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Illustration from the **Inuit Music Book**
(Maggie Kiatainak, Kangirsujuak, P.Q.)

Northern Teachers for Northern Schools: An Inuit teacher-training program

Abstract

Archeological and historical evidence show the Inuit of the circumpolar world had a deep, conservative, and extremely effective system of education which was attacked and nearly destroyed by a system of schooling imposed from the south.

As a result of recent agreements and legislation in Arctic Quebec and the Northwest Territories, this Inuit centred education has enjoyed a resurgence, and has become more and more a part of modern northern schooling. Leading this resurgence is a strong demand for and movement towards the training of Inuit teachers to teach in their native language. The history and present status of McGill's response to this demand is described in some detail.

Background and history of the program

There are some 25,000 Inuit living in northern Canada, 16,000 in the Northwest Territories, 6,000 in Arctic Quebec, with the remainder largely in Labrador. The great majority live in modern permanent settlements thinly spread along the thousands of miles of coastline of the Arctic and sub-Arctic islands and mainland linked by regularly scheduled, if not totally dependable, air service, and by direct-dial satellite linked and extremely dependable telephones (see map, p.119). With an annual live birthrate of 32.1 per thousand, compared to the Canadian average of 15.3, today's Inuit form one of the fastest growing ethnic

minorities in the world (Government, Northwest Territories, 1984, p.40). They are also becoming increasingly interested in their past, present and future as an identifiable group and in the subsequent developments which must take place in their physical, cultural, political, and educational environments. In short, they are seeking some form of autonomy firmly within Canada. It is a part of the movement towards educational autonomy, specifically the training of competent, qualified Inuit teachers at certificate and degree levels, that forms the subject of this paper.

Before their contact with Europeans (Qallunaat*), the ancestors of the Inuit had built a life style which was highly sophisticated. Based on a technologically advanced, seasonal exploitation of land and sea wildlife, principally sea mammal and caribou, their life style was at once productive and ecologically sound. Evidence pieced together from both legends and archeological sources suggests summers of well regulated, extremely active hunting and caching, and winters spent in warm sod or snow houses, passing the time in storytelling, carving, cooking, eating, sewing, and religious ceremony (McGhee, 1978, p.95).

Sophisticated as this culture was, however, there was no formal schooling as we know it. Although the language (Inuktitut) was virtually universal from Siberia to Greenland, it had no written form. Rather, education was a deep, socio-emotional process whereby a child acquired knowledge, skills and values from various individual "role models" as a necessary and highly respected part of season-by-season life in an extended family. Important milestones in a child's growth were not based on chronological age so much as the acquisition of specific skills such as killing a first seal or sewing a first skin boot. Both physical survival and spiritual expansion were grounded firmly in this competency-based model of differential individual maturation.

This deep, narrow, conservative circumpolar system of culture and education was interrupted by two events, one natural and one man-made:

1. The Little Ice Age (1600-1850 A.D.)
2. European Contact (1700 through to the present)

Glaciological and historical evidence suggest that Arctic climates began to cool dramatically about 1200 A.D., reaching a trough, the Little Ice Age, between 1600 and 1850 (McGhee, 1978, p.103). Large portions of the channels, sounds, and seas from which the Inuit harvested their main resource, the whale, remained frozen year round. As a result, archeological evidence suggests that the Inuit of Canada broke up into relatively small, isolated groups in

*Literally "big eyebrows", a not necessarily complimentary term used for non-Inuit, most particularly southern whites.

the present day Kitikmeot, Keewatin, Baffin, and Quebec-Labrador regions. These groups grew dependent more on local seasonal resources such as seals, caribou, and fish than on the previously universally exploited whale stock. Some groups fared better than others in this cold time, but periods of recurrent famine were not uncommon. It was these relatively isolated groups, each having developed its own locally adopted hunting techniques and local dialect of Inuktitut, which were first described by European explorers and whalers in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

The story of the dramatic, almost calamitous, impact of European culture on the Inuit has often been told; perhaps best by Jenness (1964). Suffice it to say that by 1910, it has been estimated that there were fewer than 7,000 Inuit left in Canada, living in isolated, diminished, debilitated, and demoralized groups, almost totally ignored by government and commerce alike. Their ultimate extinction, either by death or assimilation, was predicted by many and encouraged by some, especially at government level. A slight revival of their fortunes recurred in the 1920s with the growth in the market for Arctic fox fur, but the collapse of the fur trade in the 1930s left the Inuit with little hope and no apparent future by 1940.

Throughout these trying periods, however, the same intimate, conservative and effective system of education prevailed. Traditional skills and the Inuktitut language thrived. Literacy in Inuktitut, based on either Roman or syllabic script, was introduced in the 19th century by missionaries. It was rapidly absorbed into the culture, taught within families, and became an almost instant traditional skill without "benefit" of formal schooling (Harper, 1983, p.3).

Early formal education

Schooling, as different from, or indeed, as opposed to, traditional Inuit education, was first introduced by the Canadian government along with family allowances, and much needed and appreciated health care in the late 1940s. The few existing church-mission schools were absorbed, and free, quasi-compulsory, elementary education was offered in each permanent settlement and in some nomadic camps. English was the sole language of instruction, and the avowed purpose was integration of the Inuit into the ways and economy of modern Canada. This imposition of schooling was done rapidly and efficiently. In 1951, less than 10% of native children in northern Canada had schooling in or near their home settlements or camps. By 1981, more than 95% of northern children had access to modern, well constructed, fully staffed elementary schools.

This astounding logistic success in providing schooling has come under great criticism, recently, for its effect on education.

In southern, Qallunaat, society, schools are generally seen as extensions of the home; that is, places where the knowledge, skills, and values that are prized in society are taught, demonstrated, or re-enforced by the school. In short the school system is congruent with the educational pattern valued by society. An imposed, non-consultative school system, which not only ignores community educational values, but seeks to destroy them, is totally incongruent and will survive only by coercion. It is generally agreed that the schools of the North are incongruent, and have not served the Inuit well. The interim report of the Special Committee on Education of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1981) states:

The people of the N.W.T. had little to say about their schools, in fact, the schools were not theirs, but were often viewed as belonging to the government, which after all had literally built the buildings, and designed the program, and now continued to import the staff.

It would have been a miracle if a school system thus established had been successful. It is therefore no surprise that the schools of the North have not served the majority of its citizens well. In 1980, in a system where over 12,000 students were enrolled, 192 students graduated from Territorial high schools. Of this number, 91 students qualified to enter university, with six Metis, four Inuit, and three Dene students qualified.

There is little indication of improvement in these figures over the next few years. Grade IX graduation figures indicate that of 383 Grade IX graduates, 10% are Dene, 16% are Inuit students, and 7% are Metis students. It should be noted that Metis, Dene and Inuit students comprise approximately two-thirds of the student population of the Territories. (p.2)

At least part of this failure to provide congruence between the education and schooling for the Inuit can be traced to early and very strong attempts on the part of school authorities literally to stamp out Inuktitut as a language of instruction, or indeed, as a language of communication in the north. At times, students were awarded corporal punishment for speaking Inuktitut within the school (Weetaltuk, 1983). Honigmann (1965) reports that, in 1957, the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs issued a memorandum on the use of English in Inuit communities which applied to Inuit and Qallunaat employees alike:

People charged with administering or teaching the Eskimo should avoid speaking Eskimo simply because they like doing so, for in a day, they could do the

people a lasting disservice and jeopardize the whole educational set-up. (p.186)

This condition of incongruence and mis-adaptation of schooling has been recognized, however, and is in the process of being rectified through the assumption of control of the schools and the schooling process by the Inuit themselves. Two of the main thrusts of this change in control have been the growing use of Inuktitut as a language of instruction and the training and employment of Inuit teachers. This latter development has provided the impetus and resources for the creation of the McGill Native and Northern Certificate in Education.

This process of "Inuitization" and the resultant employment of Inuit teachers has come about quite differently in Quebec and in the Northwest Territories. In order to understand better the McGill program, it is necessary to examine them separately.

Inuit teacher training in Arctic Quebec

In the 1960s, the Government of Quebec, as part of its policy of increased northern sovereignty, set up the Direction Générale du Nouveau Québec (DGNQ), which assumed responsibility for all aspects of life in the northern regions of the province, including the education of native peoples. The policy of the DGNQ was to introduce the native language as language of instruction in kindergarten and grade one, offering free choice of second language to the parents for their children in grade two and the following years. While the implementation of this policy was gaining momentum, Bill 67 (Quebec Legislative Assembly, 1970) created the Commission Scolaire de Nouveau Québec (CSNQ) to take over schooling from DGNQ. The same policy vis-à-vis native language instruction was implemented and, gradually, provincial schools were set up in each Arctic Quebec settlement (see map, p.119) offering the first three years of education (5, 6, 7 year olds) in Inuktitut, followed by elementary and secondary education in English or French. The understanding at the time was that these provincial schools would replace the federal schools, but in practice, the federal schools were relatively slow to move aside. Thus two totally distinct systems of education were perceived by many as competing openly for a grand total of only 1400 students. This anomaly was not completely resolved until the passing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement.

When the DGNQ/CSNQ decided to offer early schooling in Inuktitut there were no trained Inuit teachers in northern Quebec. Thirty-five competent but non-qualified Inuit, most of whom had been Federal Classroom Assistants, were appointed. They were granted "tolerance" by the Ministère de l'Éducation on condition that they follow an authorized in-service teacher training program.

A full-time teacher training coordinator was appointed and, early in 1975, the present McGill program director was approached for help in developing a recognized training program.

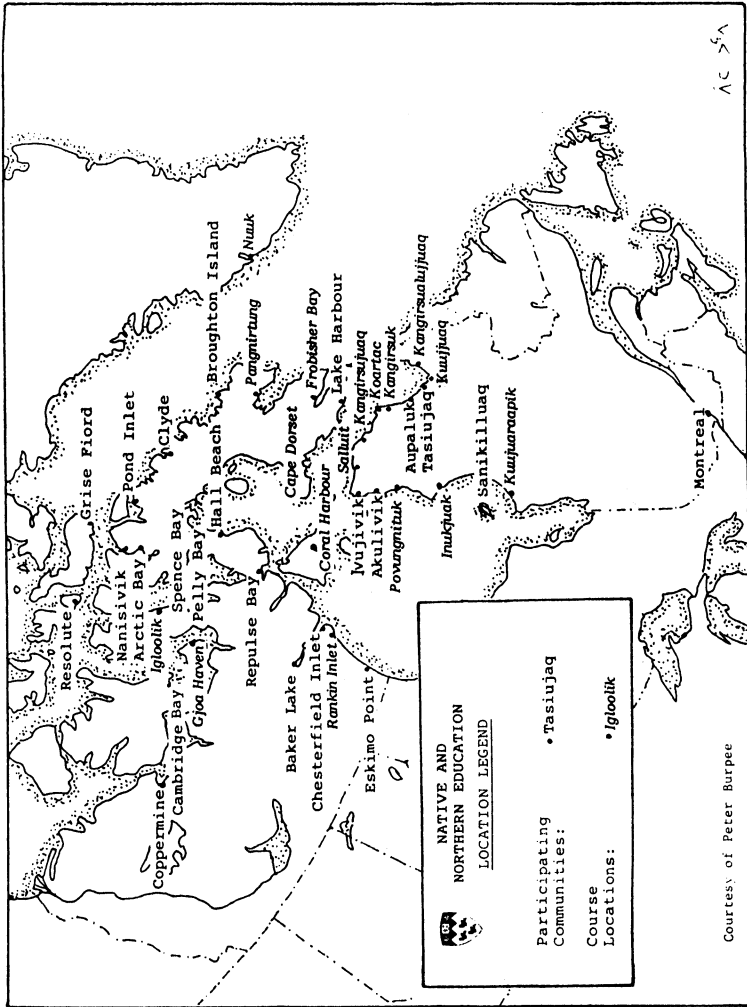
A tentative program was put together during a workshop involving all 35 Inuit appointees in Great Whale River (now Kuujuaapik) in the summer of 1975 and the first formal McGill CSNQ course was offered in Fort Chimo (now Kuujuaq) in the fall of 1975.

In the meantime, economic development plans in northern Quebec were colliding with orderly political development. This collision culminated in the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec agreement in 1975. This agreement, signed by the governments of Quebec and Canada and by the Grand Council of the Cree of James Bay and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, is designed to settle, for all time, native land claims and allow for the orderly economic development of the 300,000 square miles of Quebec territory bordering Ungava Bay, Hudson Strait, and Hudson and James Bays.

Chapter 17 of the agreement created and financed Kativik School Board, a totally Inuit controlled body which assumed all the assets, functions, and responsibilities of its two predecessors, and was empowered to build a system of education appropriate to the Inuit of northern Quebec. Among the extraordinary powers granted to Kativik School Board were the designing of its own curriculum, the determining of its own calendar and language(s) of instruction, and the training of its own teachers. Kativik immediately invited the CSNQ/McGill teacher training program to become part of its operation as the Kativik/McGill program.

As a result of this smooth transition, McGill courses have been offered regularly in summer and winter on an in-service basis, in Ungava and Hudson Bay settlements. In 1978, the first eight Inuit teachers received provincial certification, "To teach in Inuktitut in the schools of Quebec," at a ceremony in Inukjuak, marking official recognition of the program.

After some hesitation and a certain amount of internal "politicking", McGill Senate, in May 1981, approved the "McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education." This 45 credit program recognized, accredited, and absorbed the Kativik/McGill program and the first McGill Certificate was awarded in 1983. Thus Quebec Inuit graduates now receive the McGill Certificate and formal provincial certification. They also become eligible to apply for admission to the Bachelor of Education for Certified Teachers with advanced standing. To date, twenty-one Quebec Inuit are enrolled in the B.Ed. program.



Courtesy of Peter Burpee

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Recent developments in the Northwest Territories

Federal native schooling in the N.W.T. continued in the highly centralized, efficient, but largely irrelevant way described above until the 1970s. In 1969-70, the assets, responsibilities, and functions of the federal system were transferred to the Department of Education within the newly created (1967) Government of the Northwest Territories, with headquarters in Yellowknife. Little basic change resulted, however, and the Special Committee Report on Education of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories states:

The system that emerged was essentially a copy of the typical school system that was founded elsewhere in Canada The imposition of this foreign system reduced the likelihood that the school would truly serve the needs of the communities. (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1982, p.1)

A new Education Ordinance, issued in 1977, made some recommendations regarding local control and language of instruction which were very slow to be implemented. On the whole, the school system was still viewed by parents as belonging totally to the government, who owned or controlled buildings, curricula and teachers who were imported, with little preparation, from the South.

Two recent events have occurred which will permanently alter the pattern of education among the Inuit of the Northwest Territories:

1. The Nunavut Movement.
2. The Special Committee Report on Education.

The Nunavut movement is a political idea based on ethnic considerations which would create a new territory within the framework of the Northwest Territories. It has taken form as an indirect result of such landmark agreements as the Alaskan Native Land Claims Settlement, the James Bay Agreement, and Greenland Home Rule.

In short, all territory north and east of the forest line, and north of Quebec, would constitute a territory known as Nunavut ("our land"), with its capital at Frobisher Bay, and its own elected Assembly and administrative structure within Canada. A referendum held across the N.W.T. in 1982 strongly supported the idea (81% in the East and 60% in the West), and the federal Government has given positive, if not enthusiastic, support to the idea. This new territory may well be in place in 1994. Local control of education is seen by the Inuit as one of the key advantages to such a structure.

The Special Committee on Education of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories was formed in 1980 to examine and make recommendations for the future of education in the N.W.T. Meetings and public hearings were held in 31 communities, over 30 separate briefs were entertained, and dozens of significant persons were interviewed.

The report concludes that education as it exists in the N.W.T. simply will not do. The committee made some forty-nine recommendations, all of which, with some slight amendments, have been passed into law for implementation over the next ten years. Two of these recommendations are directly relevant to Inuit teacher training.

1. All aspects of education are to be put into the hands of locally elected school boards.
2. Teacher training for native classroom assistants and teachers, through to the degree level, is to be given top priority.

The first of ten totally autonomous school boards has been elected in the Baffin region with its administrative centre in Frobisher Bay. Coincidentally, Frobisher Bay is also the present site of the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program, the only wholly Inuit teacher training establishment in the N.W.T. and whose students are all enrolled in the McGill Native and Northern Certificate program.

Inuit teacher training in the Northwest Territories

Early in the 1970s, a teacher training program was established at Fort Smith which, though small, was open to all N.W.T. natives. Although most of its students were Dene (Athapascan Indians), a handful of Inuit students attended. Those few who remained to graduate were well trained and have been top quality teachers and, in some cases, teacher training instructors.

Political pressure and lack of Inuit students willing to attend Fort Smith caused a full-time Inuit teacher training college to be established in Frobisher Bay in 1979. This Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (E.A.T.E.P.) began its two year program parallel with a Classroom Assistant training project based in Frobisher Bay, which had as its goal the training and upgrading of native Inuit working as aides to Qallunaat teachers in Inuit classrooms in the Eastern Arctic.

During 1980, the eventual recognition by McGill of E.A.T.E.P. offerings was tentatively explored and after certain changes in course offerings, general agreement was reached. In July of 1981, the Donner Canadian Foundation approached the

McGill program director to initiate a proposal for a Kativik/McGill type community-based teacher training program to be offered in the Eastern Arctic.

A proposal was prepared combining the E.A.T.E.P. full-time program with the Classroom Assistant training program into an integrated community-based/Frobisher campus-based offering leading to N.W.T. certification and the McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education. The result was a \$400,000 grant over four years to support the community-based aspect of this integrated program.

In November 1981, the first community-based course under the new E.A.T.E.P./McGill program was offered in Pangnirtung to a class of twenty combined Classroom Assistants and full-time E.A.T.E.P. students. Since 1981, the E.A.T.E.P. side of the program has expanded both its full-time Frobisher Bay based program and its community-based offerings. At present, a trainee can do two years full-time study in Frobisher Bay, or earn his/her complete Certificate by attending summer and winter community-based courses, or combine the two by doing the first year equivalent by attending community-based courses and then taking a full-time second year in Frobisher Bay. All of these combinations carry full McGill credit and lead to full certification.

The first six McGill/Northwest Territories certificates were awarded at a ceremony in Frobisher Bay in June 1983. A further 11 were awarded in 1984 and seven are projected for 1985, with a potential 8-10 per year forecast for the foreseeable future.

Present status and future projections

Ten years after its beginnings as a tentative response to a training need for Quebec Inuit teachers, the Native and Northern Education program has reached relative maturity. Some twenty-nine have received Provincial or Territorial Certification, and of these twenty-nine who have graduated since 1981, eighteen also hold the McGill Certificate.

The holding of two certificates by a teacher, while awarded for the same work, is not redundant. The first is essentially a "license to teach", while the McGill Certificate makes the holder eligible to apply for advanced standing in the McGill Bachelor of Education for Certified Teachers. Some forty-nine students have been accepted into this 60 credit (two year) program and the first of these will receive her B.Ed. in 1985. The McGill Certificate therefore provides the first step towards full professional degree level recognition and competence for Inuit teachers, and is the only formal university level program offered in Arctic Quebec or

the Eastern Arctic.

During the current (1984-85) academic year, eight students (two of whom are Qallunaat) have been enrolled in a small, full-time, post-certificate Bachelor of Education program in Frobisher Bay. Instruction is given primarily by full-time E.A.T.E.P. staff, but four McGill professors, two Kativik School Board instructors, and other itinerant teachers from as far away as New Mexico and British Columbia have taught courses or parts of courses in this B.Ed. program.

Four new courses in academic Inuktitut have been developed at the B.Ed. level to serve this group, the most recent of which is a six-credit course in Inuktitut Literature and Composition, to be offered in Frobisher Bay in July, 1985.

Besides the B.Ed. program in Frobisher Bay, a unique project for the training of Inuit to work as teacher training instructors has been developed by Kativik School Board and the McGill program in Arctic Quebec. Because the amount and level of English used by the Inuit in Arctic Quebec is less than in the Northwest Territories, some way had to be found to offer training courses in Inuktitut. With the help of a generous grant from the Ministère de l'Éducation, a four step process has been developed whereby Inuit graduates of the program learn to develop and present courses in Inuktitut to their confreres without intervening translation to or from English and Inuktitut. This has had a measurable effect on both the morale and competence of unilingual (Inuktitut) trainees who can achieve full certification in their own language. Some twelve Inuit instructors have received this special training and are now recognized as McGill Sessional Lecturers in the Faculty of Education.

Structure of the program

The official home of the Native and Northern Program is in the Department of Elementary Education of the Faculty of Education at McGill. The 45 credits of the program center on two main axes:

1. Inuit Child Development, a four course (12 credits) concentration focusing on ideas, processes, and methods specific to the physical, emotional, psychological, social and cognitive development of Inuit children in and out of school.
2. All aspects of Inuktitut, from initial speaking and understanding through the syllabic and Roman writing systems to the more sophisticated linguistic concepts of phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Besides these two core components, there are courses in Educational Administration in the North, Mathematics for Inuit Children, Cultural Skills, an intensive practicum, and an extended teaching internship in a classroom setting involving all aspects of student teaching in a northern setting.

The program is very Inuk. This is deliberate. It is similar to a training model developed for the indigenous peoples of the extreme north and east of the Soviet Union, which insists upon clear, unequivocal cultural identity and total mastery of the native language before the language, teachers, and culture of the dominant majority are introduced in the classroom. The native teacher as competent, knowledgeable, admirable role model is seen as the single most important factor in the educational development of northern children.

To enter the program, then, one must normally be 21 years of age, totally fluent in Inuktitut, hold employment as a teacher or classroom assistant in a northern school, and be recommended by a school principal, an official of the Educational Authority, and, most importantly, by the native Educational Committee of a local northern settlement.

A look at the map on page 119 will give some idea of the logistics involved in the operation of the Native and Northern program. Students from 37 settlements as far as Coppermine in the west, Broughton Island in the east, Grise Fiord in the north, and Kuujuaaraapik in the south have taken courses in eighteen widespread communities as far afield as Nuuk in Greenland. This community, or field-based, aspect of the program is perhaps its unique feature. In the Northwest Territories, the full-time campus-based program in Frobisher Bay is supplemented by some four to six field-based courses per year plus an intensive four-week summer institute for sixty or more trainees in Frobisher Bay each July. Kativik School Board has no full-time program but offers a large summer program plus four to six field-based courses each winter in Arctic Quebec settlements. To date, only one course session has been given on the McGill campus in Montreal, with two more scheduled for June of 1985.

The sense of community

Because field-based courses are the backbone of the program, it is, perhaps, worthwhile describing in some detail the frustrations, advantages, anxieties and sheer fun in their production. The basic rationale for field-based training is not only that the training of Inuit teachers for Inuit schools is a top priority in the north, but that training teachers in the cultural environment in which they will work is more effective than training them in an alien vacuum jar set down on some southern

university campus. During the only course offered to date in Montreal, the course content (Music and Art) was thoroughly enjoyed, but the common complaint was that there was nothing to do in spare time. "Back home when we are not working, we can visit, drink tea, make bannock, go hunting, go to church, or play cards. What do you Qallunaat do in your spare time here in Montreal?"

An additional, serendipitous result is the feeling of participation in and "ownership" of the training process, which springs up, overnight, in a community used for a teacher training course. There is a warm feeling of belonging among both staff and trainees when, at any given time, there may be five or six interested parents or other concerned adults, including a hunter, a local policeman, the postmistress, or the Air Inuit agent, sitting at the back of the room, sipping coffee, listening intently, and joining in the discussions. In one settlement, the mayor, after observing for two days, went on the local FM radio station (the ultimate communications device in each settlement) and announced a curfew on all noise in the settlement during the evenings so that "these teachers of ours can learn." The final feast and dance at the end of the course more than made up for the silent evenings.

Children are everywhere. The traditional inclusion of children of all ages into every activity in an Inuk community is, fittingly, a very important part of any community-based teacher training course. Invariably, four or five of the trainees will bring babies with them from their home settlement to the course. Since the trainees stay in local homes, accommodation is simply expanded slightly to fit the babies, and the younger member of the family is appointed babysitter. At various times of the day, depending on feeding schedules, the door of the classroom will open quietly and the babysitter, dressed in traditional amautik with the baby in its hood, will present the baby to its mother, be she trainee or instructor, for breastfeeding which is carried out without the slightest interruption in the flow of the training session. Larger children come and go all day long, are often used for demonstration of principles and techniques learned, or simply play quietly or observe, entranced, as the course proceeds.

This completely child-centered atmosphere, existing within a small, intimate, traditional community, is the quintessence of the program. Whether the course is given during a four-week period of sea breezes, insect clouds, and twenty-four hour days of the summer, or during a two-week period of minus 45 degrees, raging winds, and twenty-four hour nights of winter, the training is seen to be done by those people it is designed to serve. When in such a setting, a trained Inuk instructor explains a complicated concept for the first time ever in Inuktitut, the response is often "Tukisilitainaqunga." ("Suddenly I understand.") At times like these, the program is doing its job.

An individual field-based offering is, of course, only the culmination of, or showpiece for, an immense amount of work done elsewhere. In Arctic Quebec, preparations must include the training of the Inuit instructors, as described above, the preparation of all materials in the Dorval office of Kativik School Board and their transport north, and arrangements for all the trainees to be released from their jobs for the period of the course. In addition, in the Kativik model, the teacher training department is in charge of the development of curricula for all Inuktitut programs throughout the whole school board. Consequently, training courses provide not only competence training for teachers but are the curriculum development branch for the whole of the primary school.

In the Northwest Territories, the field-based courses are logical and integrated extensions of the full-time campus in Frobisher Bay. Each field-based course is the exact equivalent of the same course given in the full-time program, so that teachers can proceed on a part-time, full-time, or combined track towards certification. Besides the high quality of its offerings, the full-time program is necessary to provide continuity for trainees, scattered over an area which is vastly larger and has much less homogeneity than Arctic Quebec. Each of the three regions in the Eastern Arctic, Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot, quite rightly demands its share of field-based courses. This places a great strain on the full-time staff in Frobisher Bay and necessitates the employment of individual contract instructors, experts in their field, who travel north for one or two courses per year. This crying demand for more courses is, I believe, evidence of the success of the program, but there are times when it seems as if there are not enough qualified instructors or, indeed, enough money in the world to meet the voracious, yet heartfelt, demand for training courses.

Some criticisms and concerns

Certain legitimate criticisms have been levelled at all aspects of the Native and Northern Education Program. Field-based courses are, of expediency, too short. Training programs, given solely in isolated regions, deprive students of access to regular university resource facilities, including libraries. Parts of the program tend to become "inbred", that is, the same intimacy and mutual trust amongst a small select group which gives the program its strength, also can be seen as protecting trainees from the intellectual stimulus of the so-called "real world". There are times during which each of these criticisms is valid. Ideally, given the budget, and the possibility of gaining release time for trainees, a course in even the remotest community should be three weeks to a month long. This dilemma is compensated for somewhat by giving follow-up assignments to each student to be carried out in his or her classroom on return

home and by constant monitoring, counselling and visiting by the full-time staff members of both the Kativik and E.A.T.E.P. programs. Access to libraries and the "learning in a vacuum" problem are gradually being overcome in two ways. More and more outside persons are being brought in, while library and media holdings in each of the settlements are growing constantly. This improvement in information services for teachers and trainees in the north has top priority both in Arctic Quebec and the Northwest Territories, and the growth in Inuit literature and Iuktitut teaching materials and resources over the past three years has been phenomenal. The Bachelor of Education program in Frobisher Bay, and the eventual offerings of second and third year university level courses for Inuit students on the McGill campus in Montreal, will bridge the gap between northern scarcity and southern superfluity of intellectual stimulation. It is projected that by 1986, some ten to twelve Bachelor of Education level Inuit students will be attending full-time courses in the south for the final year of their degree program.

The ever present worry that permeates every northern course is logistics. Airfares for southern instructors and consultants cost as much as \$1,600.00, for example, Montreal-Gjoa Haven return. Eighteen passenger Twin Otter charter aircraft, the standard workhorse of the north, cost \$7,000 or more per day. With food and lodging costs being 150 - 300% of Montreal basics, delays due to weather, mechanical failure, or poor planning add thousands of dollars and many wasted days to the cost of the course. There have been times when, because of wind, weather or mechanical failure, a student has spent four or five days trying to get to a course only to give up and return home disappointed. One southern "knowledgeable" consultant, through ignorance and bad planning, proudly arrived on the plane that was to take him home.

Typically, of the twenty students attending a course, five are from the local community and fifteen are flown in by scheduled or chartered flights from as many as eight other settlements and billeted in family homes for the ten to fifteen day session. Consultants and instructors are brought directly from the south or from Frobisher Bay, with a dozen or more boxes of teaching materials, and live either in a transit house or in a local hotel, where they can plan, adjust, and adapt their courses at any hour of the day or night without disturbing others. When a community is particularly small (e.g., two hundred to three hundred people), has no Hudson Bay Company store, or if a supply ship is overdue during a summer course, it is often necessary to bring in extra food since the addition of twenty-five mouths to the community for two to four weeks simply overtaxes local food supplies. Fresh fruit, vegetables, and cheese are the standard "carry-in" food to any community, large or small. Invariably, the local school committee and principal make all local arrangements with great care and attention. Planes are met, housing arranged, classrooms organized and people fed with no apparent effort, but

with obvious meticulous planning. No job is too awkward and no detail too small to be dealt with by these remarkable communities.

A typical scenario

Packing up and leaving a course should, logically, be just as smooth a process as arriving, but for some reason, it is always more complicated. Instructors, students, and even program directors are exhausted. The twelve boxes of raw material that came in with the instructors have suddenly become twenty boxes of newly minted curriculum and classroom aids for the students to carry away with them. Sarah's husband has joined her after a week of caribou hunting and needs a ride home on the charter. Students have each been given a large bag of land food by the families they have been living with to munch on while travelling. The charter for those going up the coast is due to arrive at 8:00 a.m., for those going down the coast at 10:00 a.m., and for those going directly to Montreal, the scheduled flight leaves to connect with the jet at 2:00 p.m. All is logically planned and about to be beautifully executed.

Then the phones all ring at once. The weather is "out" with snow and blowing snow up the coast, but is "in" down the coast.

However, the down-coast airplane is stranded in the up-coast weather. Besides the "sked" is running late, so the connection to Montreal won't be made anyway.

Meanwhile, the nurse says that Mina's baby is really quite sick and should go down the coast to the hospital rather than up and home. O.K., find a seat and a half for Mina on the down-coast charter. Is there a seat up the coast for the building maintenance man who has a plumbing emergency in the school two settlements away? Yes, he can have Mina's seat.

Two false trips to the airstrip. Two false alarms. Back to the school and all of a sudden it is noon. The standard northern rule comes into effect: Hurry up and wait.

Everyone's food bags are opened, so there is boiled seal, raw char, dried caribou, bannock, and tea for lunch. What could be nicer.

Everything begins to unwind, lunch is half-eaten, tensions go, and the room is all warm and giggly.... Airplane. A low flying Twin Otter passes over the school and lands on the strip. Which charter is it? Let's take no chances, everybody on to the truck.

Where is Leesee's little boy?

"Pootilik qaigit."

Pootilik has been visiting his cousin for ten minutes, and has acquired a new puppy. Is there room in the charter? Of course, why else are we flying except to take this puppy to a new home. He can sit in the maintenance man's lap. Good news, it is the down-coast charter. The weather is "in" all the way. Load seven material boxes, baggage, seven students, one half caribou in a green plastic bag, Sarah's husband, a box of frozen char, three babies, and Elijah's grandmother who has decided to go home with him for a visit. Just make sure her name is on the manifest and get this plane in the air. Please?

This is no sooner done than... Airplane. - the second charter.

"Who and what is going up the coast?"

Loading starts: Baggage, twelve material boxes, twelve student teachers.

"Mina, weren't you going down the coast to the hospital?"

"Oh no, my baby looks better so I am going home."

"You didn't tell us."

"I changed my mind, she is going to get better on her own."

Add to the load:

One student and one baby.
Four kids, and Pootilik's puppy.
Ooloota's three year old son jumps off again.

How about the maintenance man?
Here he comes in the truck, with his tools.

Add to the load:

One large maintenance man with two hundred and fifty pounds of tools in two giant boxes.

The pilot growls something about people who think a twin Otter has the same capacity as a Hercules.

Mina's baby calmly leans across her mother's knee and throws up on the airplane floor, and, in the way of babies since the beginning of time, smiles benignly and is instantly and totally cured.

Pootilik's puppy establishes immediate rapport with the maintenance man by peeing in his lap. The pilot laughs delightedly and clambers up the aisle to the cockpit.

Ooloota's wandering three-year-old is scooped on board for the fourth time, clutching a large rock, and the airplane door is finally and mercifully closed, tight.

The pilot prudently taxis to the extreme end of the soft gravel strip, then reverses pitch and backs the airplane up so that its tail extends off the end of the strip, overshadowing the tundra.

"Is he overloaded?"

"Twin Otters can lift anything."

"Even the maintenance man's tools on top of a full load?"

"Let's hope so."

The engines rev to full throttle and full pitch, smiling faces and waving hands appear at all the windows. With a slow faltering start, then a sudden burst of speed, the Twin lumbers into the air, makes a slow 90 degree turn, missing the hill at the end of the airstrip by at least twenty feet, and, climbing leisurely, winds its way down the fiord and up the coast.

On the ground, all the white knuckles turn pink. Taimat. It is finished. Relief is replaced by instant loneliness. They are all safely gone and there is nothing more to do.

But more news on the phone, the "sked" is back on time and due on the strip in an hour.

"How about a final cup of tea down at Louisa's?"

"With a bit of luck, we may just see the lights of Montreal tonight."

"Won't a hot bath and a hot rum feel lovely."

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