarded" for their knowledge in terms of empowerment and esteem, has fun in the process and therefore is more likely to retain what they are learning. "The development of critical reflection on experiences, along with the collaborative interpretation and exchange of such experiences is proposed... as one of the most significant forms of adult learning in which individuals can engage" (Brookfield; 1986, p.98). Facilitation of adult learning is a constant and on-going process of refinement.

Chapter V
Methodology and Procedure

Sample Selection

In a qualitative research study, sampling is purposive, in that participants are selected on the basis of their involvement with the area of research (as opposed to random selection, for example). "This approach to purposefully selecting people (or settings, organizations) for a study acknowledges the complexity that characterizes human and social phenomena... and the limits of generalizability" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p.56). Purposive sampling recognizes the distinct characteristics and historical relations that Inuit have with a foreign education system, and acknowledges it as an integral part of the data. "The [qualitative] research approach allows a responsiveness to the community and the people there and incorporates historical and social analyses in the conduct of the research." (Ibid, p.246).

As this research focuses on Inuit values, only the Inuit are interviewed. This is not intended as a racial choice, for there are many non-Inuit people who have extensive knowledge of Inuit culture through involvement with the people, who would have considerable contributions to make to such a study. It would have been interesting to interview all Adult Education Teachers in Nunavik as they are the people "on the front line" (so to speak) and could have invaluable input in this research.

"Sampling involves careful and sometimes difficult decisions about how to use time, whom to spend time with, and whom to seek out. The important thing is that deliberate choices are being made and that researchers consider the implications of their choices for the claims that can be made about the data collected" (Hammersley, 1993, p.40).

As has been mentioned previously, Inuit control of Inuit destiny in cultural, political, linguistic and educational terms is cardinal if Inuit are to return to the essence of cultural strength that has enabled them to survive for thousands of years. To consult people other than Inuit is contradictory to the essence of this study.

Inuit participants were selected to include the following members of the Nunavik community involved: Elders; Centre Directors; Teachers; students and graduates of academic and vocational adult education programs; staff members of the Adult Education Centre; Education Committee representatives; and Inuit political leaders. This study involves the collection of data in the natural setting (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p.45); both in the community and in the Adult Education Centre.

Nine respondents were interviewed for this study. Many more interviews had been planned, but were not available for various political and personal reasons that are beyond the scope of this study. The nine respondents interviewed are a reasonable representation of Inuit people from this village who have a vested interest and involvement in adult education. Respondents range in age from twenty-two to eighty-two, from adult education students to teachers and centre directors, and from student council members to local Education Committee members and political leaders. Those interviewed represent those with a stake in adult education.

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Instrument

Data gathered in this study focused on the emphasis of 'Human-As-Instrument' - this is to say that the researcher is both the gatherer of data and the interpreter of meaning (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p.46). The term "Human-As-Instrument" refers to the researcher as the traditional "instrument" used in quantitative research. "Human-as-instrument simply means that it is the person with all of her or his skills, experience, background, and knowledge as well as biases which is the primary, if not the exclusive, source of all data collection and analysis" (ibid, p.26).

Given the usage of 'human-as-instrument' as the means of data compilation most beneficial to researching "Inuit Values in Adult Education", the qualitative research methods used include: indwelling; participant observation; and open-ended interviews, both filmed and not; (please see Appendix B).

In this study the term "human-as-instrument" also refers to the Inuit people involved in the study who assist with interpretation. As the values this study researches are those of the Inuit, it is only fitting in a qualitative research study that the people being researched be involved in the process of interpretation. "The members of the specific culture should become the initiators, leaders, designers and ultimately the ones who will take responsibility for application, on-going re-evaluation and initiation of change" (Minor, 1992, p.21). This has required having selected participants read drafts of the report for suggestions and comments, approval and authenticity.

Methods of Data Analysis

Data gathered from these methods is compiled through cross-case and cross-interview analysis (Patton, 1990, p.376), and recorded and coded according to emergent patterns and themes. As data is compared, commonalities and trends begin to appear. Data is then recorded in the report using “thick” descriptive writing.

The filming of interviews, as used in this research, serves to provide a verbatim and accurate transcript of this data. Filming interviews allows for ongoing (formative) evaluation of the interview process, interaction with the participant, their sense of being at ease (or not), and as such facilitates the emergent nature of data in qualitative research. As noted previously, being in front of a camera, which is essential in such interviews, can alter peoples’ sense of being at ease. This had an effect on the quality of participant responses and was discontinued after the third interview.

Of great importance, is the need for an accurate translator. Without one, the spontaneity of the emergent process of the interview may be impeded if many of the nuances or asides of the interview are “selected out” of the translation.

Limitations and Ethical Issues

Limitations of this study are that, although the Inuit people are an homogeneous group worldwide, this study focuses solely on the educational values and needs of a specific community in Nunavik, Northern Québec. On this basis, geographical factors that may have contributed to or altered the formation of needs and values remain culturally-specific.

This is to say that, as geographical factors such as weather and availability of food sources have always influenced (and shaped) Inuit values, so too do these differences effect distinct groups of Inuit in various parts of the world. As Inuit values are tied strongly to the land, it logically follows that different lands will assist in the evolution of slightly divergent values. Over the centuries the Inuit in Nunavik have developed unique values different from those of the Inuit in Alaska (for example), while still maintaining many similarities. As such, the findings and recommendations from this study remain culturally-specific to the Inuit of Nunavik from one community.

Although interviews are exclusively with the Inuit, I am not Inuit. In some respects this may be a limitation to this study. Perhaps future parallel studies could offer more insights if they were conducted by Inuit researchers, in Inuktitut.

Confidentiality is respected throughout this study. Participants are guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality, and are provided with the options of not answering questions they are uncomfortable with or withdrawing from the interview without prejudice, upon their desire (please see Appendix A). All data will be kept in a secure, locked space for five years after the study then destroyed, and all interview video tapes will be erased.

Analysis and Findings

Interview Questions

A. Background:

1) How long have you lived in [this village]?

Although the majority of participants had lived in this community for their entire lives, three had relocated to another village for extended periods of time and then returned to this village to reside again. The average age of participants interviewed was approximately thirty-four years.

2) What is your position in the community?

Roughly fifty-five percent of those interviewed answered “adult education student” as their primary “position” in the community. Other responses offered were: Mom; Education Committee member; President of the Student Committee; young adult; Elder; Special Education Teacher; Administrative Assistant / Centre Director; and graduate of adult education.

3) What is your involvement with Education / Adult Education in the community?

While most respondents provided the same response as to the above question, some respondents also offered their educational background stating:

“Being a priest - I studied half days”;
another replied,

“Teaching for fifteen years - secondary and elementary in Inuktitut.
Culture teacher / workshops”.

4) How did you become involved?

One respondent stated that,

"They were looking for a teacher with a high school diploma".

A second respondent stated,

"They needed people to be on the Committee. Some woman asked me if I wanted to be on the Education Committee; I was nominated - one year. They asked me".

In both cases, the respondents' involvement was due to a response to a community need. Other responses included: "To finish high school to have more jobs"; "Learning the environment and vegetation"; and that they had gone to the adult education centre and registered.

5) Why did you become involved?

When asked why they had become involved in education / adult education, fifty-five percent replied that it was with the intent of acquiring better jobs:

"I need more education - for jobs";

"I wanted to work";

"Because I would like to attend the jobs that require a secondary five diploma";

"To work".

"For up-grading. To get higher grades and to get my diploma. To have a better job".

These responses indicate the importance that adult education holds to many, in providing training for employment opportunities.

Two respondents replied that they had become involved in order to complete their secondary education; "To finish my secondary five"; "To up-grade my grades and graduate".

One respondent replied that, "when I was younger schools didn't exist". This statement helps to illustrate the short period of time the Inuit of Nunavik have had contact with a foreign education system.

Another offered personal motivations for his involvement in education:

"Back then I spoke Inuktitut well and had children and was involved in many community activities, especially with youth my age and younger. I realized kids younger than myself started losing their language. We learned fast as we knew the language. The language started to weaken, parents started to catch up. We had to get it back."

6) What was the traditional form of Inuit education?

Seventy-seven percent of respondents replied that the traditional form of Inuit education was teaching from parents:

"Young people started hunting, fishing (taking responsibility) with their parents. We learned from our parents. Different learning depending on the season: winter and summer hunting";

"I learned from my Mom - house cleaning and sewing and camping: how to survive with camp";

"Watch, Listen and Do", from parents, uncles and Elders";

"The way they talk and the way they show how to do something in their work. Teaching from parents";

"Just living with your children and teaching them everything that came by";

"Learn from father by watching everything. It's all going down because they have to be in school and are losing their hunting traditions";

"Parents always talked to children, to explain well. Used to explain well, but now, parents don't care about their children. [Why?] Alcohol and drugs. They just explain quickly, without taking time".

Of interest with the final two of these respondents is the recognition of a decline in traditional education and thereby Inuit traditions, and the causes they attribute this to.

One states that the requirements to attend schools has contributed to the erosion of the traditional form of Inuit education, which has in turn affected the intergenerational passing-down of hunting traditions and skills. The other respondent points to the affects of alcohol and drug use as to the cause of a decline in traditional Inuit education.

The final two respondents interviewed stated that they did not know:

"I really don't know. There was already a school";

and,

"I don't know exactly; I'm not in past! I knew that they used to hunt, and stuff like that".

Perhaps both serve as examples of this loss of traditions.

7) What are some of the changes in education you have noticed since the coming of the Qallunaaq ?

Fifty-five percent of respondents responded that they were too young, implying that educational changes had already taken place prior to their birth.

An Elder replied that, "The school started when I was old enough. Other younger children attended, but I continued to hunt even though the school existed. Kids were starting school at the Municipality's house."

One respondent answered, "School every day - obligatory. Work to do - studying everyday. Learn language and culture of the language you are learning." Three respondents replied that they had noticed changes such as computers, electric lights, running water, houses and vehicles.

B. Values:***1) What does it mean to you to be Inuit?***

All respondents expressed great pride, joy and distinction at being Inuit.

Responses included:

"Our identification. It's who we are!";

"Being Inuit means you have to live by yourself and eat by yourself - be independent. I'm really happy being an Inuk as long as they are not hungry";

"Inuit are special. Because of our traditions, language, writings are important - all is special";

"Too much!! It's fun to be Inuit - they're friendly; they're nice. To be in North, because we can get what we need to eat";

"You get to live up North! There's not a lot of pollution and all that. Community life";

"I'm proud of it!! God put me here for a purpose";

"I am Inuit! 'Cause I'm Inuk";

"I feel proud of my heritage. I'm so quiet and they talk more";

"It means a lot! To be Inuit is good because we have our own way of living / own traditions. When we want to go hunting we have time, and we don't need a licence."

2) What would you say are traditional Inuit values?

"Before they had houses they survived on the land. I am still alive now from using these traditions";

"We used to hunt without electronic transportation, live in igloos. We were isolated. We share a lot; get together - like at Christmas";

"They love... kind... helpful... sharing";

"Throat singing. Qullik (whale oil stove);

"Hunting, and knowing the land";

"Life. Survival. Socialize. Help each other and preserve your environment. Community!!! On land we are one with nature - outside of the community. Must have understanding of life of animals he's after, ie: caribou have values - why migrate, where, why calving? Timing, weather-wise. Animal availability!";

"LANGUAGE!! Traditional ways";

"The way that they sew and hunt and have a close-knit family";

"Language. The way they hunt. The way they do. Inuit games".

Of interest is the fact that one interviewee does not seem aware that Christmas was not part of traditional Inuit values. Another respondent equates animal instinct with values, perhaps indicating how many traditional Inuit values emanated from instinct. Knowing the land and how to survive on it was seen by most as traditional Inuit values.

3) Does the existence of Adult Education in Nunavik make a difference for Inuit? How?

All people interviewed expressed that the existence of adult education in Nunavik makes a difference for Inuit. Forty-four percent of respondents stated that it makes a difference for employment opportunities:

"I guess so. Without, I would stay home, clean house. Maybe I wouldn't find any jobs. Helps to prepare us for better jobs";

"Yes, very much. When people drop out of school they can come back to school";

"I don't know. It is helpful for people who drop out - we have the chance to continue our education. It's good that they're open";

"Yes. It helps me as I'm trying to get my high school diploma. It will help me get better jobs and learn how to speak English";

"Yes. With the jobs, and to get to know what the government are doing";

"Yes, I think it does. People who drop out and want to come back to school can get education for ourselves. We can get (have) a second chance. Hopefully we will replace Qallunaags - run our own community. Hopefully we could take ALL the job openings here - but we have to work on it."

Two respondents felt that the existence of adult education in Nunavik makes a difference for educational opportunities:

"Yes. For those who attend it is a big plus. Without it they have no where to get education";

"I'm not sure what difference it makes, but for adults it is easier to be in school. Adult Education helps a lot because students will learn more about Qallunaaq ways. Inuit learn more by being themselves - this helps them to know Inuit ways better. There should be more schools; students learn more about life".

4) Does it have an impact on [your village]?

Sixty-six percent of respondents felt that the existence of adult education has an impact on their village. A typical response is demonstrated by the following statements:

"Yes. Because young people who go to adult ed. other than wasting their time, they are doing things for their own life; valuably. Young people follow them and take their lead to stay in school."

"In some ways, but not all ways. Most of the people who come back (drop-outs), in some ways it helps for the others that are trying".

As these examples indicate, not only is participation in adult education beneficial for the individual, but in many instances for the community as well.

One respondent stated:

"Yes. People who drop out of the regular school take time off to fool around - 'Baby minds!'. When they grow up they come back to learn, with adult minds."

This statement seems to imply that adult education provides an opportunity for a second chance, from a mature perspective.

5) Does Adult Education play a role in Inuit self-determination? How?

Thirty-three percent replied that adult education does not play a role in Inuit self-determination. Two respondents did not know, and one stated, "I can't answer that". Although forty-four percent of those interviewed felt that adult education does play a role in Inuit self-determination, responses included reservations as follows:

"Yes. By teaching Inuit ways. Qallunaaq ways - everything changes";

"Yes, the school helps the students to learn more, but I'm not really sure how strong the school makes people for life. Inuit need to keep their essence";

"Yes. Learning more - find better jobs, to be self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency is problematic with young people".

C. Education

1) What do you value in Inuit Adult Education?

Seventy-seven percent of those interviewed value adult education for the sake of their futures; for both the completion of secondary studies and in order to acquire better jobs upon graduation:

"It helps me as I'm trying to get my high school diploma. It will help me get better jobs and learn how to speak English";

"To have work after graduation. It will be helpful. I have four kids who need more clothing and food. We had to pay everything before";

"Students who need to finish secondary education for their future".

Other responses included:

"I value that it is a tool that is necessary for our young people to take interest in learning and to build up self-esteem";

"It is really important to learn Inuit traditions. If we learn other traditions, that too is important. It is important that Inuit culture is not replaced with Qallunaaq culture".

As Inuit adult education students learn predominantly non-Inuit courses (with the exception of Inuktitut in a few villages that have qualified teachers) and thereby non-Inuit culture, it appears the concerns of this latter respondent are justified and Inuit culture may slowly be being replaced by non-Inuit culture through education.

2) What does the community value in Inuit Adult Education?

Of interest to me is the fact that seventy-seven percent of interviewees refused to comment on, or answer this question: "I can't answer that"; "No comment". Perhaps this is because the Inuit people tend to consult as a collective group before making decisions, and not having done so on the issues raised in these interviews, were reluctant to make assumptions. However, I did have the impression that some of the personal values in Inuit adult education expressed in the former question were not held by the collective community, based on the reluctance to answer this question. One respondent replied, "Maybe they think the way I think".

3) Is Inuit control of Inuit Adult Education important to you?

Sixty-six percent of those interviewed stated yes. Responses included:

"yes";

"very!";

“Yes. If Inuit know how to handle it, it is really important”;

“Actually, yes. It is important to make sure it goes in certain directions other than by other organizations”.

One respondent stated that they were, “not sure”, while two others provided a contrasting position in stating:

“I’m fine the way it is. If it was controlled by Inuit it might not run as it does now, although we might have better things to offer ourselves: Inuktitut”;
and,

“Not really. I don’t think so”.

4) Do you feel Inuit control of Inuit Adult Education is important to other Inuit?

Although the answers provided for this question were in most cases the same response as with the above question, there were slight distinctions worthy of note: One respondent stated that Inuit control of Inuit adult education was important to her individually, but did not believe it to be important to other Inuit. Those who agreed that Inuit control of Inuit adult education is important to other Inuit, also added words of wisdom:

“Yes, same [as above], but also that they [the Inuit] understand that they control the Adult Ed. Centre as opposed to it being controlled by other ethnic groups”;
and,

"I think it is important as long as Inuit can understand and speak in English".

5) How could Inuit Adult Education help to retain and preserve your rich culture and traditions?

Responses to this question were quite specific and uniform:

"By teaching it!! Language, traditions and the history of Nunavik";

"By having Inuit teach us";

"Have an Inuktitut teacher - teaching traditional way of life";

"Learning more Inuktitut. To learn how they made things like carvings and other things";

"Make a curriculum that will help you to achieve your goal in preserving Inuit culture and to retain it. You do that by asking Inuit Elders or go through KSB Educational Cultural Development";

"If Inuit keep their culture. As long as Qallunaags help Inuit keep their culture. As long as the teachers teach Inuktitut courses, Inuit won't forget their culture. If teachers teach Inuit culture in school, and if Qallunaag teachers have books on Inuit culture, they can teach Inuit".

One person abstained from answering this question and another stated, "No, it

can't". Perhaps this indicates an issue that some feel does not belong in a non-Inuit educational system.

6) How could Inuit Adult Education best serve Inuit in a changing, modern North?

Responses to this question varied as some felt that the Inuit are already in a modern North:

"We have computers already.";

"It's already modern - almost to the end. It already has".

Thirty-three percent responded that they did not know, while one respondent suggested that, "Depends on the people and what they want to do", again echoing the value of community consensus. Three respondents had a different perspective to offer, in stating:

"To be ahead of the changing world we are living in and educate people to expect these changes";

"To get more people, Elders, to teach us here";

and,

"New millennium - teach both ways. That way it would keep it alive",

This latter statement perhaps offers a sound solution that would be worthy of further studies, as it seems to bring together both of the previous responses.

7) *The Kativik School Board has as a mission statement:*

"Developing a curriculum that embraces native traditions, culture and language, and preparing students for active participation in the modern world".

Is this consistent with your beliefs in an Inuit Adult Education system?

All respondents stated that this was consistent with their beliefs in an Inuit adult education system. Of particular interest was an additional comment by one person interviewed:

"Yes, for the first part (Native traditions) - however, school - more or less, we are losing our traditional ways by the schools. Instead of going hunting with my kid, he is going to school and sometimes I don't have time for him, as I'm in school. This is how we are losing our traditional way of life".

The Kativik School Board's mission statement was revised and published in 2000. The new mission statement was utilized for interviews after this date (please see Chapter III, p.28).

8) *Are there other values which the Kativik School Board promotes?*

Sixty-six percent stated that they did not know. One respondent said, "not really", while another respondent (who had come back to this village to study) replied that, "It would mean more to me if my town got an adult education centre".

One respondent stated that there were other values which the Kativik School Board promotes:

"Yes. There are other values: white culture. Meaning that there are white cultures - ie: Heavy Equipment; Vocational Technology; Principals; Professions".

The above response clearly states that the Kativik School Board does promote other values through the promotion of other cultures. Although this was the previous mission statement of the Kativik School Board, by preparing students for active participation in the modern world, this response demonstrates how other cultures are taught and the often unnoticed affects of 'modernization'.

9) How could Adult Education better serve Inuit needs?

Forty-four percent stated that Adult Education could better serve Inuit needs by hiring more teachers:

"By hiring more teachers, and more things to learn; like technology and economics. More sciences";

"More teachers in physical sciences, geography, math., instead of multi-level. We need Inuktitut teachers who are real teachers; respect students and language. Students need Inuktitut (and credits). Teach traditional skills";

"To have more teachers. Inuktitut. Sewing shop. Healing circle";

"Get a lot more teachers. [Buy a] Skidoo, to go and learn Inuit ways, like how to trap animals how they used to do it".

Forty-four percent stated that teaching Inuit traditions and Inuktitut would enable adult education to better serve Inuit needs. This is reflected by the first three answers above and by the following:

"More involved in Inuit activities in learning. Create a curriculum in Language and Culture."

The above response perhaps indicates an area for future studies on Inuit activities in learning, while calling for the creation of a curriculum in language and culture. Indeed, if such a curriculum were created and taught in conjunction with the current curriculum, perhaps a harmonious education system could be created in the 'new millennium, that would enable schools to teach both ways, and keep both cultures alive'.

Other answers included:

"By helping to graduate";

"I'm fine the way things are. If Inuit want to help themselves they have to show that they need help";

"Inuit students must continue to study".

Conclusions and Recommendations

Education must be based on our own values - the values of sharing, of family, of conserving, of the brotherhood of man and life-sustaining animals, of the oneness of man and the universe. By building these values into education programs we will ensure the vitality of our people. We will live once more as we were meant to live in this bountiful land of ours. (National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, 1980, p.50).

As I watch my Inuit neighbour from my window teaching his two preadolescent sons how to build an igloo, the cultural significance of this is enhanced by the memory of the twenty-three year old Inuit boy who froze to death on the tundra four days ago because when his skidoo broke down miles outside of the community, he did not know how to build an igloo to protect himself from the elements. Pauloosie had been schooled in the classroom, not on the land.

"Children do not learn language writing the words on a blackboard. They learn it by watching someone do something, like skin a seal." (Kativik School Board Development Group, 1995, p. 15).

The objective of this study was to examine values and needs that the Inuit people perceive in Inuit adult education. Although the findings of this study are specific to one community in Nunavik, they reveal trends that may be examined in future research, in attempts to create an education system for all Inuit people that could accommodate these values and needs. "Without serving the wants and needs of our own people, as seen by our own people, our education programs will surely fail" (National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, 1980, p.48).

One of the findings of this study is the fact that the Inuit are in effect finding themselves between two cultures and two education systems. There is a gap in knowledge between the Inuit vision of education and the non-Inuit vision of education. The survival of the Inuit culture depends on education meeting many of the values and needs expressed by the respondents in this study. The continuance of the Inuit culture depends on the closing of this gap in knowledge through the development of an improved system of education that begins with Inuit culture and values.

Seventy-seven percent of respondents in this study replied that the traditional form of Inuit education was teachings from parents. This form of traditional education has drastically declined and many of those interviewed felt that there were very concrete reasons for this.

Many attributed the existence of a foreign education system, such as is now in place, to this decline. One Elder described having to choose between continuing to hunt or attending school when formal schooling was first introduced in Nunavik. This example seems to illustrate an aspect of the cultural education dilemma that many Inuit people were initially confronted with, which lends understanding to the present controversy as schooling is now mandatory. Having no choice but to send their children to schools, the Inuit have had their traditional education system replaced by this formal education system.

This new education system did not address Inuit values, needs or culture, and has promoted values from a different culture. Inuit students have adapted to this "new" culture in a remarkably short time period, but this appears to be at the expense of their own. The Inuit are now finding their culture precariously positioned between the rich

and time-honoured values and traditions of the past, and the dominant Western / European post-modern internet age that now drives this planet.

This new system of education has perpetuated a rapid decline in the passing-on of the traditional knowledge and skills that have enabled the Inuit people and culture to be sustained for thousands of years. As one respondent explains:

"Learn from father by watching everything. It's all going down because they have to be in school and are losing their hunting traditions".

Each generation loses more traditional knowledge, values and skills than the one before, which are replaced by foreign dominant cultural values, as another respondent states:

"More or less, we are losing our traditional ways by the schools. Instead of going hunting with my kid, he is going to school and sometimes I don't have time for him, as I'm in school. This is how we are losing our traditional way of life."

This study indicated that there is a strong feeling that the Inuit culture is being replaced by Qallunaaq (non-Inuit) culture, through schools. Careful decisions must be made as to what and whose cultural values are expressed through education:

Since the school has become one of the fundamental influences in the lives of our children, we have to ensure that it contributes effectively to the development of positive values and attitudes which are consistent with our culture (Farrow, M. and Wilman, D., 1989, p.71).

When asked how Inuit adult education could help to retain and preserve rich Inuit culture and traditions, seventy-seven percent of respondents replied, 'by teaching it!'.

In the wise words of one Elder:

"As long as Qallunaaqs help Inuit keep their culture. As long as the teachers teach Inuktitut courses, Inuit won't forget their culture. If teachers teach Inuit culture in school, and if Qallunaaq teachers have books on Inuit culture, they can teach Inuit."

This study indicates a need to integrate the teaching of traditional Inuit skills and knowledge with contemporary curricula: to unite both into a curriculum that embraces the advantages of both worlds, traditions and cultures. As one respondent candidly replied:

"Hopefully we will replace Qallunaaqs - run our own community. Hopefully we could take ALL the job openings here - but we have to work on it".

More than fifty percent of respondents in this study attributed their involvement in adult education to the need for academic and vocational training for employment purposes. In January of 1997 the Kativik School Board opened the Nunavimmi Pigiursavik Vocational and Technical Training Centre in the village of Inukjuak.

This adult education centre provides certified programs in: "Northern Building Maintenance"; "Heavy Equipment Operator"; "Secretarial Studies"; "Accounting";

"Translation-Interpretation"; "Carpentry"; "Truck Operator"; "Professional Cooking"; "Hairdressing"; "Community Recreation Animation"; "Basic Program in Health and Social Services"; "Media Technology"; and "Mining Technology" (Kativik School Board, 2000b, p.9).

This Centre has provided the people of Nunavik with the opportunity to graduate from college-level programs in the North, and has been highly successful. Apart from academic up-grading, the adult education centre in the village of this study offered vocational programs leading to diplomas in: "Daycare Work"; and "Computers" as well as Job Entry training programs to community adults. The Kativik School Board has responded well to the vocational needs of the Inuit of Nunavik through its Adult Education Programs. Perhaps future studies could examine the development of an Inuit curriculum in language and culture in conjunction with the Kativik School Board.

This study points to the need for further studies on the development of programs and training of Inuit personnel to teach Inuit culture, Inuktitut, and eventually all courses (perhaps in Inuktitut). In this manner, the Inuit would be completely in charge of the degrees that both cultures are being taught. "The best solution - for cultural, economic, social and educational reasons - would be to train Northerners as teachers." (Coates & Powell, 1989, p.137).

When asked if Inuit control of Inuit adult education is important to the Inuit, most agreed that it was, but with reservations such as one respondent had:

"I'm fine the way it is. If it was controlled by Inuit it might not run as it does now, although we might have better things to offer ourselves: Inuktitut".

Perhaps the Inuit may not have had enough historical experience with and exposure to the foreign systems of government and education to run them in the manners in which they are presently run.

The Inuit should be in control of their education system, but due to the short period of exposure to non-Inuit cultures, may presently be too culturally inexperienced in non-Inuit ways to adapt to succeeding where other cultures have failed.

We firmly believe that our schools should reflect our values, our attitudes, our culture and our language. We intend to achieve this goal through the redesign of our curriculum to reflect the importance of our history, our lifestyle, our land, our language and our culture.

(Farrow, M. and Wilman, D., 1989, p.68).

We can only hope that when this objective is met the Inuit people will have an education system that is built upon traditional Inuit cultural and educational values, complemented by the teaching of knowledge from other cultures - to take advantage of both opportunities for the benefit of all people.

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Appendix A - Interview Consent Form**Participant Consent Form**

Dear Study Participant:

The Ethics Committee of McGill University of Montreal requires that all study participants sign a consent form before research involvement.

As you are now aware, I am conducting research for my Master's thesis focussing on Inuit values and needs in Inuit Adult Education. The title of this research project is "*Inuit Values in Adult Education*". The research itself consists of interviews with Inuit Elders, staff and students of Inuit Adult Education Centres, and Education Committee members in Nunavik about their past and present views on what is valued and needed in Inuit Adult Education. In the final report I will examine these values and needs and in light of them, make recommendations to improve educational opportunities for this specific population.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to contribute to an hour-long interview. Your name will not be used in the final report and identifying details will be omitted or disguised. You have every right to refuse to answer any questions or to withdraw from the interview at any time without prejudice.

I will be pleased to answer any questions you may have about the project, or to clarify or discuss your answers or my questions after the interview.

If you agree to participate, please sign one copy of this letter and return one to me.

Nakurmik,

**Christopher Mount
Researcher**

I have received a copy of this letter. I agree to participate in the interview under the conditions outlined above.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

****Thank you for your participation in this study***

Appendix B - Interview Questions**A. Background:**

- 1) How long have you lived in [this village]?
- 2) What is your position in the community?
- 3) What is your involvement with Education / Adult Education in the community?
- 4) How did you become involved?
- 5) Why did you become involved?
- 6) What was the traditional form of Inuit education?
- 7) What are some of the changes in education you have noticed since the coming of the Qallunaaq?

B. Values:

- 1) What does it mean to you to be Inuit?
- 2) What would you say are traditional Inuit values?
- 3) Does the existence of Adult Education in Nunavik make a difference for Inuit? How?
- 4) Does it have an impact on [this village]?
- 5) Does Adult Education play a role in Inuit self-determination? How?

C. Education:

- 1) What do you value in Inuit Adult Education?
- 2) What does the community value in Inuit Adult Education?
- 3) Is Inuit control of Inuit Adult Education important to you?
- 4) Do you feel Inuit control of Inuit Adult Education is important to other Inuit?
- 5) How could Inuit Adult Education help to retain and preserve your rich culture and traditions?
- 6) How could Inuit Adult Education best serve Inuit in a changing, modern North?

The Kativik School Board has as a mission statement: "Developing a curriculum that embraces native traditions, culture and language, and preparing students for active participation in the modern world"...

- 7) Is this consistent with your beliefs in an Inuit Adult Education system?
- 8) Are there other values which the Kativik School Board promotes?
- 9) How could Adult Education better serve Inuit needs?