TURQUETIL HALL

Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T.

Roman Catholic
Participation in Education
of the Central Arctic Inuit
1955 - 1969

D R A F T - D O N O T R E P R O D U C E P L E A S E

Lorraine Brandson
Churchill, Manitoba
ROB OEO

April, 1991

INTRODUCTION

The following report is a compilation of some facts and articles relating to the participation of the Roman Catholic church in the education of a number of Central Arctic Inuit. More specifically it relates to the operation and personnel associated with the Aspostolic Vicariate of Hudson Bay (Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay), and two religious congregations - the Sisters of Charity of Montreal "Grey Nuns", and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at Chesterfield Inlet, Northwest Terrritories.

From 1955 to 1969 a hostel administrated by the Vicariate called Turquetil Hall housed students from the Central Arctic who were flown in to Chesterfield Inlet where a federal day school had been functioning since 1951. This report conveys some basic information on the hostel, and contains some articles relating to the hostel, federal day school, and education, primarily written by Oblate authors, and a few others.

A list of students who attended the school (with the names spelled according to the school day registers) constitutes a separate appendix.

This document does not pretend to contain a comprehensive or analytical understanding of the operation of either the hostel, or the federal day school. The role of the federal government, the appropriateness of curriculum in the federal day school, the benefits of education in a changing society, and the effect of receiving an education outside the home community remain to be researched and understood, as do any number of related questions.

Lorraine Brandson
April 1991

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction i

Table of Contents ii

Turquetil Hall iii

Turquetil Hall (statistical analysis) v

Map - Communities of origin for students attending Turquetil Hall vi

Education : Federal Day School Joseph Bernier vii

Religious Personnel Associated with the Hostel and Federal Day School viii

Grey Nuns working at school or hostel ix

Articles :

Special Issue - Boarding School at Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T. (1954)

The Boarding School at Chesterfield and the Education of the Eskimo (1955)

The School System in Eskimo Land by E. Trinel, o.m.i. (1969)

Concerning an Article on Education (1959)

Where do we stand on Eskimo education ? - G. Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i. (1963)

Eskimo Panel on Education (1965)

A New Element in Eskimo Education - G. Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i. (1971)

A Look at the Parliamentary Report on Indian and Eskimo Education - J.E.Y. Levaque, o.m.i. (1972)
And a Few Remarks - G. Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i. (1972)

The Mirage of Schooling - R. Lechat, o.m.i. (1975)

A Look Back at Chesterfield Inlet Boarding School - Lorraine Brandson (1981)

The Best and the Brightest - Brian Lewis
(1987)

Can Northern Schools Make the Grade - Pearl Benyk
(1988)

Future Imperfect : a controversial report on the
prospects for Inuit society strikes a nerve in the
N.W.T. (some extracts) - Colin Irwin (1989)

Community Control in Native Education : a sense
of ownership, responsibility and commitment -
David Serkoak (1989)

Teacher Training in the Canadian Eastern Arctic -
David Wilman (1989)

Further Reading

APPENDIX :

List of Students attending the Federal Day
School 1955 - 1969 Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T.

Turquetil Hall

Chesterfield Inlet, Northwest Territories
Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay

YEARS OF OPERATION : 1955 - 1969

STUDENTS : (325) students (not counting Chesterfield students)

PERSONNEL : 28 Grey Nuns (teaching and hostel)
3 Oblates of Mary Immaculate (2 Brothers, 1 Father)

GOALS : "The education of the Eskimo for the benefit of the Eskimo community"

"The hour has now come for us to complete our work of religious education of the Eskimos of the Hudson Bay, and raise their standard of education and civilization."
Bishop Marc Lacroix, o.m.i. August 15, 1954

ORIGIN OF RESIDENTS :

KEEWATIN REGION : Baker Lake & Garry Lake
Coral Harbour
Eskimo Point (Arviat)
Rankin Inlet
Repulse Bay
* Chesterfield Inlet students lived at home

KITIKMEOT REGION : King William Island (Gjoa Haven)
Pelly Bay
Spence Bay

BAFFIN REGION : Cape Dyer (Dew Line)
Foxe Main (Dew Line) Hall Beach
Igloolik
Pond Inlet

This constitutes about 50% of the communities located in the Diocese (Apostolic Vicariate of Hudson Bay).

** While several communities are represented in the above list, the numbers and lengths of attendance are extremely variable by community ; also the years.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION : Residents were adherents to the Roman Catholic faith. The total numbers attending do not reflect the total number of children, Catholic or otherwise in the communities.

RESIDENTS : While there appears to have been some thought to select students based on aptitude this policy does not appear to have been official or practiced universally.

SCHOOL YEAR : (mid-August to mid-May)

Students were flown in by charter aircraft (initially using Arctic Wings).

HOSTEL CONSTRUCTION : 1954 - 1955

With revenues generated by the Apostolic Vicariate of Hudson Bay.

Construction undertaken by a number of Oblate Fathers with the main group coming from Quebec and St. Boniface.

Local Oblate Brother Gilles-Marie Paradis worked with 3 or 4 local Inuit that were hired to help.

BUILDING : Turquetil Hall - originally called St. Mary's Residence After its closure in May of 1969 it was utilized by the co-op and the post office. It was demolished in 1986 and is the site of a territorially funded complex with government offices and a gymnasium.

General lay-out of building when it was in operation :

basement - Furnace room, sewing room, baking room, cold storage room for arctic char and other meat,* water supply, storage rooms

2nd floor - Dining room, kitchen, residence for maintenance person, boys' dorm, boys' recreation room

3rd floor - Girls' dorm, girls' recreation room, Sisters' rooms, chapel

FINANCES : Building constructed and funded by Apostolic Vicariate of Hudson Bay.

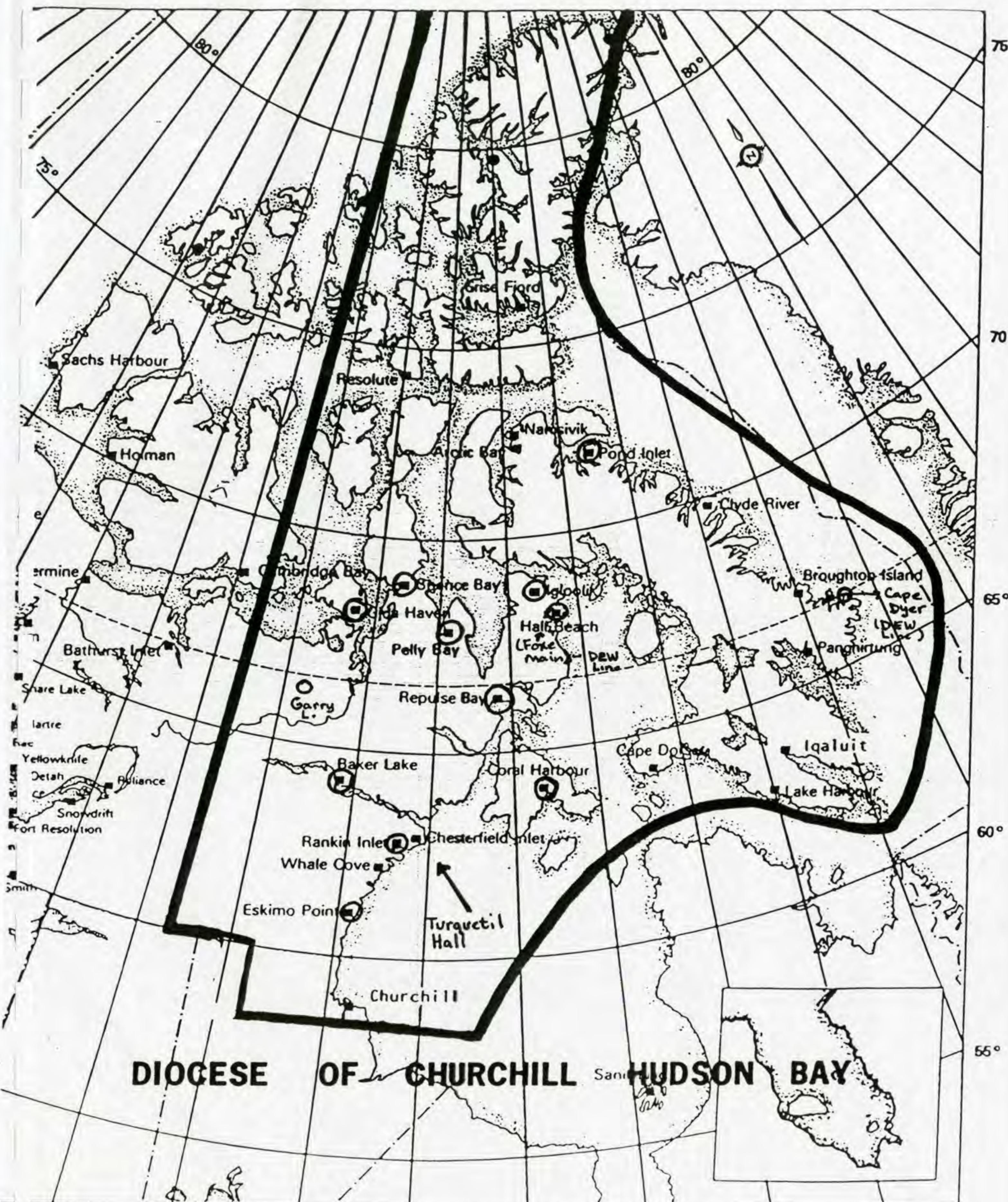
Hostel funded and operated by Vicariate. Initially the core operating costs were totally paid for by the Vicariate. Later a per diem for the students was paid which defrayed some of the costs.

* Local poeple were hired and given nets (30) to catch arctic char for the hostel.

Turquetil Hall

(Originally called St. Mary's Residence)
Chesterfield Inlet, Northwest Territories
DIOCESE OF CHURCHILL HUDSON BAY
(Vicariate of Hudson Bay)

Settlement	Years of Attendance	# of students (male/female)	#s of years attended by students								
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
KEEWATIN REGION (G.N.W.T. classification)											
Baker Lake	1955-60	11 (5/6)	5	3	3						
Garry Lake	1955-60	10 (3/7)	3	4	3						
Coral Harbour	1957-69	4 (0/4)	2			2					
Eskimo Point (Arviat)	1955-63	29 (12/17)	19	4	1	4	1				
Rankin Inlet	1955-69	21 (13/8)	16	3	1						
Repulse Bay	1955-69	69 (36/33)	26	14	5	8	4	4	6	2	
* Chesterfield Inlet students lived in their own homes											
KITIKMEOT REGION											
King William I. (Gjoa Haven)	1955-62	15 (10/5)	4	6	3	2					
Pelly Bay	1955-67	45 (17/28)	14	19	6	1	3	2			
Spence Bay	1955-59	2 (0/2)	1	1							
BAFFIN REGION											
Cape Dyer (DEW Line) (between Pangnirtung and Broughton I.)	1964-66	1 (1/0)		1							
Foxe Main (Dew Line) (Hall Beach/Senarajak)	1964-68	3 (1/2)			2	1					
Igloolik	1955-69	110 (39/71)	18	8	12	14	7	14	23	11	21
Pond Inlet	1955-58	4 (2/2)		2	2						
	1955-69	** 324 students (139/185)	108	65	38	32	15	20	29	13	21
		43% male	33%	20%	12%	10%	5%	6%	9%	4%	10%
		57% female	(rounded off figures)								



COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN FOR STUDENTS ATTENDING TURQUETIL HALL

THE SAME (these areas are no longer populated)

Education - Federal Day School
Joseph Bernier

Religious personnel have been involved in education programs officially and unofficially at Chesterfield Inlet prior to the operation of a hostel.

In 1950-51 and 1951-52 government school records for Chesterfield Inlet indicate that Fa. Roland Courtemanche and Fa. Charles Choque taught school. Sr. Elizabeth Herauf taught in the new federal day school from 1953-55 prior to the construction of a residence. Sr. Pauline Côté taught from 1954-55.

From 1969 - 73 Sr. Delores Lussier and Sr. Lise Turcotte taught at the federal day school (now called Thomas Sammurtoq school). (after the closure of Turquetil Hall)

In 1989 Helene St. Amant who was a Grey Nun when she first came North started teaching at the local school. She is now the school principal.

For most of the years of the school operation when Turquetil Hall was in operation the school principal was a Grey Nun.

school curriculum - This was set up the Federal Department of Northern Affairs.

It was supplemented by programs such as fox trapping, the construction of fish nets, quamatiks, and general basics of carpentry. Most of these programs were conducted in a small building next to the school with a local Inuit instructor, Paul Ipiak. Some students were also taken to a small lake past "Fishing Lake" for picnics, ice fishing for char, and building igloos.

Arts and crafts, particularly drawing and painting were promoted by the Sisters, and were especially done by the young girls. Special events and festivals were occasions to use their skills to make large murals and other decorations.

The language of instruction in the school was English. The students were allowed to speak Inuktitut amongst themselves out-of-school and in the hostel. Most of the Grey Nuns were conversant in in the Inuktitut language.

School Teachers : There were 1 to 4 teachers that were Grey Nuns teaching in the school when Turquetil Hall was functioning. (a higher number in the 1950s, and normally 2 in the 1960s)

Government hired teachers from the south -

1955 - 69 total of 13
- 1 year - 4
- 2 years - 5
- 3 years - 2
- 5 years - 1

RELIGIOUS PERSONNEL ASSOCIATED WITH THE HOSTEL AND FEDERAL DAY SCHOOL

Year	Hostel - Grey Nuns	Hostel - O.M.I.		School - Grey Nuns
1955-56	4	(Brother) 2	(Fa.)	4
1956-57	5	2		4
1957-58	5	2		4
1958-59	6	2		3
1959-60	6	2		2
1960-61	6	2		2
1961-62	6	2		2
1962-63	6	1		2
1963-64	7	1	1	3
1964-65	6	1	1	2
1965-66	6		1	3
1966-67	6	1	1	1
1967-68	6	1	1	2
1968-69	5	2		2

28 Grey Nuns
18 (hostel)
1 O.M.I.

The Sisters working in the Federal Day School and working in the operation of the hostel lived on the 3rd floor of the hostel.

Hostel - Many of the older students (female) were taught sewing skills at the hostel (especially by Sr. Rosanne Lemaire)

- Brother Gilles-Marie Paradis was responsible for the operation and maintenance of the building. His helper was a local Inuk George Tanuyak, who he trained in various facets of the operation. George Tanuyak isnow a government public works employee in Chesterfield Inlet.

- Seven or eight older male students during the 1960s were placed in the west wing of the hospital due to the lack of space at the hostel. They were supervised by Fa. Pierre Henry.

- Brother L. Parent, the cook at the mission baked bread at the hostel. He was involved in sports activities and the scouting movement. The students involved were members of the community of Chesterfield and those living in residence at Turquetil Hall.

(55-62, 1968-69)

Grey Nuns working at school or hostel **

	Teaching	Hostel	
Sr. Elizabeth Herauf	* 3		1955-58 (also 1953-55)
Sr. Geneviève Rocan	11	2	1955-68
Sr. Thérèse Plante	2		1955-57
Sr. Denise Emond	3		1955-58
Sr. Rosanne Lemaire		10	1955-60,63-68
Sr. Rolland Lavallée		3	1955-58
Sr. Monique Provencher		1	1955-56
Sr. Therese Beachéne (cook)		4	1955-59
Sr. Anastasie Héroux		3	1956-59
Sr. Pelagie Innuk		7	1956-57,59-63,66-68
Sr. Mariette Daigle	2		1957-59
Sr. Gisele St-Sauveur (cook)		12	1957-69
Sr. Thérèse Chaput	* 4		1958-62
Sr. Rollande Girard		3	1958-61
Sr. Simone Forest		4	1958-62
Sr. Thérèse Hébert		6	1959-65
Sr. Therese Desaulniers		6	1960-65,66-67
Sr. Laurette Allard		6	1961-64,65-66,67-69
Sr. Cecile Gagnon	1		1962-63
Sr. Georgette Levebvre		4	1962-66
Sr. Thérèse Arcand	* 6		1963-69
Sr. Simone Rene	1		1963-64
Sr. Victorine Servant		6	1963-69
Sr. Francoise Gamache	1		1965-66
Sr. Laurette Dorion		1	1965-66
Sr. Lucille Gamache	2		1967-69
Sr. Edna Chabot		1	1968-69
Sr. Aline Levasseur		1	1968-69
TOTAL 28 Grey Nuns	11 teaching	18 working in hostel	

1 Sister worked as a teacher 11 years and 2 in the hostel

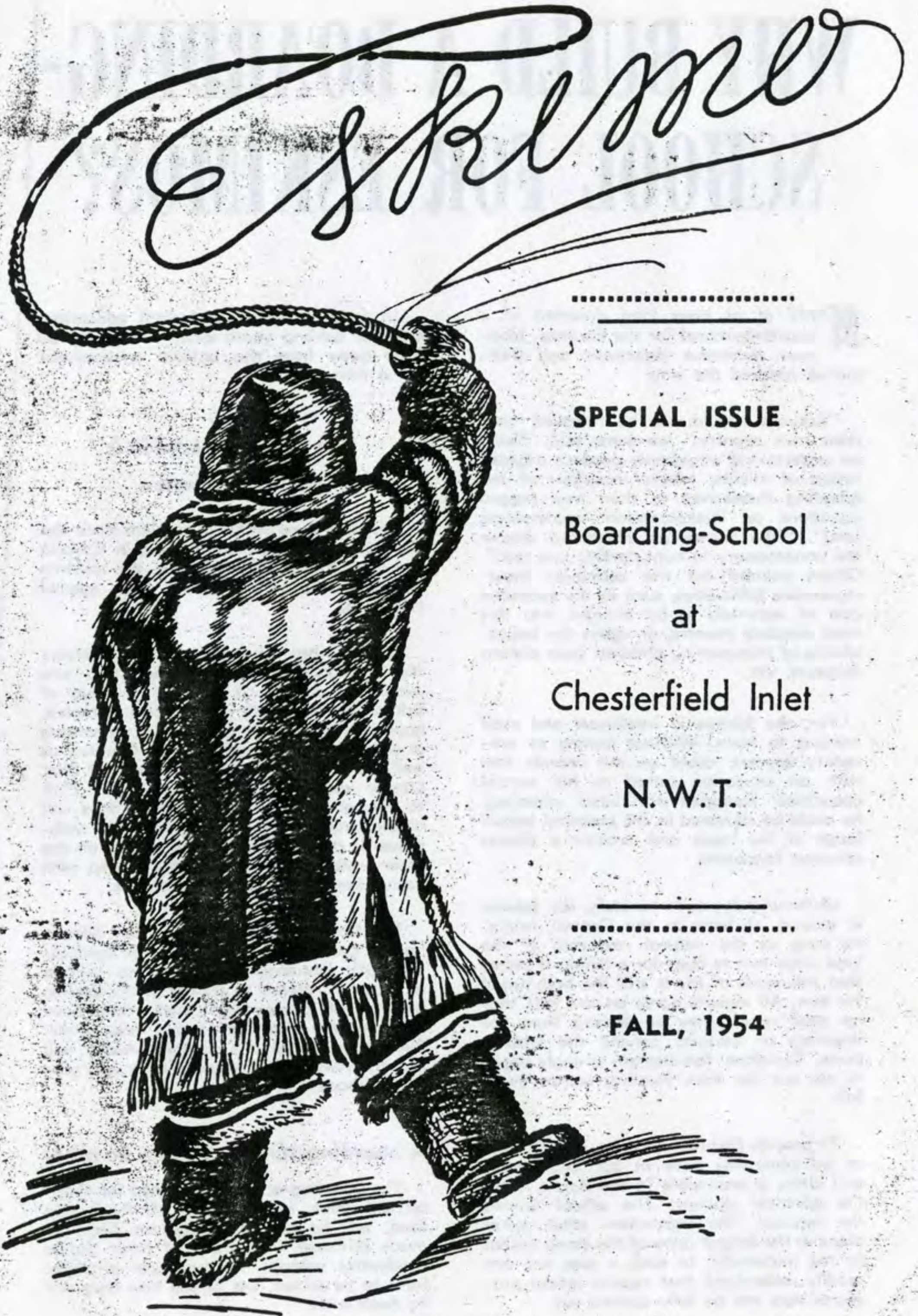
During a school year 1 to 4 Sisters were teachers.

* principal and teacher

Hostel - 5 to 7 Sisters (average 6)

** Sr. Pauline Coté taught in the school prior to the residential days 1954-5 ; and Sr. Delores Lussier and Sr. Lise Turcotte for 4 years after the closure of the residence (1969-1973).

ESKIMO Special Issue
Fall 1954



WHY BUILD A BOARDING-SCHOOL FOR ESKIMOS?

MANY of us have long dreamed of a boarding-school for the Eskimos. However numerous objections and difficulties blocked the way.

"Eskimos should not be removed from their own country," we were told. "Such an undertaking would only produce a generation of misfits, totally incapable of re-adapting themselves to their own rugged equations or Shakespearian masterpieces land". "The knowledge of second degree are unneccessary to hunt cariboo and seal". Others pointed out the seemingly insurmountable difficulties, such as the excessive cost of materials to be brought into this most desolate country, or again the impossibility of transporting children from distant outposts, etc.

Yet, **the Eskimo is intelligent** and most anxious to learn. Without aiming at university degrees, could we not provide him with an education suited to his mental capacities? Equipped with basic schooling, he could be educated in the practical knowledge of his trade and receive a deeper religious formation.

Unfortunately, or fortunately, **the Eskimo is nomad,** at least in the Central Arctic. As long as the natural resources of the land allow him to hunt for a living, it seems that this mode of life is still the best suited for him. All experts agree on the fact that no good results may be derived from the lingering of Eskimos around the trading posts. Therefore, families are strongly urged to set out for their hunting camps every fall.

To provide Eskimos with day-schools such as we commonly have in our local towns and cities is impossible in the Arctic. Here the principal applies: The school follows the teacher. The instruction often takes place in the largest igloo of the camp visited by the missionary. In such a case one can readily understand that regular school programs may not be fully carried out.

In order to afford a logical education, brighter Eskimo youth must necessarily be kept away from this natural environment for a time.

The boarding-school is the only solution

Distance is no longer a problem since the Department of Northern Affairs in Canada has agreed to transport, by air, the children designated and willing to take special schooling.

On the other hand, in order to counteract the drawbacks of such a program, and avoid the danger of forming a group of Eskimo children with a superiority complex, opportunity must be provided of remaining in contact with the rest of their families, as well as with their natural mode of life. Longer vacations, lasting from April 15th to August 15th, are the answer. Boys will accompany their fathers and learn the technique of their life-saving hunt. Girls on the other hand will familiarize themselves with native sewing and domestic chores.

The Grey Nuns of Montreal and Nicolet have a great deal of experience in conducting such boarding-schools among Indians in Canada. Already in charge of the Eskimo hospital of Chesterfield Inlet, they have accepted the direction of this new school. Eskimo youth of the Central Arctic will benefit from their vast experience and proven methods.

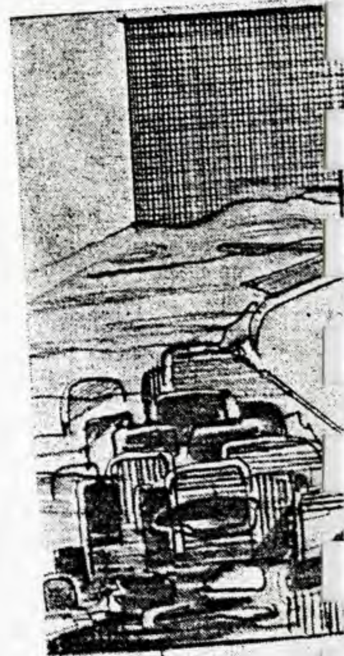
A boarding-school . . . like no other

The boarding-school as planned for Chesterfield Inlet, in the heart of the barren land, will be unique. Conditions here are much different from those of other Indian residential schools. Various local problems have to be solved. Let us see how they will be dealt with.

The terrain — Chesterfield ... mass of bolders. Excavations th... impossible. A full-size concrete ... will be erected above ground level.

The extreme cold — Temp... below 40° and even lower, are ... quent and constant at Chesterfield ... months of the winter. Furiou... unobstructed by any natural obs... the barrens and render protecti... very difficult. The disposition an... tion of the building will help to ... violence of the winds. Further... heating system has been speci... for adequate comfort and n... hazard. Oil consumption is expect... from twenty to thirty thousand ... year.

The lighting — At the proxi... 64th degree latitute north, dayl... short in winter time. School ro... other rooms have been desig... the maximum daylight an... diesel plant is already in operatic... power to the hospital and the m...



The new bo...

The terrain — Chesterfield Inlet is a mass of bolders. Excavations therefore are impossible. A full-size concrete basement will be erected above ground level.

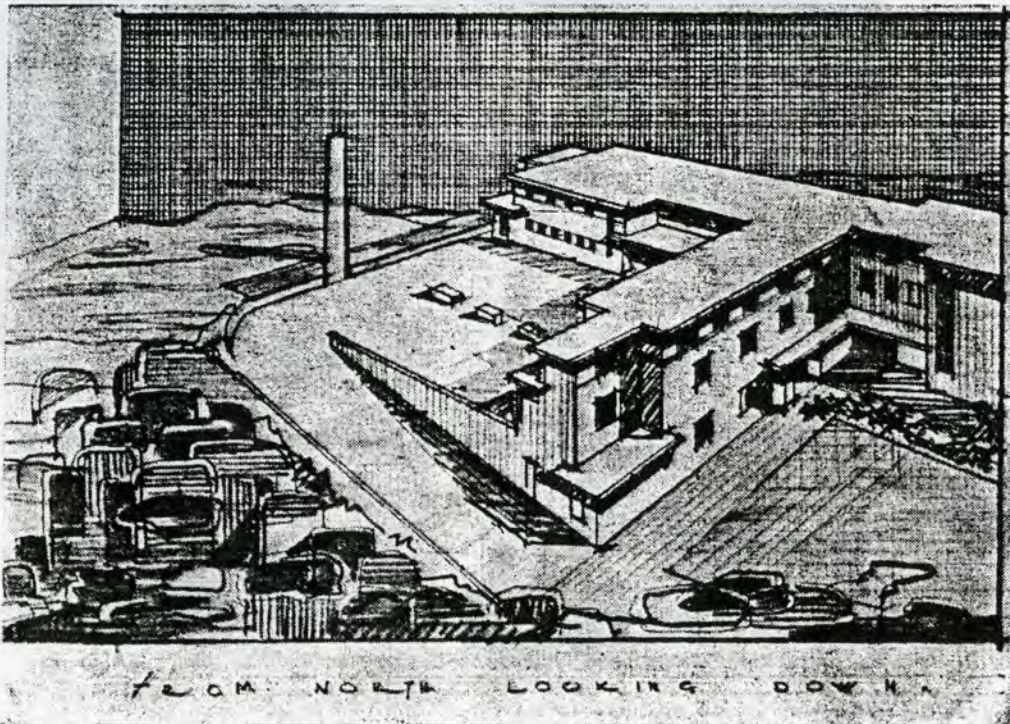
The extreme cold — Temperatures of below 40° and even lower, are very frequent and constant at Chesterfield for many months of the winter. Furious blizzards, unobstructed by any natural obstacles, sweep the barrens and render protection from cold very difficult. The disposition and orientation of the building will help to break the violence of the winds. Furthermore the oil heating system has been specially designed for adequate comfort and minimum fire hazard. Oil consumption is expected to range from twenty to thirty thousand gallons per year.

The lighting — At the proximity of the 64th degree latitute north, daylight is very short in winter time. School rooms as well as other rooms have been designed to absorb the maximum daylight and sunrays. A diesel plant is already in operation, supplying power to the hospital and the mission house.

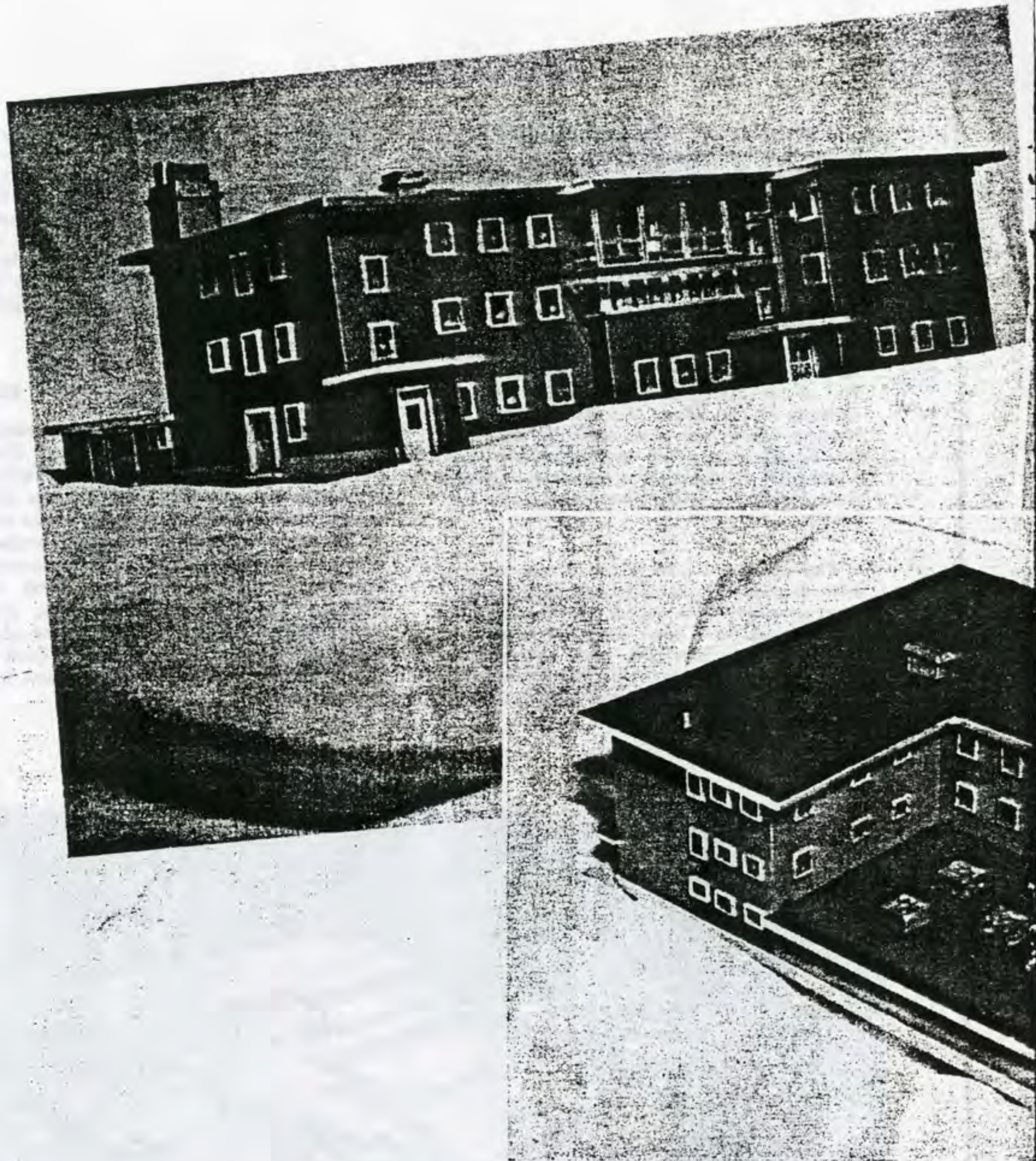
The water supply — Here we encounter a problem of vital importance in such an establishment. Water for domestic use as well as for consumption comes only from the melting of snow and ice. A special dumbwaiter is planned to hoist ice blocks into the wooden reservoirs situated in the basement. Steam will thaw the ice blocks and bring the water level to its 30,000 gallon mark.

Distances and transportation cost

The settlement of Chesterfield Inlet is located at some 360 miles north of Churchill, which is the terminal of the railroad in this section of the Arctic. On the other hand a shipload from Montreal, where most of the building material has been procured is priced at $65.00 a ton for transportation. Economizing on transportation and still thinking about necessities of life, plans have been carefully drawn to reduce space and materials to a strict minimum. Food for a full year will be stored inside, secure from frost or animals.



The new boarding-school at Chesterfield Inlet seen from the north.

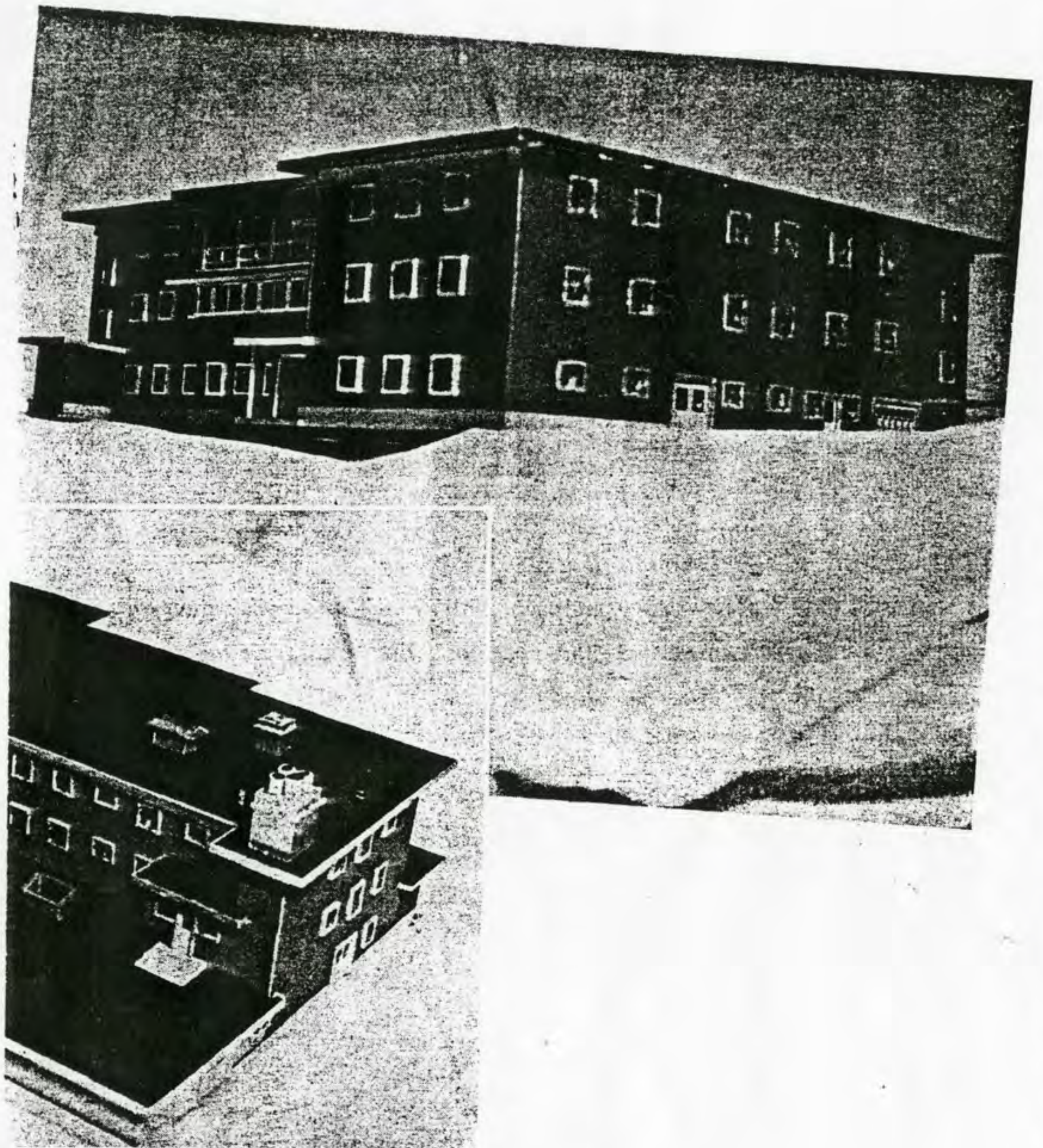


General view of the new boarding-school now under construc

75 Eskimo children of the Vic

The construction is underway

The construction of this new residential school has already begun, under the direction of Brother G. Paradis, O.M.I. All available Fathers and Brothers have travelled to Chesterfield to give him a hand along with local skilled Eskimos. Work will go on through the winter months. The dedication of the building is scheduled to take place in August 1955.



Photos by Prisma

tion at Chesterfield Inlet which will be capable of sheltering

ıriate-Apostolic of Hudson Bay.

Financial question

Even though our skilled labor will be given free, we do not expect this building can be completed for less than $200,-000.00.

This financial burden will be carried by the Apostolic Vicariate of the Hudson Bay. The Canadian Government will later subsidize the boarding of each child. But the actual cost of construction is at our own expense.

Most Rev. M. Lacroix, O.M.I.

August 15, 1954.

Dear Friends of our Eskimo Missions:

In the past few years, I have many times relied upon your generosity when our needs became great, and your response has always been munificent.

Today more than ever I must extend to you a begging hand in favor of a very dear project: the education of our Eskimos. The hour has now come for us to complete our work of religious education of the Eskimos of the Hudson Bay, and raise their standard of education and civilization. The residential school is the means, par excellence, at our disposal to procure such results and form a select group of Eskimos who in turn will help the whole nation.

"Eskimo" magazine has already shown you our objective. I hope that its outline has convinced you of our point. In this undertaking I rely upon your help.

Roughly, nearly $200,000.00 is badly needed. Your charity is our only source of revenue and furthermore we still have to supply our other missions for the year to come. Without help from our benefactors and faith in Divine Providence how could we ever dare entertain such projects?

In these our
materialistic ideas,
christianizing our
the school is the one
infidels. It is our du
have received so fre
food but spiritual

I have no doub
and therefore will

In the name o
thank your from th
of His Immaculate

Chesterfield boarc
North and Sout

In August this year,
They will come from Eskim
Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay.
children will be temporarily
in Spring, they will return
for a total of 72 boarders

Thus will be formed
with a proper intellectual b
families and improve their

We even hope that t
later on become teachers,
think that some religious vc
mind we are starting the cc

Can you help us?

Sincere thanks in advc

In these our days when the world seems to sink ever deeper into materialistic ideas, the Church insists more strongly upon the duty of christianizing our youth. Here in this land more than anywhere else, the school is the one sure means of furthering the missionary work among infidels. It is our duty to help give these poor Eskimos what we ourselves have received so freely. What our Eskimos expect from us is not material food but spiritual and intellectual formation.

I have no doubt that you realize the importance of our undertakings, and therefore will respond generously to our appeal.

In the name of our Eskimos and of all my missionaries I wish to thank your from the bottom of my heart. May God, through the hands of His Immaculate Mother, bestow upon you His manifold blessings.

Gratefully yours,

Bishop Marc Lacroix, O.M.I.,
Apostolic Vicar of Hudson Bay.

Chesterfield boarding-school will service a tremendous territory North and South of the Arctic Circle. (see map on page 8)

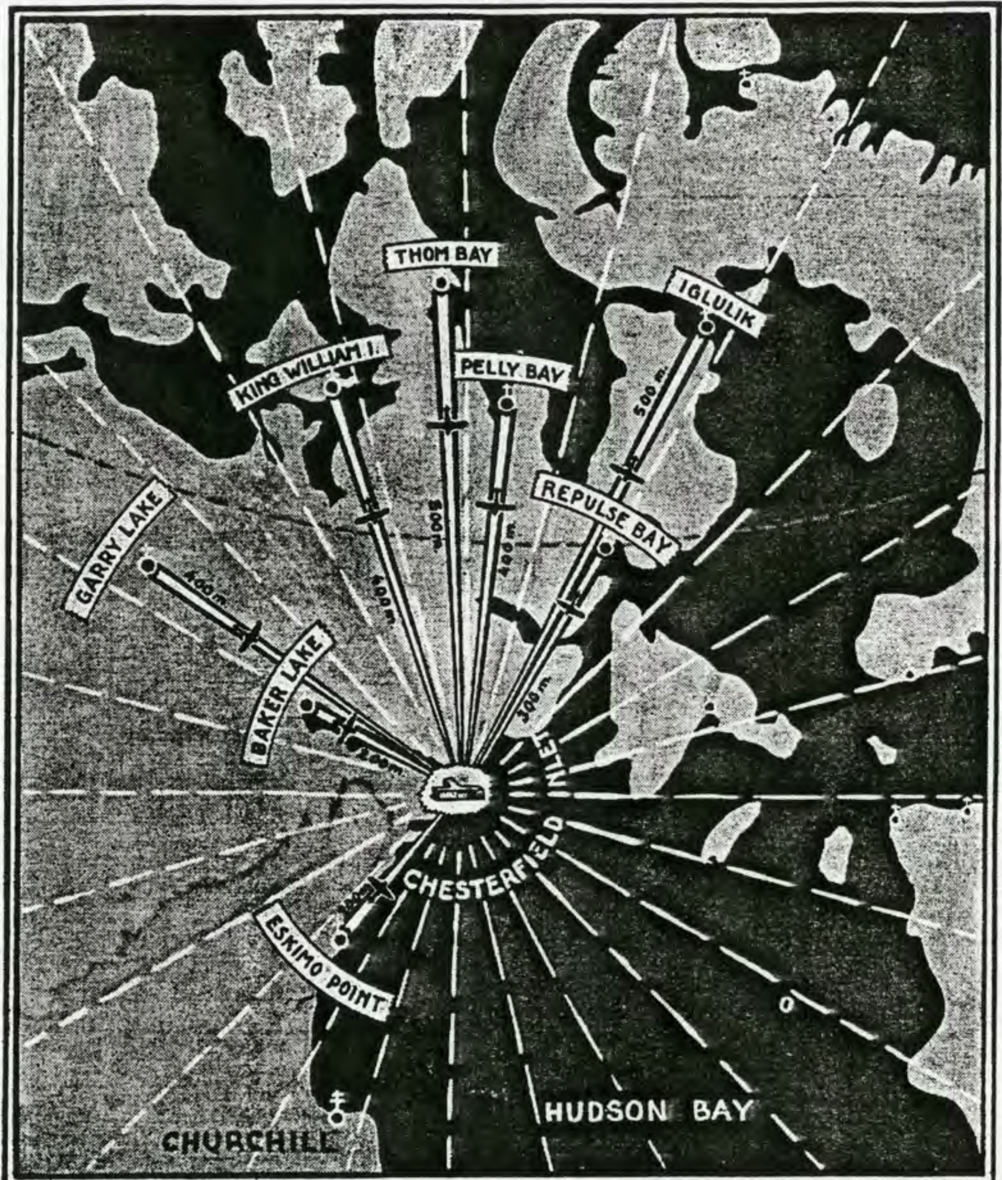
In August this year, twenty five children are being flown in by "Arctic Wings Ltd.". They will come from Eskimo Point, Baker Lake, Garry Lake, King William Island, Thom Bay, Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay. Igloolik children will be admitted next year. These first fortunate children will be temporarily accommodated in the old mission house at Chesterfield. Released in Spring, they will return to the newly completed residential school along with new-comers for a total of 72 boarders next August.

Thus will be formed the new generation of Eskimos in the Hudson Bay area. Armed with a proper intellectual background and a solid religious formation they will return to their families and improve their own environment.

We even hope that the cream of the crop will eventually further their studies, and later on become teachers, nurses, technicians of all kinds. Would it be too much to even think that some religious vocations will develop among some of them? With all these ideas in mind we are starting the construction of a residential school at Chesterfield Inlet.

Can you help us?

Sincere thanks in advance for your generous help.



Children from 8 Eskimo missions, the farthest of which is 800 miles North-East of Chesterfield Inlet, will be admitted to the new boarding-school.

Our benefactors are invited to send their offerings for the construction and furnishing of the new boarding-school to:

Rev. J. E. Pelletier, O.M.I.,
Procurator of the Hudson Bay Missions,
1201 Visitation,
Montreal 26, P.Q.

The Boarding School at Chesterfield
and
THE EDUCATION OF THE ESKIMO

Following our special issue, in the autumn of 1954, on the boarding school at Chesterfield Inlet, many of our readers wrote encouraging us and telling us they appreciated the effort it would take to realize our goal.

However, we were not naive enough to imagine for a minute that our solution to the problem of the education of the Hudson Bay Eskimos would satisfy everyone.

In fact, an American university member, who has had some experience in the North, wrote us several months ago a letter which could be summarized as follows:

"The teaching that you will give in your new school will be most unsuitable . . . You will take the Eskimo from his natural environment . . . How can the Grey Nuns teach them to hunt and trap? . . . You are going to commit a grave injustice against these likeable people . . ."

In spite of some exagerations, this letter expresses the apprehensions held by many concerning the cultural evolution and future of the Eskimo.

Let us state, first of all, that we share these apprehensions to a certain extent and that we are not trying to minimize the dangers of this new form of education. However, we believe that between the supporters of "statu quo" and those who advocate complete assimilation of the Eskimos, there is place for a much more shaded position which takes into account the inevitable changes but with all due respect to the personality of the Eskimo.

* * *

To understand our point of view, the new conditions created by the inescapable advance of civilization, or, more exactly, of technology, in Eskimo country must be taken into consideration. We were faced with the following choice: either to allow the contact between the two cultures to proceed as chance would direct, at the risk of seeing the Eskimo, left to himself, choose the least desirable elements of western civilization, or else present him with the most valuable elements, whilst preserving that which could and should be preserved of the Eskimo culture. We could not hesitate.

In the first place, there are real inconveniences in the living-in system. But if this system was adopted it was because it is the most practical. The nomadism of the great majority of the central arctic Eskimos and their dispersal in small and scattered camps would permit the usual day schools to serve but a few privileged pupils, or else oblige the parents to gather in large settlements, which in the present circumstances could have disastrous results on the Eskimo economy.

We need hardly add that the present experiment is but the first groping step and in such matters perfection is seldom attained at the initial attempt.

In any case, if the means employed is susceptible to perfection, the final goal is certainly not in doubt, which is THE EDUCATION OF THE ESKIMO FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ESKIMO COMMUNITY. (1)

What use would there be in training technicians or even doctors, engineers and lawyers, if it were only to see them one day repudiate their racial origin and loose contact with their own people. The institution which might succeed in pushing some Eskimos as far as obtaining a degree or doctorate could perhaps be proud of these students: in our opinion, they would have been wasting their time if they did not succeed in advancing the Eskimo community as a whole.

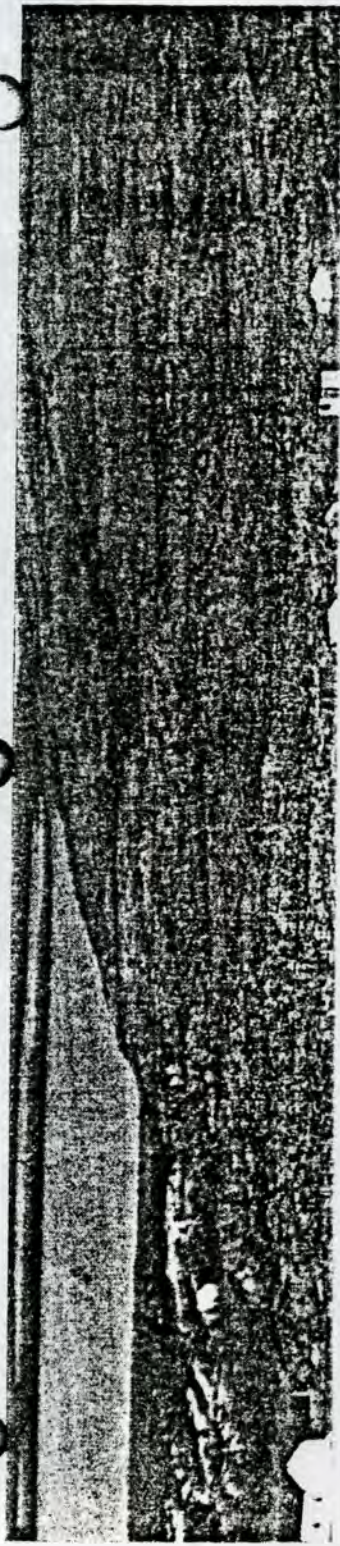
* * *

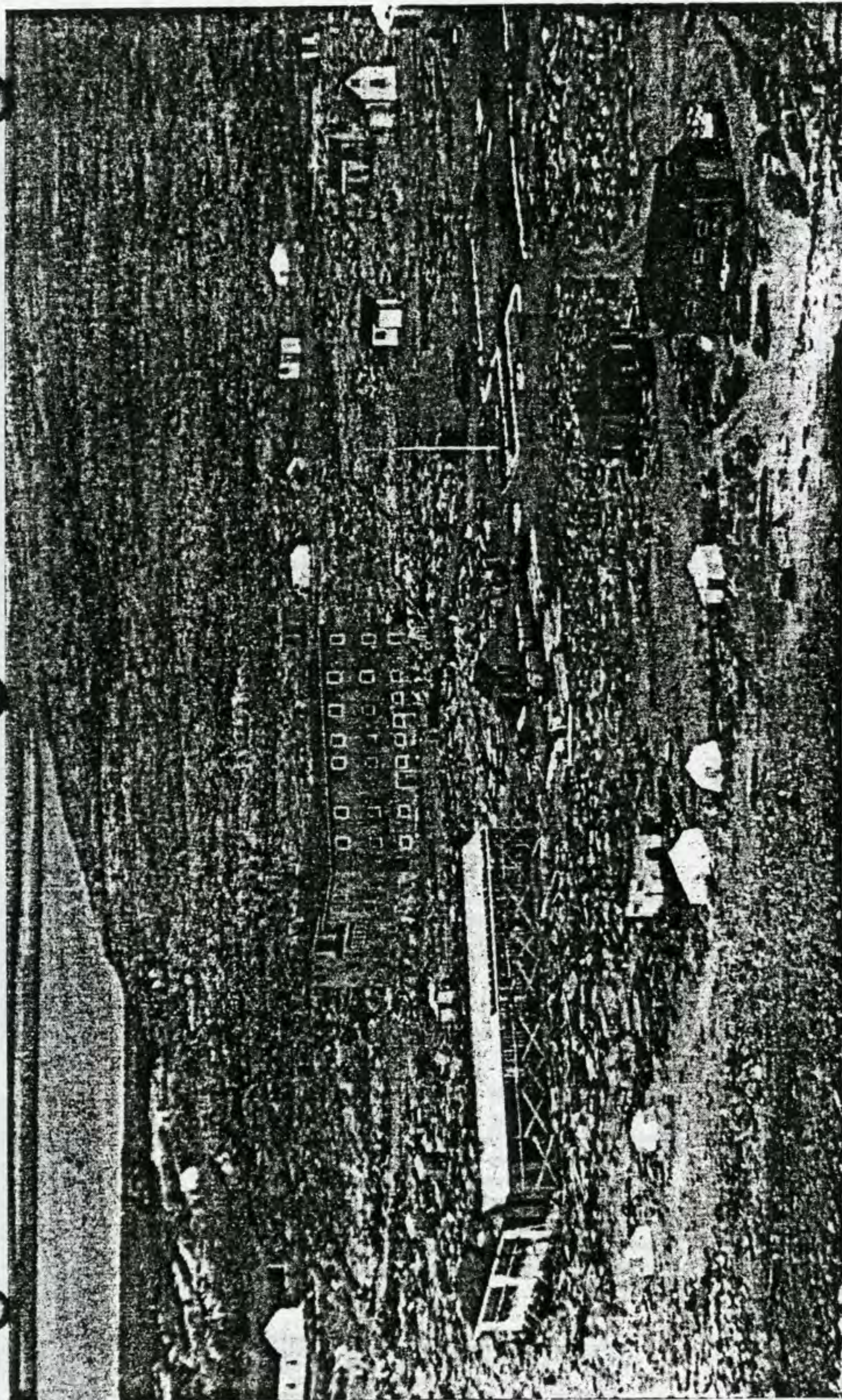
With these as our principles, how do we intend to educate the Eskimo? In passing, we wish to stress that we are speaking of education and not only of instruction.

The question of the language to be used was one of the first encountered. In fact, this problem does not apply only to the Eskimos; it is found with all peoples who come in contact with occidental culture.

The experiments tried by many colonial powers and by UNESCO have shown the importance of the mother tongue in the **basic education.**

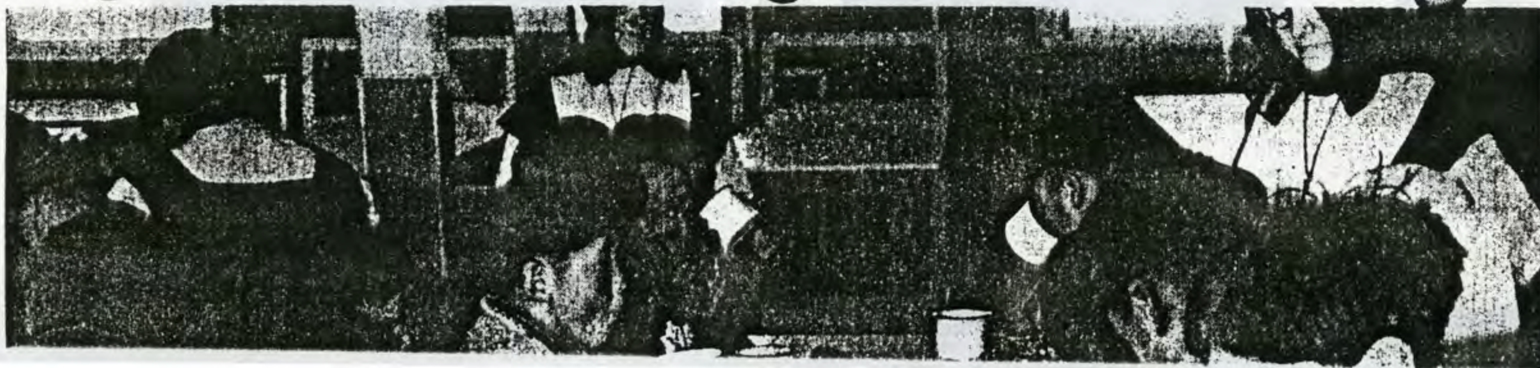
(1) Fr. A. Renaud, O.M.I., M.Ed., Superintendent of the Indian and Eskimo Welfare Oblate Commission, has already dealt with this idea to some extent, as it pertains to the Indians, in different articles.





Bottom left, the federal school being enlarged, and farther over (center), the still unfinished hotel. (Beginning of September)

This fall, awaiting completion of the school, classes were temporarily held in the hostel.



This fall, awaiting completion of the school, classes were temporarily held in the hostel.

Mealtime at the hostel — the main dish is frozen fish. Seventy-two children were enrolled as boarders. To this number are added, for classes, the local children.

The following lines are taken from a most instructive article by Pedro Orata, which appeared in the quarterly bulletin of UNESCO (1949-1950) and which describes the reorganization of Indian education in the U.S.A.

"The present policy is to respect the native language, no matter how under-developed it may be . . . (in order) to preserve (it) as a symbol of cultural importance . . . to introduce English as a second language of vital usefulness . . ." The result of this policy was "the beginning of that increased pride in race and culture, which is necessary for worthy achievement."

"Textbooks in reading are written in the two languages . . . Paradoxically enough, it seems that two languages are more easily learned because the learner wishes to learn both of them, than one, English alone, which he feels is being imposed upon him to the neglect and prejudice of his mother tongue."

Unfortunately, at Chesterfield we had no choice as programs and class books were supplied by the government. Added to which Eskimo literature is practically non existent today. This is a regrettable gap which we intend to do our utmost to help fill.

English, therefore, was adopted as the medium of instruction and first of all the children must lear the language. In class, only English is used and the teachers do not speak Eskimo. However, let no one be left with the impression that, even in the present circumstances, the children are encouraged to forget their mother tongue. On the contrary, religious instruction is given exclusively in Eskimo (the psychological importance of this point cannot escape notice) and the Fathers teach syllabic writing to those who do not already know it.

Added to which, work of the Principal and the teachers in class is completed at the Hostel by that of the Sister Superior who speaks Eskimo and who, last year, was assisted by a native nun.

In a report on the activities of the boarding school during the first year, Sister Herauf, the principal, underlined precisely this spirit of collaboration between the members of the personnel.

* * *

What will the Eskimo learn?

"By and large, good native education should be concerned with PERFECTING THE NATIVE WAY OF LIFE in the face of inevitable contacts with the outside world."

This declaration of the Director of Education for the Indian Service of the U.S.A. is quoted in the article previously cited.

Mr. Orata also mentions that a great effort has been made in the United States to adapt curricula according to geographical, cultural and other conditions of the different tribes of Indians.

Previously, he says, "the pupils were taught to do things and behave in ways that were foreign to their homes and communities. The result was that when they returned home they were in their community but not of it. Their education had made them unfit for the life they were to live after leaving school."

If the new boarding school were to end up with a like result, the criticism expressed by our American correspondent would, without doubt, be justified. However, we are certain that all those responsible for the education of the Eskimos at Chesterfield are doing their best to avoid these errors.

As we have said, the curriculum is imposed by the government and, in general, the same matter is taught as in other Canadian schools. Yet, everything is being done to adapt it to the Eskimo child and to make him feel at home at the boarding school.

We cite the following passage from the Principal's report:

"In every sphere of action one must know how to adapt himself to the mentality and mores of the people concerned. Henceforth, every effort was made to adapt our ways of thinking and doing to theirs, the Eskimos, and not vice versa . . ."

Sister Herauf goes on to explain how this preoccupation is felt even in the choice of recreation and selecting the diet. A meal of frozen food is planned for each day: meat, fish or whale skin . . . Therefore, when the child returns home he will not have to readapt himself to habits which would have become strange to him. The fact that the children will later on have to return to live as Eskimos is never forgotten.

For example, the boys will be taught, among other things, trapping, fishing, ivory carving, etc. . . . under the supervision of a lay brother. For the girls, it will be sewing, the preparation of hides, etc. . . .

It remains to be hoped that, as experience indicates, the curriculum will be progressively adapted to the mentality and to the needs of the **Eskimo child.**

* * *

We have every reason to hope that the boarding school at Chesterfield will graduate, not second-rate emancipated Eskimos, cut off from their racial communities, but elites, who while assimilating the best our civilization has to offer, remain authentically Eskimo and on their part contribute everything possible towards the progress of the whole Eskimo nation.

ESKIMO Vol. 52
September 1959

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ESKIMO LAND

The school system in Eskimo land is a fairly new institution, of rather recent date and varied enough according to the different localities.

For ten years or so, the Canadian Government has been earnestly engaged in the education of the Eskimo. From year to year, schools multiply; their premises are enlarged more and more; the teaching staff increases in proportion. In most places, where a few hundred Eskimos — even a few scores — are centered, a school is built or about to be built. Thus, at Ivuyivik (with a population of 93 Eskimos) at the extreme northwest corner of the Quebec coast, all the building materials were brought by boat this very summer. Also at Eskimo Point, at Igloolik, etc., new schools are under construction . . .

In places where families are grouped around the trading post, teaching facilities are well-apportioned. School opening is generally set for the last Monday in August; it is already the fall of the year, some would say winter at that time in Eskimo land. A few days prior to school opening, the parents have been advised by word of mouth or by posters to send their children between the ages of 6 and 16 to school . . . unless, evidently, they are prevented by some valid reason. Most of the parents and children

(Continued on Page 6)

Children playing "tent" (Iglulik).

Vol. 52
.... 3
.... 7
.... 10
.... 14

The School System in Eskimo Land

(Continued from Page 3)

welcome the invitation. On one side, the parents are relieved from the care of their children for a good part of the day: from 9 o'clock in the morning until 3:30 in the afternoon . . . on principle, that is to say! On the other hand, the great majority of Eskimo children like to learn the white people's language, writing, calculation, drawing . . . in short, all the scientific knowledge and the blessings which education may bring with it. Parents also encourage their children in that direction, even if they do not see the immediate results of education. Therefore, it is only on rare occasions that authorities have to take stern measures, such as the temporary suppression of family allowances, in order to enforce the law of compulsory education.

However, complications set in when the Eskimos are scattered around at scores and even hundreds of miles from the trading post. At Cape Dorset, for instance, some winter camps are located 60, 100, 150 miles from the post. Under such conditions, it is obvious that the children cannot attend school daily . . . the only means of transportation, even at the present time, is the dog sleigh. On the other hand, two or three camps are only a few miles from the post; children living in such camps sometimes have the chance to come to the post on their father's or a neighbor's sleigh, even on foot. Such children then have the opportunity to get their correspondence course homework corrected. However, it seems that this schooling method is not well generalized yet. What happens in most cases is that the tuition which could not be given during the winter months is concentrated, as much as possible, within the two or three months of the year when the Eskimos gather around the post, in the expectation of the arrival of the trading ships. These few considerations will help the reader to understand the difficulties encountered by the Canadian Government in its attempt to educate a handful of Eskimos scattered through the immense territories of the Arctic.

Another formula was adopted by the Catholic missionaries who conduct a residential school at Chesterfield. I am not mentioning the small mission schools, conducted by the missionaries, Protestant as well as Catholic. It is not that I wish to overlook — or should do so — the merits of those pioneers in the field of Eskimo education. However, the fact is that the mission schools are more and more replaced by Government schools. The residential school at Chesterfield Inlet is deservedly one of those official institutions of which the Government can be justly proud. There, at Chesterfield, Catholic Eskimo children are boarded every year from mid-August till mid-May in the school conducted by the Montreal Grey Nuns. Transportation of the children is effected by airplane: the Government entrusts an airline with the task of bringing in the children every fall and taking them back to their families every spring. If we consider that those children live miles and miles away . . . that the Eskimo parents cling dearly to their children . . . that travelling conditions are often very hazardous in the Arctic, we may guess the difficulties encountered. Sometimes, parents refuse to part from their only son or daughter; sometimes, the airplane, a single-engined Norseman, is forced to land on an ice floe or on the waters of some unknown lake, to stay there overnight with 7 or 8 children on board, until the fog clears away or the engine is repaired. Sometimes, the bad weather does not clear up for days; then, until the plane can fly them out, the children have to board at the Mission, changed into a temporary hotel . . . often not very well-equipped.

What happiness for all when, after one or two weeks of concerted efforts on the part of the parents, the missionaries and the transportation agents, all the children have arrived safe and sound in the comfortable school at Chesterfield! A few steps farther and there stands one of the most modern Federal schools, roomy, well lit, well heated, very clean which welcomes more than a hundred children. The teaching staff is most sympathetic: it is made up of Sisters of Charity, entirely dedicated to their teaching duties, well qualified and endowed with a wealth of experience in their chosen field of endeavor. They also have the much appreciated help of a lay teacher.

When I think of the Chesterfield residential school, I cannot refrain from admiring the wonders wrought by a nation when State and Church co-operate in the all-important work of popular education.

E. Trinel, O.M.I.

"ESKIMO" is published with the approbation of His Exc. M. Lacroix, O.M.I., Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay.

ESI

IN 1926

Pameolik is my usua
good trapper too, he
and how to want it. I
a good wife and a ve
had thirteen children
still living.

In 1926, Pameolik
about twenty years old,
His fiancee, Inukpauy
away up North, in th
Bay.

In the spring of 19
to fetch his fiancee.
accompany him on the
famous medicine man
and influent man. Whe
ed the conjugal hun
found that Inukpauyar
another Eskimo; she ev
and was expecting her

There were a few
Pameolik had been slov
tended wife, another h
ever, since he was ther
away with him.

Therefore, one fine
loaded his sleigh, hitch
it and, when everythi
beckoned to Inukpauyar
his side. She came and
way. There were thirty
to cross by canoe; it
cause Pameolik and
their way well.

They landed near the
and continued on their
the sea ice. Then, the
on the land, the sleigh
the various pieces of g
the dogs' and men's bac
they negotiated on foot
miles across the barren

On the second day
pauyar gave birth to a
one day. It enabled Pam
bou and to offer some
young mother. The f
journey was resumed t
Sixty miles, over hill ar
mosquitoes, within three

Thus Laurent Pameo
great friend, was marrie
honeymoon with Elizabe
of my best Christian wo

Concerning an Article on Education

In a recent edition of the "Bulletin of Northern Affairs (published in English by the Department of Northern Affairs) appeared an article by Mr. Farley Mowatt on the education of the Eskimos. Mr. Mowatt, who has sometimes been called "Canada's angry young man", "expert in Eskimo matters" or "champion of the Eskimos" has mostly distinguished himself during the last ten years by virulent attacks in books, magazine articles or radio talks, against all those who, up to now, had looked after the Eskimos, especially against the missionaries. In the past, we criticized in "ESKIMO" the best known work of this writer; we will not bring it up again.

In that new article, Mr. Mowatt contributes practically nothing new to what we have already heard from him, with the exception of a quotation from ESKIMO. We will see what it is worth!

His argumentation could be summed up as follows: the missionaries have denied the Eskimos the education to which they were entitled and have raised a barrier between them and the rest of the world.

Mr. Mowatt begins by telling us that the Canadian Eskimo has been in contact with civilization for three hundred years and in close contact for one hundred years. If, despite that fact, the Eskimo is little known to the rest of the Canadian population and has been unable to communicate with them, it is of course the fault of the missionaries who have kept him jealously isolated.

We may wonder what Mr. Mowatt means by contact and close contact when we remember that the first permanent posts were established in the Arctic by the Hudson's Bay Co. and the Mounted Police not much more than fifty years ago and that some of the Ahiarmiut — whom Mr. Mowatt claims to know — had never seen a white man until twenty years ago. As to the first Catholic Mission in Eskimo land, it dates back to 1912. If the Eskimos were in contact with white men two and a half centuries prior to our arrival, would our critic explain how we could prevent them from communicating with each other? Let us say with the lamb in the well known fable: "How could I have done it since I was not born?"

A brief glance at a map of Canada — map of the climate, of the road and railway networks — will show that it is useless to ascribe Eskimo isolation to a clerical conspiration.

And, according to Mr. Mowatt, how have we raised a barrier between the Eskimos and the rest of the Canadians? By refusing to teach them one of the two official languages of Canada. (By the way, had we taught them French, very likely the cry of nationalism would have been raised!)

Mr. Mowatt advances an irrefutable argument. Several years ago, we had said in ESKIMO that the pupils at the Chesterfield boarding school were going to be taught what would be useful to them as hunters and trappers. Here is, triumphantly exclaims Mr. Mowatt, the kind of education the missionaries intend to give the Eskimos!

As most of the readers will not check up on the quotation, they might find such an argument convincing. Others will quickly perceive that this quotation lifted out of its context is sheer humbug. In the quoted passage, we simply meant to answer those who were telling us that the education given at Chesterfield would be totally inadequate for the Eskimo by showing them that an effort at adaptation would be undertaken. To the unprejudiced mind, all the rest of our article proved that we had never intended to restrict the education of the Eskimo to a mere apprenticeship in trapping or seal boot making. Had we said that the Eskimos would be given music lessons, it might just as well have been claimed that we intended solely to teach the Eskimos to play the piano or the accordion. This shows up the logic of that reasoning!

Let us see now if the facts agree with Mr. Mowatt's assertions.

He cannot ignore that, for many years, the Eskimos have been learning English at the Sisters' school at Aklavik. On the other hand, by an amusing coincidence, the "Northern Affairs Bulletin" itself, several pages after Mr. Mowatt's article, tells us that the first Eskimo air hostess was educated by the Grey Nuns at James Bay and speaks French and English fluently, as well as her native tongue and Cree! . . .

As to the Chesterfield School, nothing prevents Mr. Mowatt from discovering for himself that English is actually taught there. He may even, if he has a mind for it, compare the results obtained at Chesterfield with those recorded by the Government-run schools for Eastern Eskimos and he will be enlightened about the so-called inferiority of the teaching given by the good Sisters! . . .

He may reply that he intended mostly to criticize the teaching given in the various missions.

It is evident that those "schools" were never intended to compete with those found in the so-called civilized country. If Mr. Mowatt were acquainted with conditions obtaining in the Arctic until the last few years and still existing today in many outposts, he would know that they are seldom conducive to regular, steady teaching . . . just as the administration has found at its own expense

in more than one place. I
sions, the permanent resic
a very small percentage o
tion and the missionary h
and sometimes lengthy
various Eskimo camps. Is
during those short stays
even a few weeks, the mi
the first place, of giving
tion and attending to the
in teaching the children
write in their own tongue
to them a few notions o
graphy and hygiene? . . .

When he asserts that
to teach the Eskimos the
Mr. Mowatt shows himself
informed. However, it wou
for him to get informatio
do so. It is true that we
the Eskimo children the
wh'ch are much more si
well-known in the East t
unable to write in their o
easily be counted. We do
ever, that there exists c
we did not teach writing
ters at the same time. F
translation of the Gospels
was published more than
the prayer book in use at p
sons is printed both in sy
characters.

Mr. Mowatt seems also
having learnt the langua
instead of teaching him f
as if our main duty had
ourselves understandable
teach him, instead of in
language on him from th
always thought that the
there to serve the Eskimo
to serve him, that the fir
one who pretends to teach
to understand him by lear
guage.

If there has been in fac
as regards this knowledg
language, can the mission
be blamed for it? No or
Mr. Mowatt from learnin
if he wanted to devote h
kimos. Apparently, he ha
way: he prefers to draw t
publicity by covering the
sarcasm from afar while,
he collects handsome prof
ings.

As he has already done
in his radio talks, Mr. M
us, as a model in the fi
what was done in Greenlar
on wh'ch we are in full
him. However, he is great
imagines that he can pro
that manner.

He asserts, without wi
were no illiterates left in
middle of the last century

the Eskimo population at any cost and as quickly as possible.

A long time ago, we acknowledged here that it was necessary for the Eskimo to learn one of the official languages of Canada sooner or later. However, we had also pointed out that the Eskimo language should not be entirely sacrificed for that reason, that it deserved to survive otherwise than as a dead language.

Now we must forcibly observe that nothing or practically nothing has been done nor have any steps apparently been foreseen in order to preserve and encourage the study of the Eskimo language in the schools. Undoubtedly, in certain places, beginners are taught the syllabic characters, that is to say the alphabet: that is very little.

The issue is evaded by stating that, after all, there are no competent teachers in the Eskimo language. Had Hans Egede and the other pioneers of education in Greenland — Lutheran missionaries — adopted the same way of reasoning, instead of settling down courageously to the study of the Eskimo language, it is probable that all the present Greenlanders would only speak Danish . . . or most of them would be illiterate.

Without heeding the recommendations of the UNESCO, practically no effort has been made up to now to use the language nor to adapt the programs to the mentality and the cultural medium of the Eskimo.

"English first and foremost" seems to be the present watchword to which all else must be subordinated. At Chesterfield — where the Government programs are compulsory — several hours heretofore devoted to practical work have even been eliminated in favor of English classes. In theory, the child benefits from three months vacation during which he is able to resume contact with Eskimo life; in practice however, those three months are shortened most of the time and can only familiarize him with the easiest aspects of a hunter's and fisherman's life.

The question which we would like to ask here is this: for what kind of life do they intend to prepare the Eskimo children? It is understood that the most intelligent will be able to pursue their studies and to prepare themselves for the careers promised to them. What of the others? Must they all work in the mines or in the lumber camps while the miners, at the present time, are clamoring for their traditional foods? Did not Mr. Mowatt himself declare not so long ago: "It is a senseless excuse to say the Eskimos must change their diet — as senseless as suggesting that our race should abandon the basic products of our land in favor of strange foods to be imported from a far-distant region."

Did not Mr. Mowatt also criticize the method intending "to carry the Northern Peoples into our complex and unfamiliar life at one gigantic leap?" It is true that the argument seemed excellent to him at the time . . . . as long as it could serve as an attack against Church schools.

* * *

It is time that the Administration should define its policy in matters of education. If it is not intended to eliminate the Eskimo language, are there any practical means under study to give it its proper place in the schools and to foster in the young Eskimos a legitimate pride of their origins and of their language?

We will be called reactionaries as Mr. Mowatt has done. The reaction which we represent here is the reaction of auto-defence of the peoples threatened with the extinction of their individuality. It is found almost everywhere in the world, among the civilized peoples as well as among those who have not reached the same degree of civilization; it is legitimate as long as it does not take the form of a narrow nationalism. To mention Europe only, Flemish, Erse, Cymric, Breton, Basque, Provençal, Catalan and other minority languages enrich the various national cultures; their disappearance would be a loss for mankind. Besides, it is well known that some of them are now experiencing a lively resurgence.

The intellectual Bantus show an ever greater interest in African culture. Perhaps, within a few decades, the intellectual Eskimos will also manifest a similar interest in their own culture and appreciate, better perhaps than their forefathers, the steps which will have been taken to prevent its disappearance. As a matter of fact, one thing which is observed in nearly all recently civilized peoples is, after a first period of servile imitation of the whites, a research into the components of their own originality.

This desire of peoples to preserve their own culture may moreover be reconciled with the search for the universal which characterizes the great European cultures. The man who speaks one language only is to be pitied. If that unity to which the world aspires were to be achieved through the disappearance of all the particular cultures to the advantage of a single one, such a world would have become very poor indeed, whatever its technical achievements might be.

Mention has been made of "the Canadian mosaic" in alluding to the various races which populate Canada. However, in order to have a mosaic, must not each piece retain its own color? If it is crushed or melted with the others, the result will only be a flat greyish tint.

If it is truly intended that the Eskimo race should retain its individuality, while occupying its rightful place in the nation, it must be helped to understand, from the school, that its language cannot be compared to an old garment which should be discarded, that it has a role to play in its intellectual development.

The T
Cam

The time had come,
my feet in the spots
with strips of sticking
man dabbed my nose
a brick red powder
with an unfortunate
helper rushed to brush
from my jacket; the
conscientiously measu
tween the tip of my
was advised once more
— to appear relaxed,
"Action," shouted the

This scene took pla
large Hollywood studi
to be interviewed in or
vision public a few
room, high as a churc
people: two under th
jectors and the othe
assistant producer, dir
tor, sound engineer, e
of the personnel, a g
appeared to me quite
been told that the ren
sonnel included, cost
—a mere trifle!

While the camera
thoughts took flight
miles North and I rem
making under an igloo
which had almost noth
what was happening to

ESKIMO Vol. 66
December 1963

WHERE DO WE STAND WITH ESKIMO EDUCATION?

Guy Marie-Rousselière, O.M.I.

A few months ago, I paid a visit to a nine-year-old Eskimo girl hospitalized in the South, far from her family. To my suggestion that she write a letter which I could deliver to her parents, she replied that she did not know how to write, no more in English than in Eskimo. Knowing her to be intelligent, my first reaction was one of surprise. But I quickly remembered that she lived in Frobisher Bay and that she attended the Federal Government school, the only school, where, under the pretext of avoiding segregation, young Eskimos are given the same instruction as young English-Canadian children. It is obvious that there is no room in such a school for the teaching of Eskimo writing.

I could not help but think back ten years, when all little nine-year-old Eskimo girls who attended the mission schools, which have been so loudly decried by certain people, could write in their own language and had no trouble communicating with their parents.

This is but one example. It is characteristic of the situation which presently prevails in the North, where teaching is organized with little or no account taken of the Eskimo cultural milieu; we might even add: in order to break as soon as possible the bond which links the young Eskimos to their cultural environment.

The curricula are those of the provinces to the South. All books used in lower grades refer to objects which are undoubtedly familiar to young people in Ontario, but which are as many enigma to the young Eskimo. The young Eskimo is suddenly thrust into a world which is totally different from his own. It isn't necessary to have completed advanced studies in pedagogy to see the irrationality of this method. While almost everywhere in the world, the ever-widening gap between generations is deplored, it seems that in the Canadian Arctic, a special effort is being made to widen the gap between the Eskimo and his children. Isn't this making the Eskimo pay a little too dearly for the benefits of "civilization"?

When I pointed out this lack of adaptation to Northern Education officials three years ago, I was told that teachers had been instructed to adapt their teaching methods to the Eskimos. Now the question is: can the average teacher who never before seen an Eskimo adapt his teaching methods to a mentality about which he knows practically nothing? Has he been prepared for his role as a teacher of Eskimo children? The answer is no; even if, from the ranks of the teaching body in the Arctic, some outstanding personalities have emerged, who distinguish themselves by their interest in the Eskimo culture and their understanding of the needs of their pupils.

There is, in the Northern Affairs Education Division, a Curriculum Section whose task is precisely to see that programs are adapted to needs. What I had been told about it by a well-informed woman teacher had left me a little skeptical as to the value of the work accomplished by this agency. Therefore, wishing to find out where matters stood, I sought information, a few months ago, from the Northern Administration Branch. The answer I received amounted to an admission that, more than twelve years after the establishment of the first Federal

schools in the Arctic, no major steps had yet been taken to adapt teaching to local conditions. At this rate, the last of the Eskimo will have been thoroughly anglicized before someone decides to notice that the Eskimo's needs in education were different after all from those of other Canadians.

Two or three years ago, however, one might have believed that Northern Administration's policy was finally going to change. At a meeting called by Northern Affairs to discuss Eskimo orthography, a representative of the Education Division revealed that the inhabitants of an important Arctic settlement were opposed to having their children taught in English. We were then assured that it had been decided in principle to teach exclusively in Eskimo in the first two grades and that English would be introduced progressively in following grades.

At about the same time, the Assistant - Director of the Northern Administration Branch wrote for "North", a long article in which the right for Eskimos to be taught in their own language was recognized and where the new policy was justified pedagogically. A little later, the same senior civil servant, in an article in the same magazine, examined integration and assimilation and stood resolutely on the side of an integration policy which would not lead to a cultural levelling.

Unfortunately, it is a fact that the Director of the same Northern Administration Branch seems to be of a quite different opinion. In an interview granted to the editor of "North" (Vol. 9, No. 1, 1962), he clearly compares the case of the Eskimos to that of immigrants. To him, "the fact of being a Canadian seems to outweigh and render irrelevant all other racial and national connections."

Is it necessary to underline the fact that such principles lead directly to a policy of assimilation?

When the same man attempts to justify his attitude by stating that it "deals in realities rather than abstractions", his thinking becomes a little hard to follow; because after all, doesn't the reality of being an Eskimo matter more to an Eskimo than the abstraction of Canadian citizenship, even if he is a part of a vast economic complex called Canada.

One is astonished by the expression of such views at a time when the problem of Canadian biculturalism was being brought into increasingly sharper focus.

"Canadians all and Canadians only", we are told. Unfortunately, everyone has a different understanding of the word Canadian, a fact only too well illustrated by the unending quarrel over the Canadian flag. So, when some people say: Let us teach the Eskimos "our Canadian way of life", we can readily assume that they mean their own English-Canadian way of life, as if it were the only possible way of life for a Canadian.

At the very moment when a Royal Commission is undertaking the study of inter-ethnic relations and the rights of the various Canadian cultures, it seems a little outdated to speak of the "melting pot" as the ideal to strive for in Canada.

Like it or not, the Canadian Confederation can only survive through pluralism accepted by all. If the rights of French-Canadians are recognized, why should the Eskimos, first inhabitants of our country, be deprived of theirs? However, the viewpoint adopted by the great majority of Northern Affairs officials seems to be that the Eskimo must adopt the way of life and language of the Canadian to the South if he is to compete successfully with the southerners in the exploitation of his country's riches. But when the riches of the country are spoken of, too often all but the mineral resources are ignored; as if fauna itself were not a natural resource to exploit. The object of education being to prepare a child for a way of life, that of the

Eskimo is conce[...] that perspective.

The recent exp[...] Inlet has shown [...] hazardous to ser[...] the Eskimo econo[...] fied specialists of th[...] that the "great vis[...] is mainly utopia [...] of the North — [...] seeable future and w[...] changes which coul[...] by new technolo[...] marked improve[...] will be a poor econ[...]

Dr. Jenness po[...] reason, that the fu[...] North remains very[...] because of the com[...] more accessible re[...] a few years, th[...] probably be made[...] lites and other tech[...] The same will be[...] a well-known fac[...] airport has already[...] usefulness).

Since realism is[...] days, it is not realis[...] the Eskimo to deri[...] from the resource[...] exploit with ma[...] the present time, [...] him unilaterally fo[...] say the least, are p[...]

This does not m[...] mo child should be [...] ed towards the tra[...] in the strictest ser[...] a matter of fact, [...] hunter already "m[...] certain extent? Th[...] given the opportu[...] skill or trade usefu[...] country, if he so w[...] required aptitudes[...] must also be select[...] higher studies made[...] The Eskimo obvious[...] from the Euro-Ca[...] his interest to lea[...] two official languag[...]

Eskimo is conceived on the basis of that perspective.

The recent experience at Rankin Inlet has shown that mining is too hazardous to serve as the sole basis of the Eskimo economy. The most qualified specialists of the Arctic now agree that the "great vision" of the North is mainly utopia and that the economy of the North — at least in the foreseeable future and without prejudice to changes which could be brought about by new technological advances or a marked improvement in climate — will be a poor economy.

Dr. Jenness points out, with good reason, that the future of mining in the North remains very uncertain, mainly because of the competition offered by more accessible regions. Moreover, in a few years, the DEW Line will probably be made obsolete by satellites and other technological advances. The same will be true of air bases (it's a well-known fact that Frobisher Bay airport has already lost much of its usefulness).

Since realism is a favorite topic these days, it is not realistic to first prepare the Eskimo to derive greater benefits from the resources he doesn't always exploit with maximum efficiency at the present time, before specializing him unilaterally for tasks which, to say the least, are problematical.

This does not mean that the Eskimo child should be uniformely oriented towards the traditional way of life, in the strictest sense of the word. As a matter of fact, isn't the Eskimo hunter already "mechanized" to a certain extent? The Eskimo should be given the opportunity of choosing a skill or trade useful to him in his own country, if he so wishes and has the required aptitudes. The more gifted must also be selected and the access to higher studies made easier for them. The Eskimo obviously can learn much from the Euro-Canadians and it is in his interest to learn one of Canada's two official languages. But is it ne-

cessary to make him into a carbon copy of the southern Canadian to accomplish this?

It would seem that everything possible is being done at the moment to present the Eskimos with the following alternative: either lose his cultural identity and take the advantages of civilization, or vegetate through the miserable existence of the hunter-fisherman-trapper destined to become more and more difficult.

The proof that there is room for a third possibility lies in the current success of native handicraft and fishing co-operatives.

However, as pointed out recently by one of our missionaries in ESKIMO(1), the education given Eskimo children at the present time in no way prepares them for integration in such a co-operative system. Moreover, the present educational system is oriented towards the production of what has been called the modern "homo arcticus" who will be neither

(1) Sept. 1963; "Arctic Co-ops" by Louis Fournier.

white nor Indian, nor Eskimo, nor Protestant, nor Catholic — some would also have him believing neither in God nor Satan — but rather be only Canadian and speak only English.

The prototype of the crucible from which is to emerge this ideal product, free of all that might make it distinctive, is none other than the non-confessional Yellowknife High School. Efforts are being made at the present time to attract children there from all parts of the Arctic. It is this environment, carefully sterilized of all that might resemble an Eskimo atmosphere, which is offered to the Eskimo child as the only access to civilization, under the pretext that any other solution would smack of segregation. It can readily be seen that the word segregation is very practical: it brings all debate to an end and makes all effort at adaptation unnecessary.

Is it necessary to point out that this tendency to obliterate all that is Eskimo in the Eskimo is nothing new and that many influences have been applied to the same purpose during the last ten years? The inability of medical authorities to organize adequate medical service in the North has forced transportation of the sick to the South, to the extent that almost half of the present adult Eskimo population has experienced a more or less lengthy stay in civilization, a stay from which all did not always bring back the best.

There have also been, in the North, too many whites who have done their utmost to model the Eskimos around them after themselves. We are not referring to those who gave lessons of cleanliness and hygiene or taught useful skills, but to those who thought it indispensable to initiate the Eskimo to what was most ephemeral and debatable and often most unadapted to the North — in style, for instance. Like the woman who compelled her Eskimo maid to cut her hair regularly or the teacher who could think of nothing better to give the ten-to-twelve-year-old girls at his school for Christmas than lipstick. Is teaching the Eskimo to ape the white man civilizing him?

The missionary has perhaps not always been immune to similar failings, sometimes forgetting to distinguish between the essential and the accessory and introducing practices and little devotions overly influenced by his own cultural sensitivity.

* * *

It is time that the Eskimos be given what has been called "the right to be different". And that right will have been truly granted only when the Eskimos have their own schools and are taught, as much as possible, in their own language.

Let it not be said that these are the views of a small group of backward missionaries and inveterate utopians.

The Director of the Northern Administration Branch believes he can say that his views on assimilation are shared by the Eskimos he knows. But it seems that, even among those, there are some who aren't quite of the same opinion. The "melting pot" is probably not the ideal of Abraham Okpik, Superintendent of the Frobisher Bay Rehabilitation Centre, who wrote in

NORTH: "If
we lose our pe
belong to the
whites . . . The st
people depends
language . . . If
don't use their
be forgotten, and
mo too will b
How then wil
served if, at the
child is given the
nothing but cu
baggage which
reaping the adva
white man. On
mony of Mary
the Eskimo-lan
lished by North
explicit: she dem.
given the Esk
teaching given
where in this issu
letter she wrote o
Fort Chimo ne

As for the
opinion is gener
such matters. W
by Northern
admission, that
of the main settle
Arctic had prot
clusively English
schools. The rec
in the Central Arc
she justified he
youngest child
"The older one
they were change
This one shall s
to remain an Es

It should also r
all members of the
in the Arctic sha
assimilation of
are a few significa
a book (2) writte
by the first teac
ernment into
Englishwoman w
in Lapland, Austra
countries.

(2) School-House in t
Hinds. London —

NORTH: "If we lose our language, we lose our personality . . . we don't belong to the Eskimo people or the whites . . . The survival of the Eskimo people depends on the survival of the language . . . If the Eskimos themselves don't use their language more, it will be forgotten, and very soon the Eskimo too will be a forgotten people." How then will the language be preserved if, at the outset, the Eskimo child is given the impression that it is nothing but cumbersome and useless baggage which prevents him from reaping the advantages offered by the white man. On this point, the testimony of Mary Paniguseq, editor of the Eskimo-language magazine published by Northern Affairs, is more explicit: she demands that a place be given the Eskimo language in the teaching given Eskimo children. Elsewhere in this issue, you will find the letter she wrote on this subject to the Fort Chimo newspaper.

As for the "average" Eskimo, his opinion is generally not sought on such matters. We have seen however, by Northern Administration's own admission, that the inhabitants of one of the main settlements in the Eastern Arctic had protested against the exclusively English teaching given in the schools. The recent remark of a widow in the Central Arctic is symptomatic; she justified her refusal to send her youngest child to school by saying: "The older ones went to school and they were changed into white men. This one shall stay with me: I want to remain an Eskimo."

It should also not be assumed that all members of the teaching profession in the Arctic share the enthusiasm for assimilation of their superiors. Here are a few significant quotations from a book(2) written not so long ago by the first teacher sent by the Government into Eskimo country, an Englishwoman with wide experience in Lapland, Australia and many other countries.

(2) School-House in the Arctic, by Margery Hinds. London — Geoffrey Bles.

"Sometimes white people who work among primitive peoples lead the primitive peoples to the belief that only the white peoples' ways are right, and that everything pertaining to their own culture is heathenish and undesirable."

"Until it becomes possible to offer the Eskimo some better way of life — a better way being one the Eskimo himself would consider better and not necessarily what the white man thinks the Eskimo ought to consider better — satisfactory thing to do is to help him to help himself live in as good a way as possible according to his present mode of existence . . ."

"It would appear that the education of these people should be on a pattern specially suited to their needs . . ."

"It is for the Eskimo himself to change his customs and ideas if he wishes to . . . In the meantime I shall try to do all that I possibly can to help the Eskimo keep his language and customs and at the same time help him to learn English as a second language, and if possible French as a third language. I myself am trying to learn as much as possible of the Eskimo language, for I know by experience in other parts of the world that the only way to get to know people is to speak to them in their own language."

One government has had the courage to recognize explicitly the right of the Eskimos to keep their language: that government is the Government of the Province — some now say the State — of Quebec, of which 2,000 Eskimos in the Ungava Peninsula depend.

Our Canadian readers haven't forgotten the sensation caused by Premier Lesage's statement to the effect that Quebec Eskimos would be taught in their own language, would learn French as a second language and, thirdly, English.

As could be expected, a policy announced in such resolute fashion could not but provoke numerous reactions and swirls in public opinion.

The Federal Government reconsidered the transfer of powers to the provincial Government — powers until such a way of life becomes available to him, it seems that the only which only the weakness of previous Quebec administrations had prevented them for exercising, the powers being constitutionally provincial property — under the pretext that the Eskimos hadn't been consulted and, in fact, preferred to learn English as a second language. This solicitude for Eskimo wishes would be very touching were it not for the fact that it comes a little late. For, really, when, until now, did the Federal Government bother to ask the Eskimos in what language they wanted their children taught? Furthermore, how could the Eskimos choose between two systems when they have so far been exposed to only one?

One would have to be quite naive not to see that this sudden recognition of the rights of the Eskimos to be consulted in matters of education — recognition which, let us repeat, is contradicted by the very attitude of the Department of Northern Affairs in the rest of the Arctic — is only a smoke-screen to hide purely political motives. Emphasis is laid on the second language when it should be only of accessory interest. We would be the first to protest if the Government of Quebec attempted to gallicize its Eskimos like the Federal Government is attempting to anglicize its Eskimo dependents. What really matters is the fact that, for the first time in Canada, a government has recognized an aboriginal group's right to receive its education in its own language.

It is to be hoped that the Quebec experiment will take place and that Ottawa will readily accept the peaceful challenge just issued by Quebec in the field of education. The federal administration, which seems so certain of having found the ideal formula for the education of the Eskimos, should not fear the comparison with another system. Does it perhaps fear that the Eskimos in its charge will eventually claim the same rights as those in Quebec?

May it suffice to mention the example of Greenland which ESKIMO has often discussed.

As for Soviet Russia, which, as we know, is pursuing, via more subtle methods, the russification work of the Czars, it must be noted that it also teaches at least part of the curriculum in the language of the Eskimos and other indigenous groups of Siberia.

What, in practice, is the situation in the North and what could be done to achieve a better adaptation of teaching to the needs of Eskimo children?

At the present time, this teaching is done either in the large schools where students live in adjacent residences or in local schools in the larger settlements.

The purpose of the residence-schools is to offer education to the Eskimo children who live in camps without compelling their parents to leave the hunting ground to settle near the village school. No one pretends that the formula is perfect. There is a great difference between the Chesterfield Inlet

school located righ
Eskimo country a
child feels at hon
Inuvik, located at t
line, frequented by
children and whe
more than a thous
family.

There are also
schools, homes w
distant camps bo...
family. This system
because, not only
child from his
doesn't offer the
of the organized res

Is there not a
encouraging Eskir
tle in the villages at
off part of their me
Some blithely acce
watch the relief pa
Who cares so long
footing the bill! Th
the Eskimos are al
other way.

Let's see what t
testimony we ha
thinks of it:

"It seems to me
of the primary schoo
under a to-be-per
of teaching combi
school in the settlem
parents trade. The
most difficult, for
knows anything c
cation. Soon the pres
parents anxious to h
to learn and capab
encouragement."

"Pupils of excepti
so desire, should be
nical or high schoo
and not where they
numbered by white
happens that Esl
schools where mo
white lose their pri
language and their cu

After recountin
special High Schoo

school located right in the middle of Eskimo country and where the Eskimo child feels at home and the school at Inuvik, located at the edge of the tree-line, frequented by Indian and white children and where some Eskimos are more than a thousand miles from their family.

There are also, near some village schools, homes where children from distant camps board with an Eskimo family. This system is far from ideal because, not only does it separate the child from his family, but also it doesn't offer the supervision and care of the organized residence.

Is there not a solution other than encouraging Eskimos in camps to settle in the villages at the risk of cutting off part of their means of subsistence? Some blithely accept this solution and watch the relief payments rise sharply. Who cares so long as the taxpayer is footing the bill! The sad thing is that the Eskimos are also paying, but in another way.

Let's see what the teacher whose testimony we have already quoted thinks of it:

"It seems to me possible for most of the primary school work to be done under a to-be-perfected camp system of teaching combined with work at a school in the settlement at which the parents trade. The beginning is the most difficult, for no one in the camp knows anything of white man's education. Soon the present pupils will be parents anxious to help their children to learn and capable of giving suitable encouragement."

"Pupils of exceptional ability, who so desire, should be able to attend technical or high school in the Northland, and not where they would be outnumbered by white pupils. It usually happens that Eskimos who attend schools where most of the pupils are white lose their pride of race, their language and their culture . . ."

After recounting her visit to the special High School for Lapps created

by the Swedish Government. Miss Hinds adds:

". . . In time, more and more Eskimos will become eligible for high school education. What could be better for those who wish to be educated but still retain their traditional way of life, than that they should have the opportunity to attend a school of the type of the Jokkmokk High School for Lapps. The question of segregation does not enter the situation. A man who wishes to become a lawyer doesn't attend medical school to receive his training; neither does a butcher train for his job in a carpentry shop . . ."

We can also add that experiments in other parts of the world, particularly in South America, should prompt the exploration of the possibilities of teaching by radio. Everything leads to believe that such an undertaking would be successful. A very high proportion of the Eskimo population follows the CBC's Eskimo - language broadcasts

and rare are the camps where there is not a single receiver. The receivers could well be supplied by the Government.

The question of the introduction of the Eskimo language in teaching is complex: everything cannot be done in one day. The lack of competent teachers and textbooks in Eskimo is obviously a major obstacle to a rapid solution of the problem. But this obstacle is not insurmountable and it should not be used as a reason to do nothing.

At this very moment, some Eskimos have progressed sufficiently in their studies to be oriented towards a teaching career. Special advantages would have to be offered to attract them to this career and we should also not demand from them at the outset the competence and diplomas expected from the white teachers. A special program of studies should therefore be established for them with refresher courses during the summer as necessary.

Why not also consider, during the initial period, recruiting in Greenland and Alaska Eskimo teachers who could familiarize themselves very rapidly with the Canadian dialects.

In the establishment of programs and the preparation of textbooks, we must look to Greenland for inspiration. There will be no lack of work but the way has been shown by the pioneers.

Let us conclude. The present school system is organized to make the Eskimo child lose conscience of the fact that he belongs to a distinct people, under the pretext of putting within his reach the same opportunities offered the white child. If we do not wish to deny him the possibility of remaining Eskimo, the following points should be admitted:

— Explicit recognition of the Eskimos' right to keep their language and a recognized place for that language in teaching programs, particularly in lower grades.

— Special training program for Eskimos who wish to become teachers or teacher-aides.

— At a level to be determined, thorough teaching of at least one second language to allow young Eskimos to choose between remunerative work or further study.

— Scholarships for the more gifted students to allow them to seek a secondary or superior level of education with special privileges for those who choose careers in health or education services.

— A serious effort to make education available to children in camps without compelling them to move to the settlements by intensifying teaching sessions in camps and by developing teaching by correspondence and radio. All this in eventual conjunction with the presence of teacher-aides in the camps.

At a time when a Royal Commission is studying the rights of Canadian minorities, we have the right to expect that the Government recognize clearly the rights of the Eskimo minority in matters of education and that it show its good faith by appropriate measures. Otherwise, the most noble statements of principle would run the risk of not convincing anyone.

Guy Marie-Rousselière, O.M.I.

The topic of religion was not broached in this article. It does not mean however that there are no reasons for misgivings on that subject. Obviously, there is a powerful clique, within the Department of Northern Affairs, bent upon eliminating gradually all religious influence in the school and ultimately foisting non-sectarian education on Eskimo youth. Seemingly, the spread of immorality in some schools does not unduly bother those gentlemen! On the other hand, several of them seem to consider the teaching of catechism an insufferable thing!

FOOD

"The worlds in
cieties live are dist
merely the same wo
labels attached."

"If our own edu
moved North, and
gine that teaching
way different from
else, the schools mig
built."

"The Unga

"Many Indians
as a second language
places them at some
the old theory th
forced to abandon
guage and become
English is now gen
It is agreed that th
tellectual developm
found themselves in
to think as adults
language and at th
to think at the adu
Loss of the native
threat to Indian cultu
ty. The Indian chil
municate to his pa
and knowledge whi
in school feels detach
and the parents ine
of loss and resentm

John Melli
Indian-Esk
"I.E.A."

ESKIMO
l'édition franç
vous l'expédier.

Published wit
Apostolic of Hudso

North V. XII No. 4
July-August 1965

Eskimo

On Tuesday, February 2, three young Eskimos were invited to attend the morning session of the Teachers' Conference in Frobisher Bay and give their ideas on northern education.

ANNEE MEEKITJUK,
a stenographer with the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, attended school in Frobisher Bay, Baker Lake and Toronto. She has a disc-jockey program in Eskimo from the CBC station in Frobisher.

SIMANIK JEAMIE,
an apprentice plumber attended school in Frobisher and Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan. He is president of the Frobisher Bay Youth Club.

SIMONIE,
a technical officer with the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, is a leading member of the Eskimo Council at Frobisher, a member of the Apex Hill Community Club and the Baffin Club. Simonie attended school for two years.

Panel on Education

NEIL McTAVISH,
Principal of the Fort Chimo School was chairman of the panel.

Mr. McTAVISH: Will you tell us how the Eskimo people feel about their children leaving home settlements to attend school.

ANNEE: I remember how I felt. I was lonesome.

SIMONIE: Why were some of the children taken from Frobisher Bay to Churchill this year?

BILL BUELL: (Principal-at-large, Arctic District) At Churchill we have shops to teach carpentry and mechanics. Some time within a year or two we hope to have the equipment to teach industrial arts at Frobisher and then the older boys will stay here.

Mr. A. LETT: (Principal, Pond Inlet) Simonie, would you be willing to let your children go away to school?

SIMONIE: At what age?

Mr. LETT: When they are nine or ten.

SIMONIE: One thing I'd worry about is that they would forget their own language.

Mr. W. G. DEVITT: (Superintendent of Education, Arctic District) As a rule, school children are not taken out of their home settlement until they are over 12 years of age. Suppose that your boy has finished grade 8 and he can't go farther because we do not have shops and equipment here. Would you let him go away to school?

SIMONIE: Yes. My brother Mike has a boy, and Mike says that it's good to send them out to learn more. Often the Eskimo do hand work and others do head work. The difference is education. It brings head work which is better.

91860—4

Mr. McTAVISH: When the children go away to school, would you rather have them in a hostel or boarded in a home? (Under the local boarding policy, a school child can be boarded in a home in the community when his parents go out to hunt, or when he goes out to another settlement to attend school. The federal government pays $1.50 a day for his board. As a rule the parents choose the home and it is checked by the teacher or welfare worker.)

ANNEE: I think a home is better. Then a child could stay with relatives perhaps, or someone he knows and he is not as homesick.

SIMANIK: I think a hostel is better. That way the kids get more sleep at night. In the old days, everyone sleeps when they want to and eats when they want to; some of the older people still do this. But if the children are going to school they need to get to sleep early and this is not easy, especially if it is light outside.

SIMONIE: I'd rather see my kid stay with someone. My brother Mike says that his boy boards in a home and there is someone to tell his boy what to do, and they send letters to Mike telling him not to worry, that his boy is all right.

BILL BUELL: At Churchill, we have 45 Eskimo youngsters in Grade 9. Next year they will be in Grade 10, and more will be moving into the lower grade. We do not have enough boarding homes for everyone.

SIMONIE: We don't know about Churchill. We hear rumors that the young people drink and try to get into the hostel. This worries us.

Mr. BUELL: There is no truth in this. One night an older boy was noisy and frightened two of the children. He is now living in the hostel under supervision.

Mr. DEVITT: Supervisors sleep right in the hostel so that the children are looked after 24 hours a day. There is always someone looking after them.

SIMONIE: Well, that is one thing we didn't know about for sure.

Mr. BUELL: When the children come back home this summer they will tell their parents about Churchill and then the parents will know that they don't have to worry.

Mr. McTAVISH: What can be done to have children come to school more regularly?

ANNEE: Here, when it is 25 degrees below zero it is cold for the little grade ones to walk to school.

Mr. DEVITT: Mr. Manahan, how often does the school bus run in Frobisher Bay?

Mr. MANAHAN: (Principal at Frobisher) The bus runs every morning and night, not at noon.

ANNEE: When I went to school, I walked.

SIMANIK: It would help the children to get to school if the parents were told to go to bed earlier. Some of the houses only have one or two rooms.

Mr. McTAVISH: Tell us some of the problems you know of in getting youngsters to attend school.

SIMONIE: I can't tell you any problems. My boy has been willing to go to school for a long time. He is happy in school, and I am happy to have him there.

ANNEE: At first the language is a problem.

SIMONIE: There is one thing. When my boy got his first school book he would have been happy to see a seal. Right away he sees oranges and apples.

Mr. DEVITT: You'd like to see more Eskimo material in school books?

SIMONIE: I say right away have pictures of dog teams and seals. Have problems like: A hunter has five bullets for his gun and he shoots one to kill a seal. How many bullets does he have left.

ANNEE: But we don't want to study the north very long. We know about the north. We want to learn about Africa and South America and England.

DONNA MATHESON: (Chimo) Simanik, did you like the readers you used at school?

SIMANIK: Not all of them. No. A little bit. But not much.

Mr. McTAVISH: How do the children feel about speaking English? As soon as a teacher comes into the school he says, "Don't speak Eskimo. Speak English." Do the children feel we don't like their language?

ANNEE: No. they don't.

91860—4½

SIMONIE: If the teacher could use a few Eskimo words it would help the children to learn faster. In a day, they learn the English word for seal if the teacher uses the Eskimo word too.

Mr. DEVITT: How many teachers use some Eskimo? (Show of hands.) Eleven.

ANNEE: I don't think the teacher should know Eskimo. If the children know that the teacher speaks Eskimo they will start speaking Eskimo at school.

Mr. McTAVISH: We have one more question for you. Why do Eskimo teen-agers leave school?

ANNEE: They want to have fun. Go dancing. Like teen-agers all over the world.

SIMANIK: I left school because of lack of interest. But new places like the Churchill Training School will teach more. The boys will learn a trade and make money. That is what they want.

SIMONIE: Often the kids don't see what they're going to do when school is over. They don't see jobs. They don't know enough about what they can do after school.

Mr. BUELL: It is difficult for students to understand how long it takes to get an education. After Grade 8, they should take four or five more years at school, and then train to become a teacher or a nurse or an engineer. How can we explain this?

SIMONIE: Use a film, maybe, so they can see what there is they can do.

Mr. DEVITT: Our time is almost up. Many of the points you have made are in our program—and we are glad to have your ideas. Thank you for coming.

courtesy Information Services,
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

A NEW ELEMENT IN ESKIMO EDUCATION

Several of our readers will recall that, for the last fifteen years, we have been advocating the use of the mother tongue in education in Eskimo country. For a long time, we were a voice in the desert. Barely a few people were taking us seriously and those in charge of education in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development would in all probability have felt dishonoured if they had paid attention in the least to our suggestions.

Whether we are responsible in some degree or not, it is understandable that we are pleased to report the beginning of a change in the situation, even if the complete reform of the education of the Eskimos will not come about overnight.

Such an evolution could be foreseen. As a matter of fact, during the last few years, a growing number of teachers began to realize that the skull of the young Eskimo was not an empty receptacle to be filled with a standard merchandise "made in Ontario". They have heard what was done as regards education in other under-developed countries. It is impossible not to mention here the great work done by Father André Renaud, O.M.I., in the development of a program of Indian education at the School of Education of the University of Saskatchewan.

Everywhere in the world, all that is valuable and could not be replaced without difficulty in the values of the so-called primitive people is being recognized more and more. The problems created by a maladjusted teaching in the awakening of the pupils to their identity, leading to the loss of their cultural heritage, are increasingly coming to the fore.

During the meeting organized at Montreal, two years ago, by "the Arctic Institute of North America", to discuss the problems of education in the North, most of those participating had strongly advocated the use of the mother tongue in the school.

Let us remember once more that such a method had been in use for a long time in Greenland and — at least until a fairly recent time — with the Siberian Eskimos. On the contrary, in Alaska as well as in Canada — except for a few schools in the Province of Quebec — all the teaching was done in English exclusively.

Last summer then it was announced in Alaska that a new program of teaching in Eskimo would be launched in three village schools.

Ten years ago or so, the University of Alaska had created a program of Eskimo studies which produced a series of works on the Yupik language. In particular, a new scientific spelling had been devised, a grammar had been published and the first periodical in Yupik had been launched.

The promoters of this initiative (Dr. Michael Krauss among others who supplied us with this information) had proposed in 1968 the introduction of the Eskimo language in the Alaskan public schools. The results of the survey made by the Senatorial Sub-Commission of the United States on Native Education had given more weight to that proposal which, finally, was adopted by the "Bureau of Indian Affairs" and the Alaskan school authorities.

Beginning last fall, in the schools at Akiachak, Nunapitchuk and Napa-

At the Pond Inlet kindergarten.

kiak, the Eskimo ch
school year are taug
tongue. A similar
tried in a kindergar
year. Eskimo teach
over to the second y
until the fifth yea
introduced progressi
years.

This program h
by the Language I
University of Alas
texts were compose
language workshop
Miss Irene Reed wi
assistant, Mr. Pascal

On the other har
dents are at present f
sive course of prepa
fession of Eskimo t

Next fall, this pr
tended to a dozen or
of the Yupik langua
that a similar progr
language will be ina
ally, all the Alas
where Eskimo is spo
from such a bilingu
gram.

In Canada, thin
that far. Still, at th

At the Pond Inlet kindergarten.

kiak, the Eskimo children in their first school year are taught in their mother tongue. A similar experience is also tried in a kindergarten at Bethel. Next year, Eskimo teaching will be carried over to the second year and, eventually, until the fifth year. English will be introduced progressively over those five years.

This program has been developed by the Language Department of the University of Alaska and the school texts were composed by the "Eskimo language workshop", in particular by Miss Irene Reed with the help of her assistant, Mr. Pascal Afeen.

On the other hand, ten native students are at present following an intensive course of preparation to the profession of Eskimo teachers.

Next fall, this program will be extended to a dozen or so of other schools of the Yupik language and it is hoped that a similar program in the Inupik language will be inaugurated. Eventually, all the Alaskan communities where Eskimo is spoken should benefit from such a bilingual education program.

In Canada, things have not gone that far. Still, at the meeting of the school principals held at Yellowknife at the beginning of last winter, a great majority among the teachers of the Eastern Arctic showed themselves favorable to the introduction of the Eskimo language in the schools. At the time this article is written, the plans do not seem to have reached the definite stage but there is every reason to believe that experiments will be carried out in a few schools as early as next fall.

We must also draw attention to a "Research Project on the Education of the Canadian Indians and Eskimos", presented by Mlle Marie-Françoise Guédon and Mr. Asen Balikci, of the Anthropology Department at the University of Montreal. This fairly ambitious project which presupposes the collaboration of the Faculty of Sciences of the same University and of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development includes a research program over five years with the following objectives:

— the study of the working and influence of the school in a certain number of Indian and Eskimo villages;

— the development of a better adapted school program;

Young Eskimo girl playing with traditional dolls.

— the training of teachers specialized for teaching in Indian and Eskimo schools;

— finally, the evaluation of the results obtained in the experimental schools.

Thus, it is hoped to promote a vast program of improvement of education for the native populations of Canada.

We might be tempted to say: all this happens very late! Yes, as Dr. Krauss points out, in certain "Innuit" speaking villages of Alaska, the children no longer know their mother tongue. The same applies to a goodly number of Canadian Eskimos in certain districts.

However, better late than never! It may be permitted to think that, if the Eskimos who have lost their ethnic pride, end up by regaining it, the essential will already be done: the wish to speak their own tongue will naturally follow. We would not be much surprised if, within a few years, we would see Eskimos relearning their own tongue starting from English.

What is urgent at this time is the adoption of a unified spelling for all the Inupik (or Inuit) dialects of Alaska and Canada. Parallel efforts, however made without communication, on both sides of the border, have resulted into two spelling systems which are completely different: one insists perhaps too much, the other too little, on differentiations of the phonics.

It is important that the two parties should engage in dialogue — dialogue in which the Danish and Greenlandic linguists could fruitfully participate — and reach an understanding.

On the other hand, it must be said that by holding exclusively to the syllabic writing, even modified so as to make it more acceptable phonetically, the cause of the Eskimo language at the school will not be furthered.

To arrive at some kind of "linguistic balkanization" of the Eskimo land, by way of defence of its inhabitants' language, would be unthinkable.

Consequently, the situation has changed in a meaningful way and the prospects are encouraging. Still, one should not fall asleep in a smug optimism: much remains to be done before concrete results can be attained. Time is getting short.

G.M.R.

Since the publication
(ESKIMO, Septembe
on the polar bears

Nanuk and its igloo

As soon as the sn
in sufficiently thick
bear seeks a suitable
build its igloo wher
spend a great part of
tered from the bad w

Very often, those
from year to year in
which is easily expla
of the land. In the fal
up the snow in the sh
that, habitually, the
be found on the Sout
of the hills, on the c
the prevailing North-
valley-furrowed tablel
of the Simpson penin
large choice of favour

After digging its d
mains sometimes with
for a while; however, a
is generally sufficient
trance. The bear enlarg
ly and often owns, ev
ning of winter, several
rooms. It may also h
but rarely, that it lea
order to dig another c
early as mid-October,
discovered male as well
comfortably ensconced

Contrary to what
it has been proven th
not the only one to ta
the snow during the wi
too, at least a certain n
dig also their own ig
they leave them more
as the temperature m
the winter and seem to
definitively fairly earl
It is also likely that a

A LOOK AT THE PARLIAMENTARY REPORT ON INDIAN & ESKIMO EDUCATION

From an article by Father Levaque, secretary of the "Oblate Indian and Eskimo Commission," intended more particularly for the Indians, we extract the following excerpts which concern as much the Eskimo population.

The House Standing Committee on Indian Affairs has served the Indian people by publishing the blueprint for a school which they can build themselves. In June 1971, when the Committee Report was tabled in the House of Commons, Chief George Manuel, President of the National Indian Brotherhood, said: "This is the most important Parliamentary Report of the decade as far as Indian people are concerned. It is the first time an official source has understood what we have been trying to say for the past hundred years or more."

Here is a report which grew out of the testimony and evidence of eighty witnesses, gathered by the Committee over a period of two years. The voices were of the old and young, of parents, students, educators and leaders. They were sincere, they were honest, and for once, they were heard! What a waste if they are not heeded! [. . .]

[After the preamble, follow 17 recommendations: here are some of them:]

"2. That all curriculums within the federal program be revised to include:

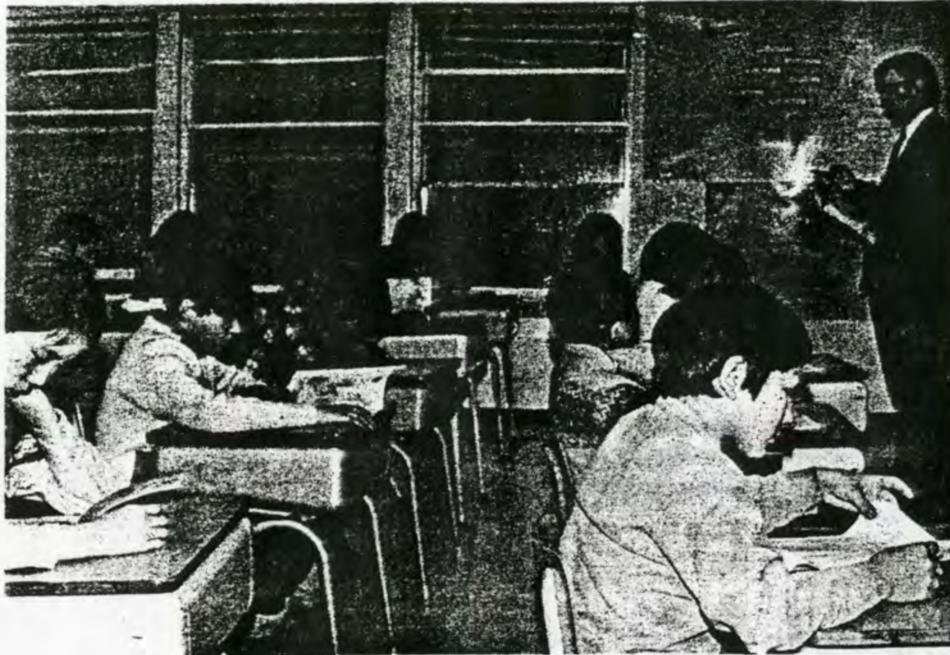
a) Substantially more Indian history, including Indian contributions to the economy, science, medicine, agriculture, exploration, etc.

b) Special courses in Indian culture, music, art, handicrafts, etc., and that pressure be brought upon the respective provincial systems to inaugurate similar reforms wherever Indian children are being taught.

"3. That the language of instruction at the pre-school level and up to the first or second year of primary school should be in the language of the local Indian or Eskimo community, with secondary languages English and/or French being introduced gradually through the pre - school and primary period, and that courses linked to the local Indian or Eskimo culture continue to be taught in the local language throughout the primary level of school.

"4. That decisions regarding the initial languages of instruction and the timing of introduction of secondary and tertiary languages should only be made after consultation with and clear approval from the majority of parents in the communities concerned. [. . .]

"7. That the existing secondary level student residence system for Indian and Eskimo children be phased out wherever the establishment of local high schools [. . .] is possible and is desired by a majority of local parents.



A classroom at Pond Inlet.

"8. That future educational programs provide for flexibility in the timing of vacation periods in consultation with individual communities.

"9. That the Government give consideration to the advisability of providing that sufficient funds be set aside each year to provide for transport to their homes, wherever it is possible, of all boarding school students at Christmas. [. . .]

"17. That the primary objective should be the setting up of additional teacher training and teacher assistant training programs.

"Only a small percentage, probably less than 15% of the teachers working for the Education Branch [. . .] have specialized training in the teaching of Indian and Eskimo children, in acculturation problems, or have any background training in anthropology. Probably less than 10% of the primary grade teachers teaching Indian and Eskimo children in the Federal or Provincial systems have any knowledge of the maternal language of the children they are introducing into the education system.

"If any real progress is going to be made in improving the educational system serving Indian and Eskimo people, it is elementary that we start with a reform of the teacher training programs required of those teachers who teach Indian and Eskimo children."

While the witnesses who gave evidence to the Committee travelled to Ottawa, the Committee members went to many Indian and Eskimo communities to discuss education with community leaders, parents, young people and students.

It is apparent that an enormous investment of energy, time and money went into this investigation on Indian education. A legitimate question is: Was it worth it? Perhaps it is too soon to give an answer.

But the challenge is there for the Government: to adopt policies that are in tune with the expressed wishes of Indian parents. This may mean

very drastic chang
grams and in futu
certainly mean
when personnel
adopt new policies

The challenge is
people: to develop

very drastic changes in established programs and in future planning. It will certainly mean changing personnel when personnel will not change to adopt new policies.

The challenge is there for the Indian people: to develop adequate and practical alternatives to the existing educational system. This will mean abandoning an acquired role of passive acceptance for a role of active responsibility. It means new duties to be understood, accepted and fulfilled. [. . .]

J. E. Y. Levaque, O.M.I.

. . . AND A FEW REMARKS

In recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee, many ideas advanced here during twenty years or so may be recognized. Let us hope that they will not remain dead letter!

Last year, we had reported some new developments in the field of Eskimo education, particularly the progressive introduction of the mother tongue in the Alaskan schools. The weekly "Tundra Times" reported this winter that this program was being carried out at Point Barrow where the majority of the Eskimos are already speaking English.

As regards Canada, we had noted the evolution of ideas, particularly in teaching circles, evolution foreshadowing initiatives parallel to those in Alaska, which are reflected in the Parliamentary Report. We regret to say that, so far, we have not been advised of any significant initiative despite the more important place given the Eskimos themselves in some of the Arctic schools. However, everything is left to local initiative.

Still, we must single out the preparation of a history book, intended for the Northern schools, by Mr. Keith Crow, of the Department of Northern and Indian Affairs, with the effective help of the Arctic Institute of North America, within the frame of its project, "Man in the North". It is expected that this book, intended for the 7th grade students, will be published this fall, then translated to Eskimo and, eventually to other native languages.

The new boarding school at Frobisher Bay opened its doors last fall. A few years ago, the Iglulik Eskimos had signed a petition protesting the choice of Frobisher Bay for the location of that school and suggesting a more appropriate site. It is common knowledge that Frobisher Bay does not enjoy the best of reputations among the Eskimos who have lived there — and they are fairly numerous. Certainly, conditions have not improved during the last few years.

Faced by the publicity given the Iglulik petition in the newspapers and on the radio, the Board of Education had reacted, instructing the principals of the Northern schools to hold meetings with the idea of persuading the Eskimo parents that Frobisher Bay would be an ideal site for their children's education. Still, as the evidence could not be denied, the parents had been promised — artlessness or cynicism? — that their children would be segregated from the local population, as if such isolation were possible, short of building a concentration camp! . . . During one of those meetings, the writer of these lines had pointed out that, between Frobisher Bay and Inuvik, separated from each other by 2,000 miles, there was certainly room for a third boarding school to serve the needs of the central Arctic. The representative of the Administration had admitted that the choice of the site had been dictated by financial reasons. There was a large unoccupied building in that place and it had to be put to good use.

The facts correlate to the fears expressed at the time. Besides young boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 17, the building shelters a certain number of older adolescents and adults. The right to drink has now been lowered to age 18 and as everyone knows, especially nowadays, duties are easily forgotten but not so the rights! On the other hand, some boarders come from places which leave Frobisher very little to envy: they bring with them their problems and their mental-

ities. Everyone knows wl
when rotten apples are
good ones in a basket.
facts have been reported to
large number of boarders
be sent home. Evidently,
palliative and those in
fairly naive to us if they i
all the problems will be ov
a stricter selection.

Other measures are ne
course, the over-18 shoul
ated from the younger o
buildings so arranged th
could sleep without lockin
in their rooms. It may
necessary to build anoth
school in a more central
least for the last years
School".

And above all, childre
able to go as far as the 8th
school of their village, ev
the tenth year when the scl
tion is large enough to wa

ities. Everyone knows what happens when rotten apples are mixed with good ones in a basket. Disquieting facts have been reported to us. A fairly large number of boarders have had to be sent home. Evidently, it is only a palliative and those in charge seem fairly naive to us if they imagine that all the problems will be overcome with a stricter selection.

Other measures are necessary. Of course, the over-18 should be separated from the younger ones and the buildings so arranged that the girls could sleep without locking themselves in their rooms. It may also become necessary to build another boarding school in a more central location, at least for the last years of "High School".

And above all, children should be able to go as far as the 8th grade in the school of their village, even as far as the tenth year when the school population is large enough to warrant it.

Is it vain to hope that the administration will stop confusing education with instruction and will at last realize that education can only be given in favourable surroundings?

As to the place which the Eskimo language and culture should be given in the schools, it is encouraging to note that, faced with the inertia of the Board of Education, some Eskimos have decided to take their own interests in their hands. Thus, the new cultural association at Iglulik, "Inummarit", is already at work preparing a program of Eskimo education and planning the publication of some Eskimo schoolbooks. The Department of Northern Affairs has granted a subvention to the project and the construction of a large building at Iglulik will be undertaken next summer.

It is to be hoped that the Iglulik example will be followed elsewhere.

G. M.-R.

ond Inlet).

the present possibil-
account — that the
will remain very small
to come. With tele-
le Trojan horse has
in the heart of the
ne, until now, was the
Eskimo culture was
n television, it will be-
nent of accelerated an-
acculturation, not to
esintegration.

G. M.-R.

ner

ary Day by joining
specially for our
for them in their

Mass is being cele-
s well as for our

THE MIRAGE OF SCHOOLING

The government has, since a few years, invested large sums of money to educate the Inuit on a large scale : erection of large buildings, often luxurious (in comparison with residences and even many schools in the South), sending white teachers to the North, sending Inuit children to schools in the South, etc.

Everywhere, I think, the schools are filled to capacity. It might be said that about one third of the Inuit people is to be found within the four walls of a school (even if the circular school at Eskimo Point belies this assertion !). There has been undoubtedly a considerable development in the field of schooling. The following statistics prove this : in 1955, there were 380 Inuit children in the N.W.T. schools: in 1971-72, less than 20 years later, they were 4,375.

The Department of Education can take pride in these numbers: it has accomplished a great task, it moved forward with giant steps. Agreed . . . But, in fact, *towards what has it progressed?* There lies the whole problem, and it is a large one. What good is it to dike a torrent if there is no turbine to activate?

With a great deal of money and of publicity, the flowery school train has travelled across the frozen immensity. It has reached its remotest points. It has been loaded with Inuit children, more or less arbitrarily, in first class coaches, with the perspective of a marvellous trip. Just think, this school train was to bring them to the land of plenty, a promised land where, to borrow a biblical expression, "flowed milk and honey," that is to say a land where employment, trade, profession, and all that follows — abundance, money, luxuries, comfort — would be within reach of all those who would reach for them. But, in fact, when a child has spent five, seven, ten, twelve years in school and thinks of getting out, he finds himself in a desert. Not in the promised and boosted land of plenty, but in a dry country, without water, I mean in a *country without jobs*. For many, the end of schooling is even worse : it is the abyss of delinquency. The educated one knows no longer how to live in a country where there are no jobs, no work. Then, today, he begs from those who have led him into this dead-end path. Tomorrow, no doubt, he will show his fist.

Then, can it be said that schooling, as offered and fulfilled among the Inuit has been a myth, a mirage, a drug which creates dreams in technicolor ? I am very much afraid that, alas, the answer is yes. When I see the children coming out of school every day in droves, I am dizzy and I ask myself : in five years, in ten years from now, what will they do ? Has something been foreseen for them ? I mean, concretely and seriously, without bluff nor false propaganda . . .

These youths, constrained to the exigencies of schools for whites, have abandoned the traditional education received from their parents, which taught them how to hunt and fish, an economy of subsistence. They want jobs, simply and naturally, jobs which are in the line of what has been taught to them. If they are educated in the man-

Drawing by Susan Ross.

ner of the whites, it must be expected that they will seek a standard of living equal to that of the whites. Therefore, a policy which goes ahead in education-instruction, without the parallel and active care — that is in spending the same amount and even more — that the instruction given aims at something or to some place, creating jobs and using the existing resources in the highest degree, such a policy is blind: it prepares for bitter deceptions and great difficulties. It is like building upon sand, worse, upon a volcano.

Surely, for twenty years, development of mines has been relied upon to create jobs. But when will this happen ? Will it affe this type of educat one ? I believe th one hundred jobs Strathcona Sound. of this. But is it hundreds of pup year ?

Work in the S does not seem reac of them, to leave of work. For, to t patriation. Anyw them would land our large cities. Fo in development, go have chosen to ad or two generations risk to be sacrific delayed progress. F be that of an ec number of jobs pre but all the childr various degrees. M rooted. In what g transplanted so the

Social welfare, a is more often a co negative, dehumani sooner or later it ground for delinqu orders. Let us simp a solution but a v most pressing dem one hand, the trad been disorganized b the other, the new clearly defined on a serious situation become very dang be found to utilize force which has schooling.

Would it be exa an inconsiderate sc been launched, bec poses of schooling cretely foreseen. Th no one seems to its passengers. Mar been cut off from

pen ? Will it affect everybody, while this type of education is given to every one ? I believe there is talk of about one hundred jobs open to the Inuit at Strathcona Sound, and much is made of this. But is it not ridiculous when hundreds of pupils graduate every year ?

Work in the South ? Our youth does not seem ready yet, for the most of them, to leave the North in search of work. For, to them, it is a true expatriation. Anyway, how many of them would land on the skid rows of our large cities. For fear of being late in development, government educators have chosen to advance levels by one or two generations. Generations which risk to be sacrificed on the altar of delayed progress. Pray God that it not be that of an economic crisis. The number of jobs presently is very small, but all the children are schooled at various degrees. Many have been uprooted. In what ground will they be transplanted so they may live ?

Social welfare, as it is practiced now, is more often a costly solution, it is negative, dehumanizing and, therefore, sooner or later it prepares a choice ground for delinquency and other disorders. Let us simply say that it is not a solution but a way of meeting the most pressing demand when, on the one hand, the traditional society has been disorganized by schooling and, on the other, the new society is not too clearly defined on the horizon. Here is a serious situation which could readily become very dangerous. Means must be found to utilize this energy, a new force which has been let loose by schooling.

Would it be exaggerated to say that an inconsiderate schooling policy has been launched, because aims and purposes of schooling have not been concretely foreseen. The train rolls on, but no one seems to care where it takes its passengers. Many individuals have been cut off from their past, without knowing what will happen to them in the future. Then, for the time being, they are in a vacuum. It is not strange that they find their situation uncomfortable, even distressing.

Looking after schooling only, without planning a paralell and concrete economic development, is to create the worse source of discontent, frustration and conflict that can be imagined; it is to open wide the door to contestation. It is not surprising that among the people involved, in more than one place, some uneasiness, disenchantment, frustration is already noted, which are becoming more accentuated and which could end up, more quickly than one would think, in a revolt against the white man who has destroyed the structure of the past before having built up a new one to replace it effectively. I do not ignore that the meeting of two civilizations with such distinctive, even opposite values, could not but cause a shock and create social problems. But the fact that this meeting seems to have led to a situation without a forseeable issue contributes to magnify and to worsen considerably almost inevitable problems.

We do not delude ourselves. Present schooling, it seems, will only profit to a few, to the ones who will find jobs, let us say it plainly, to a small minority. Then, what about the others, the great majority? Is it wise to urge them to attend a school which seems to lead them nowhere? It is at least normal to ask the question. The divergence between the aspirations and dreams which we have awakened among the Inuit, on the one hand, and the possibilities of jobs, on the other, can have no other result than an ever increasing sourness.

It seems that those who are responsible for education have finally realized the danger that was appearing. With a great deal of good will, efforts are made to remedy what is now called, if I do not err, "the cultural

inclusion". So as not to cut off the Inuit child from his milieu, efforts are made to teach the Inuit culture and technique in the school. It is progress compared to the past, when only white curricula had a right to exist. Nevertheless, it remains that the school, due to this bias, tries to teach the child in a more or less artificial way what was previously taught by the family and the community. This risk is to remain superficial, just enough to save face.

To lay all the blame on the school would, however, be wrong. It must be acknowledged that Inuit families have regrettably abandoned their responsibility, leaving entirely to others the education of their children, disavowing a task which they had admirably fulfilled in the past. In this area, as in many others, they relied blindly on the good white daddy who was gently telling them: "Do not worry: I'll take care of it." Let us hope that, more and more, the Inuit will have the opportunity of looking after their own business. It is not perhaps too late, but it is pressing.

What is the conclusion? The school which wishes to educate and not only to instruct must prepare the little man to become a man adapted to his way of life, an adult responsible for his own life and for that of his family. Without this, the school becomes at the same time anti-educational and anti-social. Instead of helping the child to find himself, to fulfill himself, it aleniates him. These questions must be asked, trying to discern as fully as possible the future which can be honestly proposed to the Inuit and to create schools which will fulfill this task.

If schooling is to be continued in the present rhythm and fashion, it is necessary, at all costs, to do much more to create jobs. Those who have introduced compulsory schooling have the obligation, in strict justice, to offer the students worthy jobs according to their ability. The Inuit have a strict right to demand this, and if they are not listened to, they would be fully justified in accusing the white man of dishonesty or, at least, of a grave lack of conscience.

But if there are not enough jobs available in the short term, it would be necessary to explore other avenues. Either turn away from the school which ends to a dead-end, or give back these children to the family, the community, so that the latter take over again their role as educators in a way of life which had previously been their own. This would not exclude, in any way, a very pragmatic education, as it was given formerly in mission schools. This solution is not valid nor probably desirable for all, but it should be offered to the Inuit who would wish to accept the alternative.

Or a chool could be organized with a double orientation offering a minimum to the ones and a maximum to the others. This would suppose a more supple framework than that of the schools in the South which is identical for every student. Is this utopic? Perhaps, but, as the proverb says, he who chases two rabbits at one time risks missing both of them. It may be objected that looking at the problem in this way might cause discrimination. But discrimination has in fact been introduced in the present school, since, concretely, only a few will be able to find a job.

Perhaps a choice should be offered to the Inuit families, and the type of education given to their children will depend on them:

for those who will take the risk of continuing a more or less traditional way of life, not leaving out improvements, a school more directed to this way of life, and which in its organization and curriculum will not borrow very much to the classical type of school:

for those who
whites' way of li
cording to south
respect to the norn

for those, perha
who opt for a mix
on paid labour —
sonal — and on h
a mixed curriculum

But to let the tr
on, not knowing
even knowing if t
who at least know
motive draws the
young passengers, i
good of the Inuit
as that of the gove
create for itself grea
not quickly harm

IN TH

This story happ
the southwestern
Peninsula, not far
(Let us note that i
that the Netsiligm
their name, not, as i
from the great numl
Mayor Bay).

Two brothers c
and Atanaarjuaq w
fully with their fam
spring time, when t
and attacked by an
younger one was ki
A'awaarjuak, thoug
aged to escape, nak

for those who wish to adopt the whites' way of life, a curriculum according to southern schools, with respect to the norms:

for those, perhaps quite numerous, who opt for a mixed way of life, based on paid labour — occasional or seasonal — and on hunting and fishing, a mixed curriculum is to be planned.

But to let the train of schooling roll on, not knowing where it goes, not even knowing if there is a conductor who at least knows where the locomotive draws the coaches loaded with young passengers, is inadmissible. The good of the Inuit is at stake, as well as that of the government which will create for itself great problems if it does not quickly harmonize its economic policy with its educational policy, if it does not plan the one in function of the other. It is to be hoped that in this planning, it will not forget the primacy of the human over the economy, a truth that many civil servants and businessmen seem to ignore in our advanced technological society.

R. Lechat, O.M.I., Igloolik.

P.S. — An easier solution which requires less imagination is not excluded, — that of proposing birth control to the Inuit, right or wrong, today sterilization, tomorrow abortion. Leaving aside the moral implications, it is certain that if the Inuit accept this solution, they accept collective suicide.

THE STORY OF A REVENGE... IN THE "GOOD OLD TIMES"

This story happened somewhere on the southwestern coast of Boothia Peninsula, not far from Netsilik lake. (Let us note that it is from that lake that the Netsiligmiuk Eskimos take their name, not, as it is said sometimes, from the great number of seals in Lord Mayor Bay).

Two brothers called A'awaarjuaq and Atanaarjuaq were sleeping peacefully with their family in their tent in spring time, when they were surprised and attacked by an enemy party. The younger one was killed, but the elder, A'awaarjuak, though wounded, managed to escape, naked, pursued by his attackers. He managed to outdistance them and reached his parents' camp. They hid him on the shore, covering him with algae, and, when his pursuers arrived a little later, they denied vehemently having seen their son. After a vain search in the neighbourhood, the murderers returned home.

A'awaarjuaq's wounds healed and he spent the summer with his parents, going hunting and killing many cariboos.

In the fall, his father made for him a hardwood and very powerful bow. As to his mother, she only sighed say-

by Lorraine Brandson, assistant curator of the Eskimo Museum operated by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Churchill, Hudsons Bay.

A Look Back at Chesterfield Inlet Boarding School

Inuktitut July 1981

In 1950 the Federal Government of Canada built a Day School with two classrooms at Chesterfield Inlet. From the time the school opened in September of 1951, Mr. Roland Lavirière took charge, until 1953 when two Sisters from the Grey Nuns of Montreal, Sisters Elisabeth Herauf and Pauline Coté, came to Chesterfield to teach at this school.

At that time the Apostolic Vicariate of Hudson Bay, now the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, wished to facilitate "the education of the Eskimo for the benefit of the Eskimo community." With a view to this, the Vicariate, under the direction of Bishop Marc Lacroix, o.m.i., financed the construction of a hostel for students who would be flown in from communities outside Chesterfield Inlet.

Supervised by Brother Gilles Marie Paradis, the hostel was constructed in 1954 with the help of many local Inuit, some Fathers and three brothers. The hostel, called Turquetil Hall, was opened in 1955 to house students flown in from various communities in the Canadian Arctic. From 1955-69, the hos-

The class of Sister Rocan circa 1960.

ᓇᐹᐅᑦ ᔫᑲᓐ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑎᑎᐊᖓ 1960ᐅᑎᓗᒍ.

The Grey Nuns, Chesterfield Inlet.

ᓘᑎᓐ ᐸᕐᓐᓴᓐ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑎ ᐃᓱᒪᑕᕐ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑕᐅᑐᒐᓈᓴᕐᕕᑕ ᑯᒃ ᔭᐊᕐᒥ ᐃᒃ ᓯᒐᒃ ᔭᐃᑦ ᐊᕿᒃ ᓱᕐ ᓯᒪᔭᕐᕕᑦ.

1950-ᐅᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᑲᓇᑕᒥ ᒐᕙᒪᒪᑎᐅᔭᑦ ᐃᓪᓂᐊᕐ ᐃᓕᐅᓕᐅᕐ ᓯᒪᔪᒪᑕ ᒪᕐᕉᔪᓂᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑎ-ᑎᕕᒃᑯᕐ ᓗᓂ ᐃᒡ ᓗᓕᒫᕐ ᔪᒥ. ᑕᐃᒪᓐᖓᓂᑦ ᐃᓕ-ᓐᓂᐊᕐ ᕕᒃ ᒪᑐᐃᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᓴᑉᑖᒻᒪᑎᐅᑎᓪᓗᒍ 1951, ᕉᓚᓐ ᓚᕕᑎᐊᕐ ᐊᓯᔾᔨᓚᐅᕐᒪᑦ, ᑭᓯᐊᓂ 1953-ᖑᓕᕐᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᒪᕐᕉᒃ ᓇᔾᖑᐊᒃ ᒍᒐᐃ ᓇ-ᓐᖑᓂᒐᕐᑕᐅᔭᓂᑦ ᒪᓐᑐᓕᐊᓪᒥᑦ, ᐃᓕᓴᐱᑦ ᕼᐃᒐᕐ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐸᐅᓖᓐ ᑰᑎ ᓇᔾᖑᐊᒃ, ᐃᒡ ᓗᓕᒫᕐ ᔭᓕᐊ-ᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᔪᒪᑎᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐ ᑎᑦᑎᔪᕐᑐᕐ ᓗᑎᒃ.

ᑕᐃᑦᓯᒪᓂᐅᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᐊᐸᓯᑕᓕᒃ ᕕᑲᑎᐊᑦ, H-ᑦᓴᓐ ᐸᐃ, ᒍᓪ ᔭᐊᕋᓗᕐ ᒦᓕᕐᑐᖅ ᒫᓐᓇ ᒋᕝᕿᕆᐊ-ᕐᑎᑦᑎᔭᒪᓕᓚᐅᕐᒪᑦ "ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᓂᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃ-ᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᖕᓂ ᐱᕈᐃᑎᑕᐅᒥᐊᕐ ᓖᓚᓯᒪᓪᓗᓂᐅᒃ." ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᑕᐅᑐᒃᓗᒍ, ᕕᑲᑎᐊᑦ ᐆᓚᑕᐅᓪᓗᓂ ᐃᒃ-ᓯᒐᕐ ᔭᐊᕐ ᔭᐊᔪᑦ ᒫᒃ ᓚᑯᕈᐊ, ᐴᓇᐅᔭᖃᕐᑎᑎ-ᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᒐᖅ ᓯᓂᒃᑕᕐ ᕕᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᓂᐊᕐᑐᒥᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂ-ᐊᕐᑎᓄᑦ ᖃᖓᑕᔫᒃ ᑯᑦ ᐊᐃᔭᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᓇᓕᕐ-ᓂᑦ ᐊᓯᐊᓂᑦ ᐃᒡ ᓗᓕᒫᔭᕐ ᐱᔭᓂᒃ.

ᐆᓚᑕᐅᓪᓕᕐᓗᓂ ᒥᓕᔅ ᒪᑎ ᐸᕋᑎᒍᑦ, ᓯᓂ-ᒃᑕᕐ ᕕᒃ ᓴᖅ ᓴᓇᔭᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᖅ 1954-ᖑᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑕᐅᓪᓗᑎᒃ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᓄᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᐅᓂᑦ, ᐃᒃᓯᒐᕐ ᔭᐊᕐᓗ ᐱᖓᓲᓗ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑎᕐᕕᑦ. ᓯᓂᒃᑕᕐ-ᕕᒃ, ᑐᖅᑯᑎᓪ ᕼᐊᓪᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᖃᕐ ᑎᑕᐅᔭᖅ, ᒪᑐᐃ-ᕐᑎᑕᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᔭᖅ 1955-ᖑᓕᕐᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᖃᖓᑕᔫ-ᒃ ᑯᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑎᐊᕐ ᑎᑕᐅᕈᓕᕐ ᓗᑎᒃ ᓇᑭᑐᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᖓᓐᓂᑦ ᐱᔭᓂᒃ. 1955-ᒥᑦ 1969 ᒧᑦ, ᓯᓂᒃᑕᕐ ᕕᒥᔭᐅᔭᖅ ᐆᓚᑕᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐ ᓯᒪᔭᖅ ᓇᔾᖑᐊᓄᑦ ᒪᓐᑐᓕᐊᓗᒥᐅᑕᐅᓄᑦ ᑕᒪᒃ ᑯᐊᓗ ᐅᐊ-ᓴᕐ ᑐᑎᐊᓖᑦ, ᓂᑎᔭᐅᔭᑎᐊᓖᑦᓗ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑲᒪᔨᔭᐅ-ᓂᒃᑎᐊᓖᑦ ᑖᒃ ᑯᓄᖕ ᑲᒪᔨᔭᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᑕ.

ᑐᑯᐃᑦ ᕼᐊᓪ ᒪᑐᐃᑎᐊᓐᖓᕐ ᑎᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᓪᒪᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐ ᕕᒃᑯᕐ ᓗᓂ ᒪᕐᕈᒍᓐᖏᓂᒃ ᐃᒡ ᓗᐊᕈᔾᔪᖏᓂᒃ ᐱᑕᒃᑯᕐ ᓗᓂ ᓈᒻᒪᕐᕕᓗᐊᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᓪᒪᑎᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑎ-ᓕᒫᓘᖓᓇᓯᒥᐊᕐᕕᒃ ᓯᓂᒃᑕᕐ ᕕᐅᑕᐅᔪᓄᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ, ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐ ᑎᑎᕕᒃᑯᑦ ᑕᓕᓚᐅᕐ ᓯᒪᔭᑦ ᓯᓂᒃᑕᕐ ᕕᐅ-ᔭᒥ ᐃᓚᖓᓂ, ᑲᓇᑕᒥ ᒐᕙᒪᐅᔭᑦ ᐃᓚᒍᒃ ᑲᓐᓂᑎᐊ-ᓕᓚᐅᕐ ᓯᒪᑕ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐ ᕕᐅᔭᒥᒃ. ᓄᑦᑕᖃᑦ ᐊᐃᔭᐅᖃᑦᑕᓚᐅᕐᒪᑕ ᖃᖓᑕᔫᒃ ᑯᑦ ᒐᕙᒪᒃ ᑯᓐᓂᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐ ᓯᔭᐅᓪᓗᑎᒃ ᑕᒪᑐᒧᖓ ᕿᑎᖓᓂᐅᓕᕐᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᐆᔫᓯᑎᐅᑉ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᑎᕐ ᑎᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐ ᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᓇᒥ-ᕐ ᓄᑦ ᕿᑎᖓᓂᐅᓕᕐᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᒪᐃ. ᐱᒋᐊᕈᑎᖃᓚᐅᕐ ᓯ-ᒪᔪᑦ ᓄᑦᑕᖃᓂᒃ ᖃᓂᒥᔭᖓᓂ ᑕᓖᓂ 40-ᐅᔪᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓚᒥᐊᕐ ᓂᖃᓕᓚᐅᑎᑦᓯᑦ 80-ᓄᑦ, ᑕᒫᙵ-ᑦᑕᕐ ᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᓇᓕᕐ ᒥᐅᓂᑦ ᐊᓯᐊᓂᑦ ᐃᒡ ᓗᓕᒫᔭᕐ. ᐃᒡ ᓗᒥᐅᖃᑎᒌᖃᑦ ᑕᓚᐅᕐ ᑐᑦ ᓄᑦᑕᖃᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑕ-ᐅᑦ ᑎᑯᑦ ᓂᑎᖃᑎᒌᖃᑦᑕᕐ ᓗᑎᒃ ᓂᑎᔭᕐ ᑐᕐ ᕕᐊᓂ ᑐ-ᖅᑯᑎᓪ ᕼᐊᓪᒥ. ᓂᑎᑎᑕᐅᖃᑦ ᑕᓚᐅᕐ ᐳᓪᓕ ᖁᐊᕐ-ᓂᒃ, ᓂᖏᑐᐃᓐᓇᕐᒥᒃ ᐃᖃᓗᕐᓂᒃ ᐅᕐ ᕆᔪᓐᓃᑦ ᒪ-ᒃᑖᒥᒃ.

ᑎᑎᕋᕐ ᑕᐅᓯᒪᓂᕕᓂᖓᓂ ᐅᖃᖅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᓯᕗᓪᓕᕐ-ᐸᐅᔪᒥ ᑎᑎᕋᕐ ᑕᐅᖃᑦ ᑕᕐ ᑐᕕᓃᑦ ᑖᒃ ᑯᓄᖕ ᐃᓕᓐᓂ-ᐊᕐ ᕕᐅᑉ ᐊᖓᔭᖅᑳᖓᓐᓄᑦ, ᓇᔾᖑᐊᒧᓪᓗ ᕼᐃᒎᕐ-ᒧᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐ ᑕᐅᔭᕕᓃᑦ, "ᖃᓄᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᐱᓕᕆᔭᕆᐊ-ᖃᕐ ᑐᖃᓕᕐ ᒪᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᖃᖅᑐᒃ ᓴᐅᓪ ᒪᑦ ᓇᒻᒥᓂᖅ ᐊᑐᓕᕐ ᓂᐊᕐ ᑐᓂᒃ ᐃᓱᒪᑦ ᑎᐊᕐ ᓗᓂ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓄᓪᓂᒃ ᐅᔾ ᔮᕐ ᓴᑦ ᑎᐊᕐ ᓗᓂ ᐃᓱᒪᒥᔭᐅᔭᓂᒃ. ᑕᐃᒪᐃᓪᒪᑦ, ᑕᒺᐃᑎᒍᑦ ᑎᐊᖅ ᐊᑐᒐᓯᐊᓚᐅᕐ ᐳᒍᑦ ᐃᓚᒥᔭᐅᑦ ᑎᐊ-ᓕᕐᑯᓪ ᓗᑕ ᐊᑐᓕᓂᑎᓐᖓᖅ ᑲᓗᐊᕐ ᓗᒥᑦ ᐃᓱᒪᔭᑎᐊᖅ-ᓂᒃ ᑯᑦ, ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᓕᖅᑯᓯᖓᓂᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑭᓪ ᓗ-

The Grey Nuns, Chesterfield Inlet.

The hostel boys with Sr. B. Lefebre and Sr. L. Allard, 1963.

[illegible] 1963.

The Grey Nuns, Chesterfield Inlet.

School children playing beside Turquetil Hall 1969.

[illegible] 1969.

The Beginners class of Sister Thérèse Plante, 1956.

[illegible], 1956.

The Grey Nuns, Chesterfield Inlet.

tel's operation was taken care of by the sisters of the Grey Nuns who took care of such necessities as laundry, meals and supervision.

When Turquetil Hall was first opened, the old two room school was not large enough for all students who were living at the hostel. As a result, classes were conducted in the new hostel for some time, while the Federal Government expanded the day school building.

Each year children were picked up by aeroplanes provided through the Government in mid August and returned home to their own settlements in mid May. Approximately forty children, and progressing to about eighty children, came from settlements outside Chesterfield Inlet to take advantage of this educational opportunity. Students shared their rooms with other children and ate together in the dining room of Turquetil Hall. Meals of frozen food, meat, fish or muktuk were frequently provided for the students.

R.C. Diocese of Churchill

A classroom in session around 1950.

ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᒃ ᐃᓗᓂ 1950-ᐸᓯᒥ

ᒧᖁᖅ ..."

ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑎᑦᑎ-
ᔪᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᒻ ᓚᐃᑦ ᖃᐃᑎᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᓚᐅᕐᐸᑦ ᑲᓇᑕᐅᑉ
ᒐᕙᒪᒃ ᑯᕕᓐᓂᓐ ᖁᑦ ᔪᑎᒃ. ᑕᐃᒪᐃᒐᔪᒻᒪᑦ, ᖃᑦ ᔪ-
ᓈᑎᒎᑦ ᑎᓐ ᓯᐊᑎᐊᖃᓚᐅᕐᑕᕗᓈᓯᑦ ᑕᒪᒃ ᑯᐊᑦ ᑕᐅᑦ ᕿ-
ᓛᒃ ᐃᔫᒃᑎᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓰᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᑖᕌᑎᑐᑦ ᔪ
ᐃᓪ ᓂᐊᑦ ᑎᑦᑎᔾ ᔪᑕᐅᖃᑦ ᑕᓚᐅᑦ ᒦᔭᒐᔪᐊᑦ. ᑕᒪᓐᓇ
ᐊᔪᑦ ᓇᖃᑦ ᑕᓚᐅᑦ ᓃᒐᔪᐊᖅ ᔫᑕᖅᑲᔫᑦ ᐊᔫᑎᓪ ᒪᑎᒥ-
ᐊᖁᓂᒃ, ᑎᑎᕋᑦ ᓂᒃ ᑯᑦ, ᐃᓚᒥᒃ ᔫᓪ ᔪ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦ-
ᐸᑦ ᓕᐊᔭᕿᓐ ᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᒻ ᒪᑎᓚᐅᑦ ᓐᕿᒻ ᒪᑦ ᑕᒪ-
ᓐᓇ ᐅᖃᓕᒫᑦ ᓂᒃ ᑯᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᑦ ᓂᒃ ᑯᑦ, ᑑᒃ-
ᓯᐊᑦ ᐱᖅ ᓂ ᔫᓇᓕᖅ ᓂ. ᐊᑦ ᕼᐅᒍᑕᒫᑦ 7-ᐸᐅᔾ
8-ᖑᔪᓪ ᔫᓐ ᓃᑦ ᓇᔾᖑᐊᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦ ᓂᓕᕆᕚᐅᖃᑦ-
ᑕᓚᐅᑦ ᐸᑦ. ᑲᑎᓪ ᔪᑎᒃ ᑕᒪᑦ ᒥᒃ, 26-ᓯᐅᖃᑦ ᑕ-
ᓚᐅᖅ ᒍᓪ ᓇᔭᐃᑦ ᐃᖅᑲᓇᐃᔭᑦ ᑎᐅᔾ ᓯᓂᖓ ᒪᖕ ᐱ-
ᖅ ᓂ, ᒪᑐᓕᓚᐅᑦ ᓯᒪᔾ ᓕ 1969-ᖑᓕᑦ ᑎᓪ ᔪᒍ.
ᐃᓚᒥᔭᐅᓚᐅᑦ ᒥᔾ ᓇᔭᖅ ᔫᑦ ᒪᑦ ᕈᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦ-
ᑎᑦ ᑎᕋᒥᔭᐅᓪ ᔪᑎᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦ ᐱᖅ ᒥ ᐊᑦ ᕼᐅᒍᑖᑦ.
ᕿᑎᖁᓂᐅᓕᑦ ᑎᓪ ᔪᒍ 1960 ᒐᕙᒪᒃ ᑯᑦ ᓂᐅ-
ᐱᐊᑎᓕᓚᐅᑦ ᓯᒪᔾᑦ ᑐᖅᑯᑎᓪ Hᐊᓪ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ
1970-ᐅᓕᑦ ᑎᓪ ᔪᒍ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦ ᑐᓕᑎᕆᑦ ᔫᓇᑦ ᑎ-
ᐊᒥ ᐊᑐᓕᓚᐅᑦ ᓯᒪᖅ ᒪᔾ ᔾ ᐃᒡ ᔪᑦ ᔾᐊᖅ ᐃᓐᓇᑦ-
ᔫᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦ ᑎᑦ ᑎᓂᑦ ᒧᑦ. ᒫᓐᓇᐅᔾᖅ ᖁᓪ ᓕᖅ
ᐃᒡ ᔪᑦ ᔾᐊᒥ ᒪᑐᔭᐅᓯᒪᓕᑦ ᑐᖅ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᓪ ᓕᑦ ᕙᖅ
ᐃᒡ ᔪᐊᑦ ᔾᐊᐸ ᐊᑐᑦ ᑕᐅᓯᒪᓕᑦ ᔪᓂ ᔫᓇᓕᖅ ᓂ ᑯᐊ-
ᐸᔫᑦ, ᑎᑎᕋᑦ ᓂᐊᑦ ᐱᒥᔭᐅᓕᑦ ᔪᓂᔪ, ᐊᖅᕿᓐ ᔫᓪ ᔪ
ᒐᕙᒪᐃᑦ ᐊᐅᓚᑦᑎᓂᕿᓐ ᔫᑦ.

UP HERE
Vol.3 No. 5
August 1987

Before Canada's Arctic communities had day schools of their own, Inuit children were routinely sent away to residential schools. From the Islands and the Coast and from camps far inland they came, these impressionable youngsters. In places like Frobisher Bay, Churchill and Great Whale River, they were gathered into spartan dormitories run by Roman Catholic or Anglican missionaries, who oversaw their indoctrination into the ways of whites.

The mission schools are almost universally condemned today. There's much truth in charges about their devastating impact on Inuit culture. It's undeniable that Inuit in their formative years were arbitrarily taken from their own familiar and reassuring world to places far away, for long periods of time. To some extent, they were robbed of their language and traditional lifestyle, and alienated from their families.

And yet, the notable success of many mission school graduates suggests that the system may have had benefits after all. Students who attended Turquetil Hall at Chesterfield Inlet during the Fifties and Sixties appear to have made a particularly sure-footed transition from hunting camp to industrial society. They're also the Inuit leaders who've fought hardest for the survival of their own cultural values.

To find out if this generation of achievers shares the generally negative view of residential schooling, *Brian Lewis* talked to several alumnae. What was it really like to be a kid at a residential school? And what lasting effects did the experience have?

BY BRIAN LEWIS

THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST

George Demeule

Peter Ernerk, now a seasoned Inuit leader and former member of the legislative assembly, remembers stodgy porridge and fox trapping.

A single mission school graduated many of today's go-ahead Inuit generation

Marie Uvillik is a tough, charismatic mother of four originally from Igloolik. Behind her composed, madonna-like features lies an ulu-sharp mind that quickly gets to the guts of an issue. Her husband is the current NWT Minister of Education, Dennis Patterson, who deplores the residential school system. Marie herself remembers her six years of Turquetil Hall residence with a mixture of affection and irony.

"I expected to get close to God," she recalls. "I have calloused knees to prove how hard I tried. I did a lot of praying. I'm still struggling. Turquetil Hall didn't help me to understand the Higher Being better. I learned about the *Qallunaat* — the white people!

"I remember flush toilets, maybe the first ones in Nunavut. But bath night was something else. Every other Saturday, they put two of us in a tub and scrubbed the hell out of us. In later years we used to joke they were trying to scrub us white. You know, get the pigmentation out."

The anger's there, all right, but there are happy memories.

"I was from a hunting camp, remember. At Turquetil Hall, I got my first, very own bed. It was downy-soft and sweet-smelling, with crisp, clean sheets. I wasn't a perfect child so it was early to bed for me many nights. Suddenly it didn't seem such a great bed! And I mustn't forget *palauga* — you know, bannock, with currants in it and dipped in molasses. It was a change from the porridge we ate every morning."

Peter Ernerk remembers the food, too: stodgy porridge every morning, then on Saturday morning a special treat, cornflakes. And plenty of fish. "Brother

George Demeule

From 1955 to 1969 children at Turquetil Hall learned white men's concepts of discipline, commitment and endurance.

Turquetil's 1962 class of movers and shakers, left to right: Marie Uvilluk, Germaine Arnaktauyok, Agatha (last name unknown), Cecelia Sammurtok, Rene Otak and Jean Ningark.

Grade 3 and 4 children studying at Chesterfield Inlet in the 60s.

Paradis fished throughout the summer and by the fall the fish were stacked like cordwood in the huge fridge in the cellar of the residence," he says. "Sometimes the students ate the fish frozen or it was baked with the guts left in, just like back home." Potatoes and rice were the only additions. Desserts were unknown except at Christmas.

Today, Peter Ernerk is a seasoned Inuit leader who has worked in communications, wildlife management, industry, and with the Keewatin Regional Inuit Association. He's a former member of the legislative assembly, where he was Minister of Economic Development and Tourism in the Government of the Northwest Territories.

When asked what he learned at Turquetil Hall, Ernerk spoke without hesitation.

"Discipline, commitment, endurance — at least the white man's ideas about those things. We had our own Inuit values covering the same ideas, but the North was changing. We had to learn the white man's ways too."

What about the white people in Chesterfield Inlet itself? What did he learn from them?

"There was no mixing," remembers Peter. "I sneaked into three houses, but that was against the rules. We had our own community at Turquetil Hall.

"There was Jack Anawak and Mike and Josie Kusugak from Rankin Inlet, Jean Ningark from Pelly Bay, and local Chesterfield Inlet students like Tommy Sammurtok, Andre Tautu. Schooling was good. We all survived one way or another."

Mixed feelings about their schooling are pretty common among Turquetil Hall graduates. But pro or con, you get the impression that those formative years were crucial to them all. And that's exactly what its founders realized when they first visualized their Arctic boarding school.

The Catholic children from Repulse Bay, Pelly Bay and Igloolik called it "Turkey Tail Hall." Built in 1954, Turquetil Hall was an enormous green, three-storey building which dominated the community of Chesterfield, dwarfing the modest family dwellings around it. It was named after Bishop Arsene Turquetil, who spent much of his life attempting to make Chesterfield Inlet the "Vatican of Hudson Bay" — a solitary iceberg of Catholic power along the huge Eastern Arctic coastline already claimed by the Anglicans.

Turquetil and his Oblate colleagues came to the tiny community on Hudson Bay's west coast in 1912, determined to battle a "loose" style of living introduced by whalers decades before. In the Thirties, after years of sermonizing, Turquetil made his first conversions.

The Oblates worked valiantly over the following years to make the Roman Church a lasting influence among Inuit of the Eastern Arctic. They established a small hospital at Chesterfield, but a school to more directly propogate the faith was the project closest to their hearts. They built Joseph Bernier School and hurried on to begin work on Turquetil Hall itself. Construction of the residence was complete by the autumn of 1955.

Although the building looked massive and substantial, it was a strange mixture of amateurishness and brilliant improvisation. The cellars below Turquetil Hall were like the catacombs beneath some ancient city. There were roughly cast concrete holding tanks for water. There were ducts on the roof of the building to catch the summer rain. The precious water was needed for the flush toilets Marie Uvillik remembers — a dozen of them. (Former teacher George Demeule recalls a strategy used to conserve water. After supper the boys were paraded outside for a recreation program. The cold night air played its usual physiological role on their kidneys, so before they went back inside, the presiding nun issued a command. Every boy turned toward a snowbank and urinated.) The air around Chesterfield Inlet became noxious for a few days every month, as the huge septic tanks were pumped directly onto the beach.

The education provided at Chesterfield Inlet cost the Government of Canada very little. For $70,000 a year, the Catholic church clothed, fed, transported and housed as many as 147 students. There were 26 nuns at work in the residence and up to five teachers in the school. The teaching nuns were paid regular wages by the government, and as soon as their cheques arrived, they signed them over to the diocese to help pay for the running of Turquetil Hall.

The program was the Manitoba one, followed rigorously. Supervision was close and constant. No one was ever sent home, and students were in residence for a full

ten months. Life was a 24-hour a day total immersion. For senior students, there were two hours of classwork every night, in addition to homework. This was a lot to ask, perhaps. But there were no attendance problems: seniors were led to school every evening at seven, and picked up again at exactly nine o'clock. The distance between school and residence was only a hundred metres, but the nuns were taking no chances.

This joyless pursuit of book learning sounds downright grim today. And in fact there's rarely been an education program so clearly defined and so successfully executed as the residential school program was — a calculated, callous enforcement of cultural change. And regimentation wasn't the only thing Inuit kids were introduced to at Turquetil Hall.

Jean Ningark, who today is hamlet secretary-manager at Pelly Bay, remembers "tears, and lots of unhappy, homesick children." But there was worse to come. "Every fall, not long after everybody had arrived the real sickness started. It would spread like wildfire, the flu, I think. It reminded me of the early days when I lived in Repulse Bay. When the ships came in everybody got sick. But as the years went by, people weren't so homesick and the flu wasn't so bad. Maybe we all got stronger. We became immune."

The theme runs through most discussions of life at the Hall. Kids got tough, and they survived. Ningark lived at Turquetil Hall for eight years, right from that first day in 1955. He points out that boarding school life was, at least for him, a gateway to the greater world Outside. He has vivid memories of the Friday night movies shown at the Hall: *Miracle in the Rain, So Dear to My Heart, I Confess*. He was deeply moved by them, and they made him curious. When he later went to Winnipeg to train as a carpenter and construction worker, Jean says he felt confident and strong, capable of standing on his own two feet. He attributes his adaptability to the regimen at Turquetil Hall.

In spite of their commitment to instilling knowledge, it wasn't as if staff didn't try earnestly to surmount cultural differences. The school's first principal, Sister Herauf, wrote down her thoughts on the duty of the nuns to the children: "In every sphere of action one must know how to adapt himself to the mentality and mores of the people concerned. Henceforth, every effort will be made to adapt our way of thinking to theirs, the Eskimos'."

Jean Ningark has fond memories of Sister Herauf. "She was like a mother, very caring and very sensitive to each individual's needs and problems."

Other nuns are remembered with respect. George Demeule, now a senior superintendent of education with the Government of the Northwest Territories at Fort Smith, was the only male teacher in Chesterfield Inlet in 1962. The principal by then was Sister Arcand, a Metis scholar now living in retirement at Lac La Biche, Alberta. George remembers a continual struggle for excellence under her guidance. The long hours and enforced attendance were seen as necessary evils that would ultimately benefit the students.

Inuit youngsters, like youngsters everywhere, couldn't be expected to fully share the nun's dedication. Looking back on it, some see yet another cultural barrier.

"Was I a good student? I was a very good student, better than they knew,"

WE NEED YOUR EYES!

IF YOU SEE A FOREST FIRE CALL YOUR OPERATOR AND ASK FOR:

ZENITH 5555 toll free

Marie Uvilluk says. "I didn't want to do too well. That would have been like showing off, so I held back. Competing for marks wasn't part of our Inuit culture. Competition is the white man's way. I'm still struggling with that, too."

But it's evident that the missionaries did try to handle the problems of cultural change and adaptation with care and sensitivity. They tried to reduce the alienation of children from their homes and their communities. The nuns ate the same plain food the children did. The diet was seen as necessary, so youngsters wouldn't rebel when they returned to the simple nourishment of the hunting camp.

Besides strictly academic subjects, the Hall had an emphasis on artistic expression and enrichment. Sister Gagnon, a teacher who encouraged creative children, is remembered with appreciation by many graduates. A virtual flood of artists owe some of their current acclaim to Sister Gagnon. From Igloolik alone, several Turquetil Hall students have emerged as artists and sculptors of unusual merit.

Germaine Arnaktauyok lives in Langley, British Columbia now, but her fine pen and ink drawings are still being sold throughout the Northwest Territories. Her large mural depicting the legend of Sedna hangs on the wall near the entrance to the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife. Marie Uvilluk, Domina Uvilluk, Salome Paoktut, Celina Sarpinnak, Marius Kayotak and Bart Hannah are all accomplished artists who were taught the techniques of the artist at the critical period when the Inuit way of life was rapidly changing, and were able to portray traditional life.

Marie Uvilluk recalls the role the residential school played in supporting traditional skills. "Darning, mending clothes, sewing — we had to look after ourselves. We all had chores. We learned the skills that we valued in our Inuit society at that time."

Peter Ernerk agrees. "Every Saturday the boys were allowed to go out to check their fox traps. They were paid three dollars for each one they caught and the nuns kept an account book." He remembers having enough money to buy a watch. The nuns ordered it through the catalogue, but it was his own money that bought it. He'd earned it and it felt good.

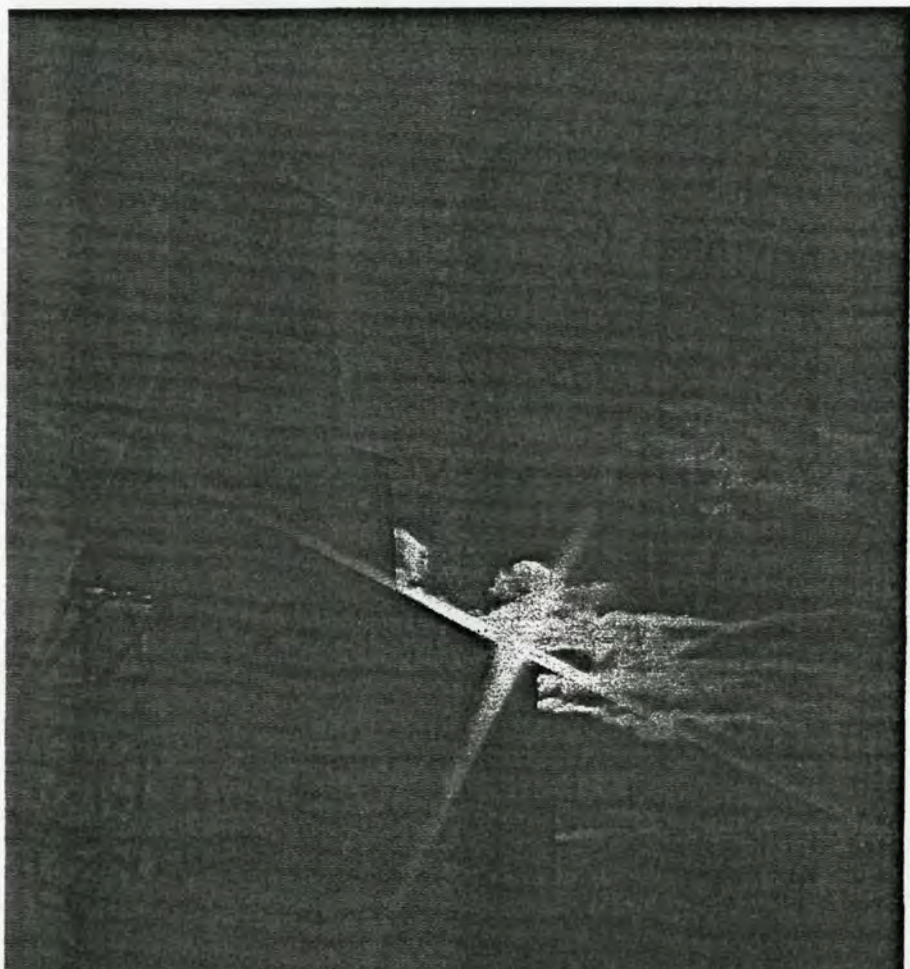
Adds Uvilluk: "We learned discipline and self-reliance. The people who went there are solid people in their own way. Turquetil Hall gave them strength."

The rough-hewn, antiquated hall built by lay brothers in 1954 ceased to operate as a school residence in 1969. It served briefly as an adult education centre for the Keewatin Region and housed the first Eastern Arctic Teacher's College for just one year, 1973. Turquetil Hall served as a shopping mall and post office for a few more years. Then it was condemned and demolished.

(The slightly smaller mission hospital remains, as does the school building, renamed Victor Sammurtok School after one of Arsene Turquetil's first converts, an Inuit leader of the Thirties.)

The Hall has left a mixed legacy to its Inuit graduates. There are unhappy memories and good ones. But it seems as if alienation was balanced by new awareness. Relentless work led to opportunities for self-expression, and it built confidence — the kind of confidence that made leaders of so many today.

It can't have been all bad. ■



Enriching the North...

Canada is blessed with extraordinary mineral wealth... and we believe that Canada's future is in the North

Giant

GIANT YELLOWKNIFE MINES LIMITED

Your Exploration... Development Partner

We offer established mineral exploration experience and financial and management strength. We invite property submittals.

PAMOREX

Pamorex Minerals Inc.

Contact:

UP HERE
Vol. 4 no. 6
November 1988

BY PEARL BENYK

CAN NORTHERN SCHOOLS MAKE THE GRADE?

As we race toward the 1990s, Northerners are working to resolve a unique dilemma: how to prepare new generations for technologies to come, while preserving our age old native cultures?

The battlefield is the schools, where idealism meets harsh reality. To some the twin goals seem to exclude one another. To others, the dream *must* be accomplished, whatever the obstacles. And in the frozen North, the obstacles are immense.

The basic difficulties of providing good education are evident in our population figures: some 52,000 people, speaking more than a dozen distinct languages or dialects, thinly occupy over a third of Canada's land mass. The challenges include vast distances, unreliable communications, cultural differences, inadequate budgets.

But the story is best told in terms of individuals who've been on the front lines. Lorne Smith is one Northerner who's battled the problems barehanded, and he's done it ever since 1962, when he and his wife Isabel first came to Arctic Bay. The hamlet's population (some 80 souls in those days) was almost entirely Inuit, and the couple spoke not a word of Inuktitut. This was a distinct handicap in the tiny sealing community huddled on the shore of Baffin Island's Admiralty Inlet. But the government wasn't able in those days to hire a teacher who did speak Inuktitut, and Lorne Smith was chosen.

The one-room school was a no-frills bunkhouse, once used by technicians who came to tend the weather station, only slightly refurbished. The amenities consisted of an oil stove, rows of battered desks, and a meagre supply of textbooks imported from southern Canada. Many of Lorne's 14 students — between six and 15 years old, in four grade levels — spoke no English. But they were expected to do their learning from an English-speaking teacher, using books that showed an English-speaking world that was removed in every way from their own.

"There was nothing to teach reading with, except Dick and Jane readers," Smith recalls. "Those pictures of 'Father' going off to work with a briefcase must have seemed very strange to them."

Lorne's single year of teaching in a Winnipeg junior high school was beginning to look like poor experience for his new job. But he tackled the situation head-on. Instead of presenting Inuit children with images that had no relation to their lives, he made up his mind to develop materials and methods that would have relevance in a seal-hunting, fox-trapping community. He often worked without readers, or used materials he managed to put together himself. It was important for him to learn the people's language, both spoken and written.

He discovered that by the time they were eight or so, most of the kids were literate in Inuktitut syllabics, the writing system devised by early Eastern Arctic missionaries.

"Parents would teach their children to read and

Tessa Macintosh/GNWT

Students at Chief Jimmy Bruneau school in Rae Edzo, NWT. Left, a cultural inclusion class in Pond Inlet, NWT.

Lorne Smith

In the early 60s, lessons were taught in makeshift classrooms on north Baffin Island.

"I wanted to be all of them — Davy Crockett, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin..."

write in syllabics. But they realized schooling was also important — that their children would need to know how to read, write and speak English," says Smith.

This kind of schooling wasn't always easy to get, particularly if a family made its living on the land and spent winters in outpost camps. The situation was better if you stayed in one of the camps surrounding Arctic Bay. From November, when sea ice formed, until late spring, Lorne Smith trekked twice monthly to each camp by dog team. In an igloo or double-walled tent, he'd spend as many hours as he could teaching reading and writing to three or four young people.

Smith admits he may not have achieved much, but the kids treated his little classes as if they were serious business. "They came in single file, and they were well behaved. To them this was really going to school," he says.

Although the schooling kids got in Arctic Bay 25 years ago may seem primitive to us, it represented great strides ahead for education in the North. The biggest improvement over the more distant past was the fact that Arctic Bay children went to school in their own community.

Generations of northern children had previously received an education only at the cost of being taken from their families and sent away to residential schools for long periods of time — sometimes for as long as six to 10 years.

The earliest formal education in the Northwest Territories was undertaken in the 19th century by missionaries. Although they did not receive financial assistance from the Canadian government, the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches were passionately interested in educating native children. The main goal of each was gaining converts to its particular faith. (And each wished to lessen the influence of the other!) Conversions weren't complete unless the newly faithful could read catechism or the Bible, so the missionaries began to teach both children and adults to read English or French. Later on, sections of the Bible, hymns, and parts of the liturgy were translated for the benefit of converts. Sometimes native languages were taught, too.

In 1867, the Roman Catholics established a residential mission school at Fort Providence, and they followed with similar schools at Forts Resolution, Smith and Simpson. The Anglican church was engaged in parallel endeavours. A boarding school for 40 Indian children opened at Hay River in 1893 to replace the Anglican school in Fort Resolution. In the Eastern Arctic, too, the missionaries provided what little education was available to Inuit.

In the earliest mission schools, children studied English or French, reading, writing, and a bit of arithmetic, all liberally laced with doses of religion. By 1906, Canada's federal government was providing the missionaries with education grants. The amounts were small, and the churches complained. However, the system was beneficial to both religious authorities and government. The churches enjoyed the opportunity to educate as they saw fit. The government appreciated the very low cost of fulfilling its obligation to educate native children.

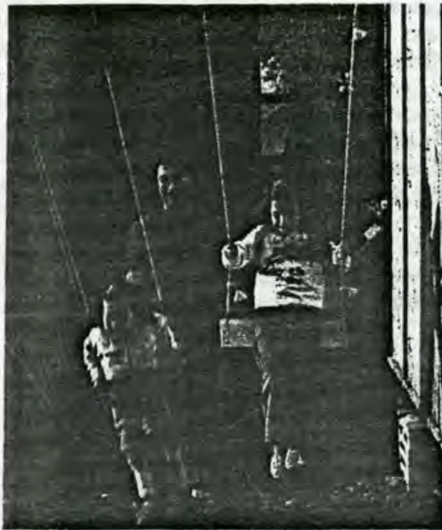
Once government got involved, courses were expanded. In 1910, the program of studies included history, vocal music, geography, recitation and ethics. (This last course promoted such values as cleanliness, obedience, truth, independence, industry, thrift, patriotism and charity.) There was also an interesting emphasis on teaching the "evils of Indian isolation."

In fact, mission schools were instrumental in isolating Dene and Inuit children from their families and culture. It was said that taking youngsters away from their homes on the land or in traditional camps to central settlements was the only practical way of providing schooling. But removing them from the influence of their families was also a most effective aid to shaping children's minds and behaviour.

The comfortable partnership of church and government continued for many years. But over time, concern grew about the quality of education being provided in the mission schools. There was no uniform curriculum, and standards for teachers were low. In 1947, the North's schools were completely taken over by the federal government.

The system expanded substantially, as the government opened schools in Tuktoyaktuk, Coppermine, Coral Harbour, Cape Dorset and Chesterfield Inlet. Vocational training was made available both in the NWT and Outside to train Northerners for wage employment.

As the Northwest Territories became self-governing, educational policy was set in Yellowknife instead of Ottawa. In the Sixties, the North's first high school and Roman Catholic separate school were opened in the capital city. And by the Eighties, most Arctic communities had their own government-run schools. Thebacha College at Fort Smith offered a wide range of technical and vocational courses to adult students.



Steve Kakfwi, minister of education in the NWT government with his two children.

The North's school system has greatly improved over the bad old days, but it's still far from perfect. Graduates of the older system are now running the show, and they're prime movers behind the push for change.

Steve Kakfwi, Minister of Education in the current NWT government, had first-hand experience of the old system's flaws. He was sent to mission school while he was still very young; his mother was hospitalized so his dad took him along when he went to work as janitor at the local schoolhouse. Young Steve discovered Dick and Jane, who lived in a world where there were "towns with lots of cars, big trees, summer all year round, and no bugs. It struck me as funny," Kakfwi says today.

Steve went on to read nearly everything in the school library, including a series on American folk heroes, who made a big impression on him. "I thought those stories were great. I wanted to be all of them — Davy Crockett, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin." Steve did become a leader: from 83 - 87, he was President of the Dene Nation.

Although he did well, Kakfwi says he didn't enjoy school. "There was nothing creative about learning. We just did a lot of work."

At the age of nine, he found himself in residential school in Inuvik. His time at Grollier Hall was "a nightmare. I went from the security of knowing everyone in a small town, and having a family, to a totally different environment."

Later Kakfwi was sent to another student residence, the Grandin Hall in Fort Smith, where the Roman Catholic church sent promising boys from across the NWT who might turn out to be candidates for the clergy. Steve was homesick, but he persisted for six years, mainly because his parents wouldn't let him quit. "I'm not sorry I went," he says today. "I think it has made the difference in my life."

In fact, many of today's native leaders went to Grandin. Steve Kakfwi doesn't think he and his schoolmates were the "brightest and the best" when they were chosen to go to Grandin. But if they later became that, he says, it was because "people like Father Pochat and Bishop Piche made us believe in ourselves. They got us to be competitive in school and sports."

Today, Kakfwi is responsible for a government department whose annual budget for 71 schools is close to $120 million. There are now nearly 14,000 students at the elementary and high school levels in the Territories, besides the 2,000 students who take community college and adult education courses.

All organized communities, and some of the outpost settlements, have schools. Most offer classes from the kindergarten level to grades eight or nine. Residential schools are being phased out.

More and more small communities are

Schooling is an educational partnership in which parents play an important role in the development of their children.

A culture-based school system will ensure that all northerners can face the future with confidence.

Life-long learning, access to programs and public involvement in education are key components.

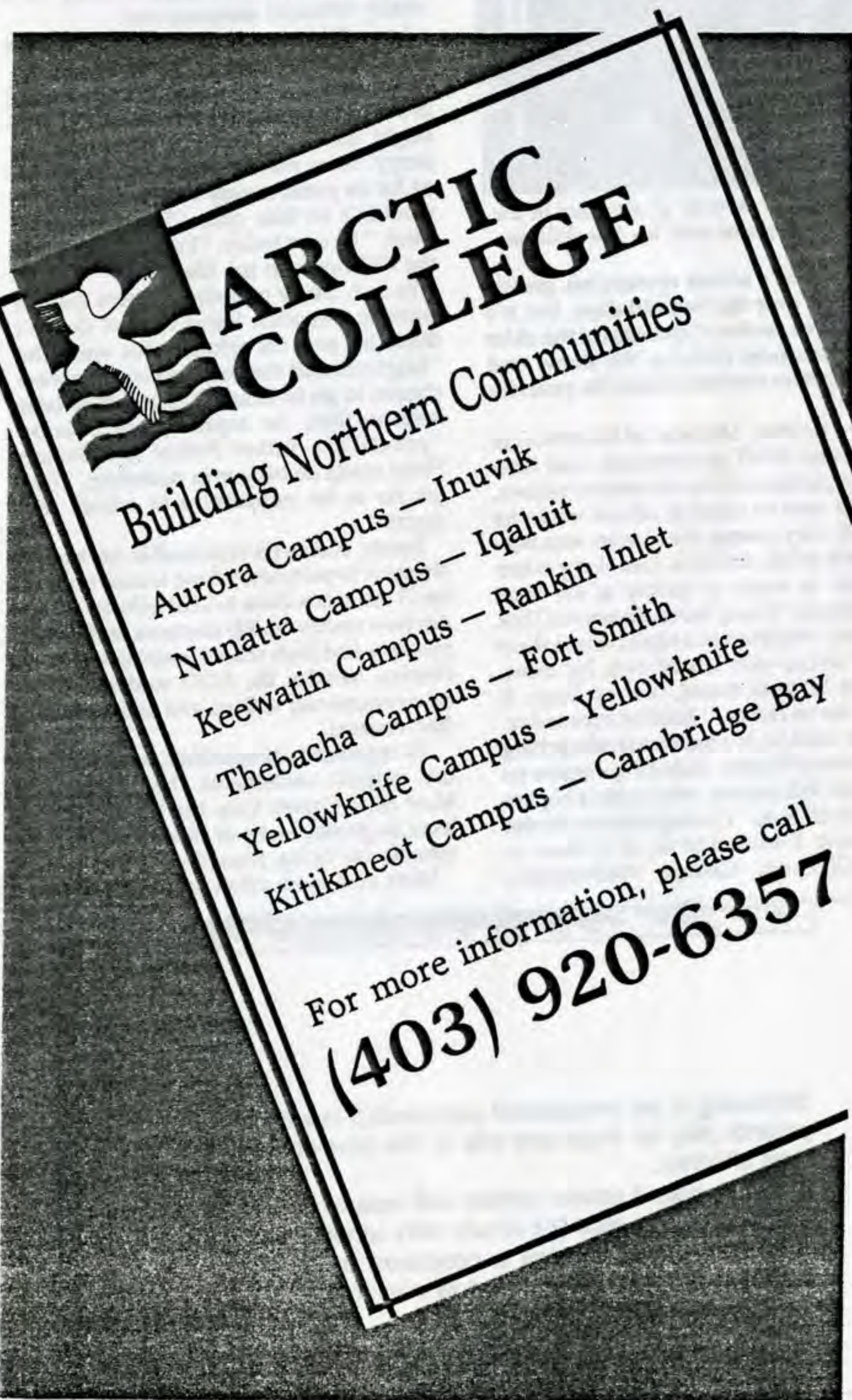
Meeting tomorrow's challenges begins with education today.

able to offer the higher grades. You can take grade 10 in 16 communities and grades 11 and 12 in eight. Thebacha College, now renamed Arctic College, has six campuses, located in regional headquarters across the Territories. It offers nearly 30 different programs, ranging from an eight-week Arctic airports course to a three-year teacher education diploma course.

In the confusion of a developing system, three different curricula used to be followed. The Western Arctic based its programs on Alberta's curriculum. Students in the Keewatin and the Eastern Arctic took the Ontario course of studies, and those even farther east followed the Quebec guidelines. But today students everywhere in the Territories follow the Alberta curriculum: to graduate, NWT high school students must pass departmental exams set by the Alberta Department of Education.

As in all Canadian schools, the elementary core subjects are language arts, mathematics, science, social studies. Health, industrial arts, home economics, art and physical education are supplementary courses.

In high school, students also take courses much like those offered everywhere in Canada. Several options are available, most very similar to those any other Canadian student might choose.



But there's a native population majority up here, and a strong public will to preserve and enhance native culture. It's inevitable that the Territorial school system will change to reflect this.

Discussion about the role of schools in the preservation of native culture began almost as soon as government got involved in education. When the first steps were taken to phase out mission schools, church officials expressed misgivings: government-run schools, they said, would stress the white man's way of life too heavily — to the detriment of native children's self image.

Government countered these fears with assurances about its good intentions. But bureaucrats soon realized they didn't know enough about native culture to promote it in the schools. A series of studies was done, but efforts to bring native culture into northern classrooms were little more than token gestures. In "Cultural Inclusion" classes, native instructors came into the schools to recount legends, teach children to make mitts, mocassins, and sleds, or to trap and skin animals. Groups of children were taken onto the land a few times a year for a day or two of trapping or hunting.

For the most part, this tokenism persists, says Steve Kakfwi, who isn't happy about the way small, inexpensive extras were tacked onto school programs that have nothing to do with the culture of the North. "I think it has to be a broader thing. The culture of the Dene, the Inuit and the Metis should be included *within* the system."

Kakfwi isn't the only critic of current approaches. Margie Gilmour, a teacher and former program consultant with the Department of Education, is one of the most informed. "For my own kids in Yellowknife it's a good system, a good southern system for white, middle-class kids," she says. "But you just have to look at the numbers to see that it's not working for native kids."

The numbers are grim. They show distressingly high absenteeism and dropout rates among native kids. While native peoples — Dene, Inuit, and Metis — form approximately 58 per cent of the NWT population, only 24 per cent of high school graduates are native.

Gilmour is also convinced that attempts at cultural inclusion have been "add-ons, not part of the core program." She cites examples of how educators fumbled when they tried to take shortcuts toward "culturally correct" teaching materials.

"We took southern materials with southern animals and situations and just exchanged them for things from the northern environment," says Gilmour. "The animals we used were correct, but they

continued on page 58

THE YELLOWKNIFE
Book Cellar

For all your
TEXTBOOK
needs, see us!

Pocket books, magazines also available.

Lower Scotia Centre
Box 1256, Yellowknife, N.W.T.
X1A 2N9

920-2321

The YWCA Offers

- Accommodation in downtown Yellowknife at reasonable prices!
- Hotel and efficiency rooms in a highrise building.
- Weekly, monthly or seasonal rates, year round, two blocks from restaurants and shopping.

The YWCA in Yellowknife,
5004 - 54th Street
Yellowknife, N.W.T.
X1A 2R6

Phone (403) 920-2777

Northern Schools continued from page 32

weren't necessarily used in a culturally correct way."

One lesson she remembers referred to a raven as "stupid." "In a southern context, there was nothing wrong with this. But it was a grave mistake in a culture where the raven is revered," Gilmour points out.

Problems with getting good, relevant books and other materials continue today. Textbooks prescribed for school curricula designed in Alberta are published in southern Canada, or even outside the country. Dick and Jane still have their equivalents. But materials really meaningful to youngsters up here, especially Inuit, Dene, and Metis children, would have to be produced here, and there aren't enough pupils in the system to warrant any such venture by the private sector. While the NWT government has subsidized a number of efforts to create and produce teaching aids, teachers don't always used them.

Redesigning our school programs so they'll reflect the culture and values of native people requires a three-pronged effort, says Gilmour. First, research must be done into native teaching and learning styles. Then programs must be developed. And finally, schools must be staffed by native teachers.

It's a hefty order. But the push to train native teachers is bringing results.

Alexis Utatnaq, today an instructor in the Interpreter/Translator Program at the Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay) campus of Arctic College, took classes in nine different communities in order to finish high school and complete a year of college. Utatnaq was one young Inuk who refused to drop out, in spite of odds that are all too typical.

The circumstances he overcame included his own sickness, family movements, changes in the locations of schools, and shifts in government policy. He made it through, in spite of situations that would have discouraged most people. But Utatnaq says he understands why today's young Inuit are dropping out of school.

"Most of the kids I went to school with did really well. I never heard of any failures until much later. Our parents encouraged us to go to school. They believed it was the way to get a job," he says. "Later, parents began to doubt that. They started seeing students coming home with grade 12 and *not* getting jobs. The older people got disillusioned. They didn't understand that grade 12 isn't the end. I think they figured, 'Why should I encourage my children to go to more school when they want to be home, and we could use their help?' "

Utatnaq attributes some of his own success to the fact that school was new and exciting to him. "We had things we didn't have at home. Everything was so new — books and scribblers and projectors. There were documentary movies. I was very curious. I wanted to learn how all these fancy things worked. I liked social studies and history, because I really enjoyed learning about a whole world beyond ours. It was all like fairy tales or legends — except I knew they were really true. But in faraway places."

These days, Utatnaq says, kids don't have novelty to keep them interested. They're used to gadgets and consumer goods from the white man's world. But teaching native languages and culture will help children do better, he says, since they'll identify better with lessons. Older Inuit will be more likely to encourage their children and grandchildren to stay in school when Inuit language and culture are being taught, he adds.

Observers used to say the NWT's education department lacked a consistent philosophy. But today, ideas from various commissions and task forces, plus strong input from the communities have given focus to educational policy.

Eric Colburn, the education branch's assistant deputy minister responsible for school programs, thinks the direction is clear. His department plans to develop school activities that reflect the cultural background, language and learning styles of students. "What is needed is a total integration of aboriginal values, history and culture into the life of the school," he says.

"School" would include learning in the community. The community as a whole would be encouraged to be involved in education.

In Baffin region, where cultural goals were firmly established some time ago, Colburn expects schools to fully reflect the Inuit worldview within a decade.

In other regions, especially the Western Arctic, the process will take longer, he says. Other regions aren't as culturally homogenous as the Baffin is; cultural and linguistic diversities make progress slower. The Inuit language, Inuktitut, has had a standard written form for longer than other native languages have, and much work has already been done to computerize it. This isn't true for the other native languages in the NWT.

The Baffin region is also moving forward with more native teachers. Nine years ago, only three percent of teachers in the region were Inuit. Today there are 10 times that percentage, and it's expected that in 10 years, 75 percent will be Inuit. The other regions also have teacher education programs in place and will eventually achieve similar statistics.

The goal is to have the cultural mix of teachers more closely match the cultural mix of students, Colburn says.

In Yellowknife, whose population is nearly 90 percent non-native, the present education system serves most of its users very well. Students experience few problems when they transfer to other regions of Canada.

Frona and Jim Scott, whose two daughters are now attending universities in southern Canada, like the education system in the North. "They couldn't have got a better education anywhere else in Canada. The North is a wonderful meeting ground of different cultures, and what they learned from that is good. And with fewer students, they had more opportunities."

Inevitably, some non-native parents aren't pleased about having their children study native cultures. A recent announcement that native cultural classes would be a requirement for graduation from NWT schools raised noisy contorversy in Yellowknife.

Another recent announcement caused less of a stir, but it's likely to have more far-reaching effects. It outlined a plan for all regions to have their own boards of education by 1990. The Baffin region led the way, establishing its divisional board in April, 1985. All policies about how schools will operate in the Baffin are made right in the region. And the public is involved with schools in a way that wasn't possible before.

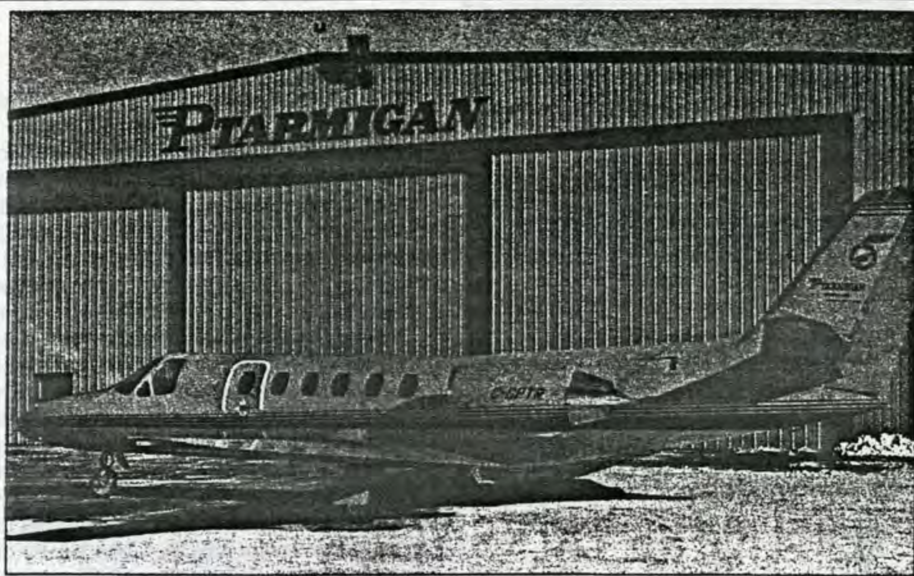
Steve Kakfwi is enthusiastic about the regional board. "This is a natural progression. People learned how to run their hamlets, municipal services and relationships with government. Now they are ready to take over the responsibility for running education. They developed the process of critical thinking, so they don't just accept a system the way the government is handing it out to them. They make the changes they feel are necessary.

"We were spending millions of dollars on education and the success rate was nothing. The only way we can turn it around is to hand education over to the communities and let them be responsible for it."

Kakfwi sees other advantages to handing education over to the people, including a decrease in alcoholism. "Alcoholism is a symptom of people who are out of control. Giving them back control will lead to their sobriety. The pressure will be on them to be more responsible."

What Kakfwi would like to see the system do is produce happy, productive people. He's hoping schools will place more emphasis on teaching life skills. "We should improve the success rate, gear people for employment. But we also have students who are not geared only for job employment. The desire of native people to go back to their communities is still so strong. The education system should accept that a lot of them *will* go. If there aren't enough jobs there, then at least we should give them the skills to live a happy life without becoming dependent on government." ■

PEARL BENYK is a freelance writer and bush cook who lives in Yellowknife.



Serving • Executives • Tourism • Government • Sportsmen • Exploration • Mining

WE CHARTER ANYWHERE IN NORTH AMERICA

Choose from a wide variety of aircraft:
• Rugged Turbo Beavers and versatile Twin Otters, to first class travel on Executive Cheyennes or the Citation II jet.

SCHEDULED AIRLINE SERVICE FOR SOUTH MACKENZIE

Head Office
Box 100
Yellowknife, NWT
X1A 2N1

Charters: (403) 873-4461
Scheduled Service: (403) 873-6266
Telex: 034-45547

Hinchey, Wowk, Williams, Avery & Co.
CERTIFIED GENERAL ACCOUNTS

SERVING THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES SINCE 1973

• Auditing • Client Accounting, Payroll, A/R, Bookkeeping • Financial Forecasting & Budgeting • Comptroller Functions • Computer Accounting Applications • Income Tax, Personal or Corporate • Systems Analysis and Implementation • Management Consulting • Investing Controls • Specialized Income Tax • Business Evaluations • Assistance with financial re-organization

3 OFFICES TO SERVE YOU

Iqaluit
Box 910, X0A 0H0
(819) 979-4417

Inuvik
Box 2078, X0E 0T0
(403) 979-3484

Yellowknife
Box 1620, X1A 2P2
(403) 873-3441

Social And Economic Change

The Emergent Reality

The reality emergent in the Arctic is a reality in which a growing Inuit population will come to live in larger, and possibly more regionalized, communities and towns. If current trends continue, rates of unemployment will not improve, even though the number of job opportunities may rise. Although Inuit families will decline in size, they will probably be more numerous, requiring expanded housing and social services. Should migration remain a socially undesirable and economically high-risk strategy for members of this poorly educated population, then most of the Inuit can be expected to remain in the Arctic, even though they will probably have lost more of their language, culture, and land-based skills. If this description is correct, then most of the Inuit living in the Arctic in the year 2025 will probably be second-generation wards of the state, living out their lives in "arctic ghettos" plagued by increasing rates of crime.

As long as current trends persist, most of the people living in the Arctic with professional and university qualifications will be white, and they will continue to dominate the higher levels of management in both the private and public sectors. This racially distinct minority can be expected to be the focus of growing racial tensions between themselves and the majority Inuit population.

The Reality Desired

Needless to say, no one I interviewed, either Inuit or white, desired such a future, although I believe many thoughtful people realize the possibility of such a future and genuinely fear it. What future do the people now living in the Arctic want for themselves and for their children? The overwhelming response to this question, from both white and Inuit members of the communities of Rankin Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet, was: a good education and a good job. With an almost equally strong consensus, the people wanted Inuit language, culture, and land-based skills to be preserved and passed on to future generations. The reasons for this were both sentimental and practical. People do not want thousands of years of Inuit tradition to be totally lost, and though they would prefer to see their children have a good job, as a life spent out on the land is so hard, elder Inuit feel jobs cannot always be relied upon. For this reason, they want their children to learn both the old and new ways.

When I asked the Inuit of Chesterfield Inlet if they would like to move back to the land, only a few couples said Yes, explaining that the prices paid for fox and sealskins are too low. The Inuit are well aware that traditional subsistence activities are not viable in the modern arctic economy. Jobs are the first priority in today's world for both young and old. With the exception of the elderly, most Inuit would welcome more opportunities for education and job training. However, when I rephrased the question in Rankin Inlet, with the suggestion that the price of furs could be subsidized and some assistance given to help in the move out of town, then many of the Inuit said they would prefer to live in an outpost camp. The Inuit who had their land-based skills were the most enthusiastic about taking advantage of such an opportunity if it ever came. So, some Inuit want more education, some want a better job (or any job), and some want to get back to the land. All want their children to have a good education and the opportunity for a good job, and nearly all want their children to retain the Inuit language and land-based skills. This list of desires poses several questions. Are these desires realistic and compatible, and, even if they can be attained, can this success avoid the social catastrophe of the emergent reality? I am inclined to think Yes, but not because I or anyone else is capable of weaving some master plan that will carefully avoid every social and economic obstacle that stands in the way of creating a productive and worthwhile future for the Inuit; rather, I believe the Inuit are a practical and resourceful people who, when given the opportunity to pursue the different options available to them, will create the best of possible futures for themselves and their people according to their individual talents and circumstances. Grand plans are destined to failure; giving people choices creates opportunities to avoid failure and, in so doing, to come closer to success.

> *"Many diplomas and certificates given out by the GNWT do not meet southern Canadian standards and are not recognized outside the Northwest Territories."*

Choices in Education

Good choices cannot be made without good knowledge. Two rather distinct forms of good knowledge are required for a successful life in the modern Arctic, and each demands an appropriate form of education: formal education, oriented to job skills; and land-skills education, oriented to the subsistence economy.

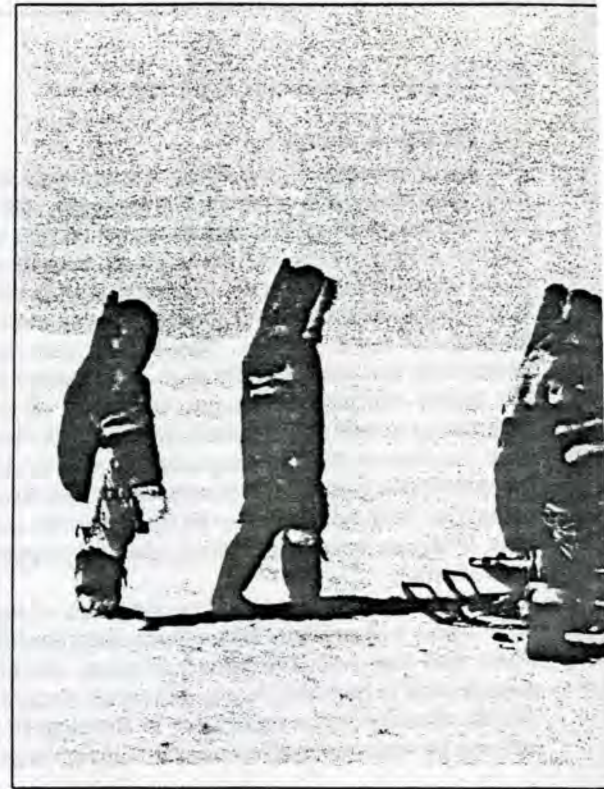
There can be little doubt that the quality of formal education needs to be greatly improved if the goals of the GNWT Equal Employment Directorate and those of Inuit are to be attained. As the residential education system of the 1950s has been replaced with a community-based education system across the Northwest Territories, the universal delivery of education seems to have been emphasized at some loss to the quality of education. Several steps can be taken to correct this problem. First and foremost, the quality of formal education should be monitored. Failure to adequately monitor and maintain the quality of education in the Arctic is, in my view, an act of negligence that has contributed more than any other single factor to the establishment of "structural racism". At the present time, parents blame teachers, and teachers blame parents, for educational failure. But testing identifies the good and the poor among students, among households and parents, among classes and teachers, among schools and principals, and among communities and regions. When testing is done, the failures can be corrected with knowledge gained from the successes. The TABEs used by Adult Education and the tests used by the high school principal in Rankin Inlet could be used throughout the Arctic today, but the GNWT Department of Education and teachers with whom I have discussed this matter seem very reluctant to do so. This reluctance should be viewed with suspicion, as failure to document the shortcomings of education in the Arctic is in the self-interest of the teachers and the department they serve.

Another counter-productive policy that may be self-serving is that which does not allow sponsorship of N.W.T. residents to attend educational institutions outside the Northwest Territories (except when a particular program is not offered by the Department of Education). Going south may not be the best educational

strategy for all Inuit, but those who are able to make the transition receive a better education and learn how to operate in mainstream Canadian society. The successful Inuit leaders of today owe much to this kind of experience. The Canadian government sponsored my Ph.D. studies in the United States, so I do not see why Inuit should not be sponsored when they wish to go south for their education. Choice in this matter should be taken away from the government and given to the Inuit. If the education system continues to fail the Inuit in the Arctic, then at least some Inuit will be well educated, like the Inuit leaders who went through the old residential system.

It seems, too, that there are fewer educational opportunities available to Inuit in the Arctic than there are for the Micmac Indians I taught at Dalhousie University in Halifax. Dalhousie offers a transition-year program designed to give Micmacs an opportunity to adjust to university life. As well, special programs have been created to allow Micmac health workers and social workers obtain degrees and professional qualifications. Although many Inuit working for the GNWT would like to work toward their degrees, few special programs are in place to actively encourage them. An exception is the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program, but that program is underfunded and must turn away many willing students.

With regard to the teaching of Inuit language and culture, the Inuit I interviewed felt these should be taught in the school and in the home. Some Inuit believed land-based skills should also be taught in the schools, but most considered the best place for this kind of education to be out on the land. I see no reason why Inuit language and culture (e.g. poetry, mythology, and history) should not be taught through all school grades in the Arctic, in much the same way as other languages are taught across Canada. Failure to develop a curriculum and an adequate number of Inuit teachers to do this in the 20 years since the establishment of settlements and community schools is surely unacceptable. If Inuit had been given a good formal education at the cost of being unable to keep their language and culture alive in all its richness, then, perhaps, there would have been some grounds for forgiving this omission, but Inuit have received the worst of both worlds and the best of neither. As for land-based skills, they are best taught out on the land, so the appropriate solution here is not another school program but, rather, policies to encourage and support active Inuit involvement in the subsistence segment of the arctic economy.



Choices in Productive Activity

In the 1950s, when the Government of Canada began to make a concerted effort to extend the Canadian welfare system to the Arctic, a bureaucrat from Ottawa explained to a missionary in Whale Cove that he would have to reject the modest suggestions of the missionary for a self-help program for the Inuit, as some of the suggestions would cost less than his own salary. (Among other suggestions, the missionary had proposed that the government give the Inuit lumber, tools, and some guidance in house construction instead of building houses for them.) Perhaps the GNWT, with an annual budget fast approaching a billion dollars, is, to a considerable degree, little more than the institutionalization of that bureaucrat and his philosophy. I am inclined to believe that the Homeownership Assistance Plan (HAP) introduced into the Arctic over the past few years more closely follows the philosophy recommended by the missionary. Happily for the government (and Canadian taxpayers), houses built with the assistance of their Inuit owners cost little more than half the price of houses constructed by the GNWT (approximately $90 000 as compared with $160 000 to $170 000). It should be noted also that ongoing operating costs are greatly reduced. Perhaps the time has come to apply this philosophy to other programs before welfare completely erodes traditional Inuit values of independence and individual industry.

In most of Canada, the different forms of social assistance, such as welfare and unemployment insurance, are designed to help the few citizens unable to work to live without discomfort, and to provide for those citizens who find themselves temporarily out of work. I do not believe these forms of social assistance were ever designed as a substitute for work for large segments of the northern population. Yet, that is exactly what they are required to be, and it should come as no surprise that they perform very poorly. Various programs exist to help some students attend school, to create a few summer jobs in the community, and to assist a limited number of hunters with the purchase of equipment or gas. Those Inuit who do not have full-time jobs try to piece their lives together with combinations of these different programs, but, as the latter are limited in number and duration, they may well create as much frustration as real help.

A number of social experiments have been developed to deal with aspects of this problem—the Mincome experiment in rural Manitoba, the subsidization of fur prices in Greenland, and the hunter assistance program for the Cree of northern Quebec. Recently, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut requested the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) to consider a $10 million per annum program to return unemployed Inuit hunters to the land. (The proposal was rejected.) When it is noted that the proposed cash settlement for the Dene is

R. Seminuik

$500 million and that the current GNWT budget is more than $800 million, $10 million does not seem very much. However, a senior planner in the GNWT told me that he had been involved in designing a similar program some years ago and that his proposal would have cost nothing, as it could have been funded by piecing together moneys from other budgets that overlapped with the aims of a subsistence economy support program. Clearly, money is not the problem. Perhaps, the problem is a lack of political or institutional will. Perhaps, no one wants to admit to the possibility that a normal wage economy cannot solve all the social and economic problems of the Arctic. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that current programs leave many potentially productive Inuit idle, when the redesign of these programs to meet the needs of the Inuit in the Arctic could put them in school, in college, in community service, or back on the land.

Inuit must be given the opportunity to choose the career path or productive activity that they perceive to be best for them, instead of having their options determined by the vagaries of budgetary decisions beyond their control. To achieve this end, many programs will have to be co-ordinated, or even combined; this, in turn, will require some institutional imagination and leadership. Given this kind of flexibility, the old and the young, those living in small or large communities, those living in regions rich in renewable or non-renewable resources, and those with traditional or modern skills will be able to make the choices that will maximize their potential and, with it, the potential of their family and community, while still taking advantage of economic development if and when it comes.

Making It Work

When I was given permission to do this research by the Inuit of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet, one of the most frequently expressed concerns was that this report might end up as yet another pile of paper collecting dust. A few Inuit refused to be interviewed for this very reason. This concern is undoubtedly valid. The problems faced by the Inuit—high population growth, high unemployment, poor education, and poor economic prospects—are well documented both in recent reports (Robitaille and Choinière, 1985) and in reports written more than 20 years ago (Brack and McIntosh, 1963). To various degrees they are problems faced by all Inuit, from the Yukon to Labrador, and, possibly, by all native people in northern Canada (Hawthorn, 1966; Robitaille and Choinière, 1985; Lithwick, 1986). But these problems are probably most acute for the Inuit of the Arctic, for they live in the most inaccessible and inhospitable region of Canada. Given the intransigence of these problems, and their possible national dimension, strong federal leadership may be required to resolve these problems; other options for creative policy development seem to offer little hope for success.

For example, land claim settlements offer one possibility for dealing with these problems. The native people of Alaska won the right to have a high school in any community that requested it as part of their land claim settlement, and the Cree of northern Quebec received a hunter assistance program through their settlement with the Government of Quebec. At the present time, DIAND will not negotiate social issues such as these as a part of a land claim settlement in the eastern Arctic, so using land claims as a positive force for social change in the region is not a viable option.

Another possibility is for territorial and provincial governments to deal with these problems. In the Northwest Territories, efforts to create a hunter assistance program have been underway for several years. Unfortunately, the program has never been implemented, even though similar programs already exist for the Cree of northern Quebec and the Inuit of Greenland. As one of the largest segments of the N.W.T. population consists of unemployed natives, it is difficult to understand why the territorial government has not taken a leadership role in the development of these kinds of policies. I should add that getting people off welfare and supporting the subsistence economy is a high priority for the current government (N.W.T. Culture and Communications, 1988), but the problem is decades old (Brack and McIntosh, 1963) and has not been dealt with yet.

A third possibility for bringing about social and economic change is the creation of regional or native governments that would presumably be more responsive to the needs of their electorates. In the Arctic, this would entail division of the Northwest Territories to create the new territory of Nunavut. But these forms of government do not exist today, and so, at least for the present, some federal leadership would seem to be required.

Improving the quality of education is a complex and difficult undertaking, but systematic efforts to solve the problem cannot be made until it is recognized in its full extent. The first step in this process is to monitor standards, with a view to regulation and maintenance. Failure to do so wastes lives and adds to the costs of welfare and adult education. In an effort to come to terms with this problem, the federal government should undertake an audit of education standards throughout northern Canada.

There are probably as many different ways to assist students, create community service programs, and support subsistence hunters as there are government departments with imaginative civil servants. No one will know for certain what kind of program will

Self Determination in native Education in the Circumpolar North eds. Malcolm Farrow & David Wilman
Yellowknife : Govt. of the N.W.T. 1989

COMMUNITY CONTROL IN NATIVE EDUCATION
A SENSE OF OWNERSHIP, RESPONSIBILITY AND COMMITMENT

David Serkoak

David Serkoak is an Inuk educator from the Keewatin Region of the N.W.T. He has worked as a classroom assistant, teacher, vice-principal and principal in Eskimo Point where he now teaches. In addition, he has taught a number of courses at the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program, and has developed a range of Inuktitut teaching materials.

In this paper I will examine why community control is the optimal goal to strive for in Native education, what avenues are open for Native people to become involved in the education system of the N.W.T. and how, from my perspective, these avenues are or are not helping us achieve our goal.

Education in its broadest sense is a responsibility shared by various agencies and institutions in the community: the home, the school, the church, continuing education, media, recreational organizations, cultural organizations and others. For the purposes of this address, I will be speaking primarily about the main educational agency, the school. In my roles as a student, parent, teacher and administrator, this is the institution with which I have had the most direct experience.

References to the terms "community schools", "community involvement", "local involvement", and "consultation with the local education authority" are often found in publications of the N.W.T. Department of Education. In theory, at least, educational planners and educators espouse community control as the way to go. Here are a few examples:

> Good pedagogy tells us that as an individual and as a member of a particular ethnic or cultural group, the student functions best if full use is made of the traditions and experiences which are integral to home and family, and therefore to student well-being (GNWT Education 1978).
>
> In planning the school program for an education district, the school principals of the district and the Superintendent for that district shall be guided by the voters of the district as expressed by the local education authority (GNWT Education 1977).
>
> The school staff shall utilize aspects of the local cultures in the curriculum, curriculum material and teaching methods of the schools, and the principal shall consult with and be guided by the local education authority in planning such utilizations (GNWT Education 1977).
>
> Involvement of community should be considered as fundamental to the planning and implementation of any bilingual program. The greater the degree of involvement of community members in the school and the programs, then the greater will be the degree of understanding of and support for the program selected and presented (GNWT Education, 1981).
>
> There must be flexibility for local input into the program. The responsibility for defining and controlling the part Social Studies plays in the school and in the community must be shared among teachers, parents, students and communities. Furthermore, local input is not limited to the inclusion of symbols or tokens of the communities' culture, but must incorporate the realities those symbols represent. Local input includes local involvement in defining the basic values, attitudes and goals underlying Social Studies teaching and learning (GNWT Education 1979).

In practice, however, there are many factors which jeopardize swift and steady progress towards this ideal. In the meantime, the quality of the education of many children is being compromised as the gap between the younger and older generations widens, as does the gulf between the home and school.

To me, community control has to come both from Native people working within the system, and from the community at large working to change the system from without. When people are informed and aware about something, they can make good choices and give sound direction. When they are given an opportunity to contribute meaningfully to something they feel a part of, and when they are given responsibility for something, they become committed to making it work.

Working from Within the School System

Native teachers, classroom assistants and other teaching personnel can better relate to the community, can more readily be accepted by the community, can communicate meaningfully with their students in their mother-tongue, can better understand the learning styles and the needs of Native students, can provide good role models for their students; and can be most sensitive to cultural characteristics and contexts. All of these factors contribute to a learning environment that provides emotional security and facilitates Native students' academic achievement.

At the same time, those outside the school system; the local education authority and the people they represent must be informed about the school's programs; what is being taught, why and how. They must also be told what is not being taught. Local people should be an integral part of the school's programs, enriching them with their expertise and, through their involvement, gaining an understanding of the school's organization.

The Native Student

The students who attend our schools, for whose achievement and success we all hope, like students everywhere have very little, if any, control over their own schooling. They are at the mercy of the teachers, the programs, and the system in which they are enrolled. But perhaps they have the greatest potential to be ambassadors in the developments of the ideal school.

When educators design their learning activities so that they reach out from the school into the community environment through activities such as taped interviews of oral histories, genealogical studies, debates and reading their stories on the radio, students are encouraged not only to learn more about their cultural group but also to help bridge the cultural and generation gap between young and old. In the process of reaching out to learn, students can do much to make the community more aware of school programs.

The Classroom Assistant

In the past, classroom assistants have been called upon to develop Native language programs. This involvement and control was given to the classroom assistants solely because Native language instruction was needed and because some sort of program was needed to fill the gap. However, the Department of Education was preoccupied with the development of curriculum in other subject areas. Native language curriculum development was not a top priority in terms of personnel or funding.

Unfortunately, classroom assistants did not have the necessary training or expertise in curriculum development or in linguistics to handle such a responsibility effectively. It is mainly for this

reason that Native language programs to date have not achieved the success that we all have hoped for.

Classroom assistants are still required to produce many of the learning materials needed to implement Native language programs. More capable classroom assistants are able to use this involvement in programming to develop relevant and effective materials tailored to meet the needs of their students. But for less experienced classroom assistants this can be an overwhelming responsibility and burden. They require guidance and assistance in this area.

No matter what the capabilities of a classroom assistant, the level of their control and influence within the classroom largely depends upon the supervising teacher to whom they are assigned. This may be a new person every year. How much experience that teacher has in working with classroom assistants; how secure and competent that teacher feels in his or her teaching assignment; how willing that teacher is to give extra time and assistance to helping the classroom assistant develop new skills and build on their strengths, are all factors which influence the effectiveness of the classroom assistant's work.

Many of our Inuit teachers today were once capable classroom assistants who developed their skills with the encouragement and guidance of cooperating teachers, but the system as it stands does not guarantee that every classroom assistant will receive such an opportunity to become involved in this way.

The Native Teacher

Upon graduation Native teachers can be assured that they will be master in their own classrooms. What they are to teach is already a given within the system. But, in their approach to teaching, Native teachers have the opportunity to apply their cultural sensitivities in the best interests of their students.

Many of the Native teacher graduates are of the younger generation. Just because they are Native and can speak a Native language does not necessarily mean that they have a deep knowledge of cultural history and tradition, or a rich and accurate control of their language. However, these are essential requirements, especially if Native language programs are to achieve high standards of excellence. Additional teacher education courses in the areas of Native culture and language are needed. An on-going program of workshops needs to be developed for Inuit teachers and classroom assistants. Top priority should be given to funding the development and publication of high quality support materials. In addition, adequate funding should be made available to pay for the expertise of local resource people to supplement school programs.

As part of a school staff, Inuit teachers can have some input into what the school does as a whole. On staffs where Inuit teachers are few in number, they may be reluctant to be very vocal in expressing opinions or trying to bring about change. A few Inuit teachers have become administrators within schools. These positions allow for considerable influence and control and for much responsibility.

From my own experiences as a vice-principal of a medium sized school, I have found that, just like the position of a classroom assistant, one's level of control and influence largely depends on

the person who is designated as principal, your partner in the administration team. Some principals see their role as a tutor and are very patient and willing to share their expertise in administrative skills. For others, their own career path tends to take priority.

When a Native person becomes a principal or advances to any type of executive or managerial position, the event is still fairly rare, so you feel that you must go the extra kilometre in the job to prove yourself, not only to your supervisor but to your own community as well.

The Cultural Instructor

Cultural inclusion programs, because of their cultural content and the involvement of local personnel as instructors, provide an excellent opportunity for community involvement in the school system. To date, however, in many schools, cultural inclusion programs have not been utilized to their full potential. Often the instructors, who have much cultural knowledge and expertise to share, feel incompetent and ineffective in the school setting. They lack adequate training in teaching methodology and classroom management. In many cases they are provided with a skeletal guideline instead of a curriculum developed with proper scope and sequence. Ultimately it is the students who suffer.

So in these cases, being master of their own program does not mean community control in the desired sense. Support systems in terms of training for instructors and a properly developed local curriculum are essential to ensure excellence in cultural inclusion programs.

The School Counsellor

The newly created training program for school counsellors is a positive step towards fostering understanding and awareness between home and school. Public relations will be an important aspect of the school counsellor's position. All schools will need to make a determined effort to keep the community informed about what their children are learning. A public relations component should be built in to each course of study and should be required as part of each teacher's year plans. As long as parents are unaware and uninformed, it is futile of educators to expect their support and commitment for the school.

The Local Education Society

Education societies have considerable opportunity through the Education Act (GNWT Education 1977) to exercise control over the local school, including the local language policy and involvement in the appointment of principals, teachers and other teaching personnel. In order to make sound decisions, members elected to the societies not only need to have a good knowledge of school programs and organization, they must also reflect the wishes of the community they represent.

Policy directions for a community school should be arrived at by a consensus between the elected society members, representing the community, and the educators within the school. Discussions and presentations on school programs must be in lay terms to ensure the participation and understanding of local people. Neither the education society nor the school can do it alone and expect to achieve the desired success in program development. It is especially important that Native educators working within the school system and society members from outside the school work in harmony to achieve community control, and not be at odds with each other.

Parents

Some parents, because of their own bad experiences with the education system in the past or their lack of any exposure to a formal education, may feel alienated from the school. Others may feel intimidated and confused by the educational jargon which does not readily lend itself to translation. Consequently, they do not feel a part of the school system. Nor do they feel that they have anything worthwhile to contribute to it. They may participate in electing education society members, but may not attend public meetings, school events or parent - teacher interviews. More important, they may not be committed to ensuring consistent attendance and punctuality of their school-age children.

An intense, on-going public relations effort by local schools and by the Department of Education at the regional and territorial levels is vital. Its objective must be to inform parents and to involve them in the education of their children. No matter how active the local society is in making decisions, and no matter how culturally relevant the school's programs may be, if parents do not feel committed to the education system, it will not achieve success.

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's television programs and Inuktitut programming on the radio are powerful mediums that could be tapped to inform Native people about educational programs, cover school events, debate issues, explore options, and view pilot programs.

Community Resource People

Within every community there is a pool of resource people whose cultural knowledge and expertise is only periodically tapped. Their involvement in school programs is generally on a voluntary basis, and is usually short term. When school budgets are being drawn up and funding

allotted, very little consideration is given to the value of these rich, vital and locally available resources. Educators agree that the involvement of local people in programs is essential for effective community schools. We have to show that cultural knowledge has much worth, and is just as constructive and helpful in promoting high standards of excellence as knowledge in science, for example.

For the purposes of seminars or workshops we feel that it is quite appropriate to bring up an expert from the south to instruct educators in learning development methodology or effective schools. These experts demand large per diem allowances. Let us place the same monetary value on the cultural expertise we have locally. This does not mean that there is no place for volunteers in the classrooms. However, by paying educational resource people for their cultural expertise, we would be communicating the message that Native people have a worthwhile contribution to make towards their children's schooling. They can be a part of it, too.

Conclusion

The success of Native education is directly related to the amount of community control and involvement there is in the school system. Only when Native people feel a part of that system, that they have a stake in it, will they assume responsibility in a meaningful way and become committed to its success.

Native educators within the school system and concerned community members must strive to ensure swift and steady progress towards this goal. It is imperative that we not sit back and wait for our influence to slowly evolve. We cannot afford to tarry. There is rapid change in all areas of our life: political, economic, and social. To ensure top quality education for our children and

to help bridge the gaps between young and old, and home and school, we must actively promote rapid change in the education system as well. And we must continue to do so until we truly have a sense of ownership.

References

GNWT Education (1977). An ordinance respecting education. Yellowknife, NWT. Government of the Northwest Territories.

GNWT Education (1978). Philosophy of education in the Northwest Territories. Yellowknife, NWT. Government of the Northwest Territories.

GNWT Education (1979). Social studies: K-9. Yellowknife, NWT. Government of the Northwest Territories.

GNWT Education (1981). Bilingual education: an overview and recommendations. Yellowknife, NWT. Government of the Northwest Territories.

GNWT Education (1982). Learning, tradition and change. Yellowknife, NWT. Government of the Northwest Territories.

Self Determination in Native Education in the Circumpolar North eds. Malcolm Farrow & David Wilman
Yellowknife : Govt. of the N.W.T. 1989

TEACHER TRAINING IN THE CANADIAN EASTERN ARCTIC

David Wilman

David Wilman, a long time Northerner, is Principal of the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP) in Iqaluit. This paper discusses developments in teacher training that have taken place in the Eastern Arctic during the past decade. When the literature on Northern education is often littered with expensive failures, it is encouraging to read about the occasional successes. EATEP, a young and dynamic institution, is one of those successes. Its graduates are making a significant impact on the delivery of bilingual programs across the Eastern Arctic. EATEP's innovative approach to Native teacher training is now being replicated in other parts of Canada, and as far away as Peru.

Take a map of the Northwest Territories. Find Gjoa Haven, on an island off the Arctic Coast, approximately 1800 miles north of Winnipeg. From there south to the sixtieth parallel and east to Hudson Bay and the Davis Strait is the area served by the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP). No other Native teacher training program in North America serves an area as vast or as isolated as that served by EATEP. In this vast and isolated area, some 1600 miles east to west, 2500 miles north to south, which encompasses the Territorial Government's Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot administrative regions, more than 90% of the children come to school speaking only their mother-tongue, Inuktitut (GNWT 1984). Throughout this area schools are controlled by locally elected education councils and in most communities Inuktitut-English bilingual education programs are in demand. Where the community wishes it, legislation (GNWT 1977, 1982) requires that children should be taught through the medium of their mother-tongue, Inuktitut, at least for the first four years of the elementary school. The same legislation also

requires the provision of Inuktitut instruction as a regular component of school programs at all grade levels beyond these introductory years. This means there is an urgent demand for Inuktitut learning materials and for Inuit teachers. This paper discusses only one half of the needs: teacher training.

After two tentative experiments in the early 1970's, the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program was set up in Iqaluit in 1979 as an offshoot of the teacher training program located at Fort Smith in the western NWT. At that time in Fort Smith there was a two- year institutional program, with the emphasis on English instruction. Any ties to Fort Smith were quickly severed and what we have developed in the Eastern Arctic is radically different. From the start, our emphasis has been on producing teachers capable of teaching in Inuktitut. During the last three years, as our graduates began to fill many of the teaching positions in the lower elementary grades, we have expanded our objectives to include training for work at the upper elementary and junior high school levels. In addition, the program is no longer simply institutional. We have incorporated into the teacher training program the previously separate classroom assistant training program, and now offer not just an institutional teacher training program, but a field-based, on-the-job, training program for classroom assistants (para-professional teachers) who otherwise may not be able to undertake any kind of planned professional training because of their isolation, family commitments, or because of other restrictions on their mobility.

Because of the language situation, many Inuit classroom assistants in the Eastern Arctic had developed the skills of independent teachers, but the credit they received for the courses and training they had completed could not be counted towards teacher certification. Even the most experienced and well qualified classroom assistants had to begin again at square one if they

wanted to earn full teaching credentials. We have changed all that. Now there is a set of EATEP courses accredited by McGill University leading towards the McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education and to the NWT Standard Teaching Certificate. These courses can be taken full time in the institution, during the summer, or, thanks to a $400,000 grant made by the Donner Canadian Foundation in 1981, through intensive field-based courses offered at different locations during the winter to classroom assistants and institutional trainees alike. Trainees have considerable flexibility: most now do the equivalent of the first year in the field, spread over two, three or more years, and then come in for one institutional year, thus completing the requirements of the present two year program, which qualifies them for the teaching credentials noted above.

Recognizing the need for more specialized training, in September 1984 we began a third year program for Inuit teachers who had earlier graduated from either EATEP or the Fort Smith program. This program, like the first and second year programs, consists entirely of courses drawn from the regular McGill calendar but offered in Iqaluit by our own faculty and by visiting McGill University professors. Students who have already completed a few courses beyond initial teacher certification at our regular summer programs can now attain the Bachelor of Education at the end of this third year. Others can normally complete the requirements for their degree after one additional semester of study carrying a regular load of three or four courses. The first Inuk from Nunavut to graduate with a Bachelor of Education through EATEP did so in June 1985. Two more Inuit completed their Bachelor of Education degrees in December 1985, four more graduated in June 1987, and two of these seven graduates have now been admitted to graduate studies at McGill. It is interesting to note that three non-Inuit teachers have joined our Bachelor of

Education program, and that of the seven NWT teachers who were granted educational leave for the 1984-85 school year, three chose to study at EATEP rather than at a southern university.

Naturally there are problems: too few qualified Inuktitut speaking instructors, too much English, too few high school graduates applying for the institution, too many field-based students scattered across too many kilometres, too many demands on too few staff, too little time, too little money, and much too much bureaucracy. And yet we have hopes. Hopes of a significant increase in the number of experienced Inuit teachers working in our schools, of taking responsibility for Inuktitut curriculum development, of training language specialists and bilingual educationists, and of creating career paths beyond the Bachelor of Education for Inuit teachers who aspire to more advanced studies. High hopes, high inflation, low budgets, lots of problems ... we doubt our sanity sometimes.

One problem emerged clearly in a recent evaluation which was otherwise highly favourable (Carney 1984). It was commented that EATEP graduates had problems with the teaching of English as a Second Language. This is not only true, it is also predictable. As indicated in the second paragraph of this paper our initial mandate was to deal with the disastrous lack of certified Inuktitut-speaking teachers in the educational system of the NWT. Such a complaint was, therefore, akin to ordering vegetable curry in an Indian restaurant and then complaining about the lack of beef! In its first twelve years, 1968 - 1980, only thirty-five Inuit teachers had graduated from the teacher training program at Fort Smith (Teacher Education Program, 1980). In May of 1981, only twelve of this group were still serving in the more than 120 Kindergarten to grade three classrooms where teachers able to teach in Inuktitut were desperately needed (Wilman 1981). Of these, none were teaching above the grade four level. It would have been

impossible, in a two year program, to produce teachers of Inuktitut who were also TESL or any other kind of specialists. In considering this issue it should also be pointed out that the Department of Education has failed either to hire or to train a cadre of TESL specialists among their southern-hired teachers who are native speakers of English. While presenting a paper at a recent teachers' workshop in Iqaluit, the writer asked a group of more than forty teachers, mainly from the south, to indicate if they had taken any TESL training. Only the writer and one other teacher raised a hand. She was an EATEP graduate.

We must emphasize that it is not sufficient to provide trainees with one TESL course and then expect them to function efficiently in the multicultural, bilingual situation that exists in most classrooms in the Eastern Arctic. We therefore intend, given the resources, to offer within the Bachelor of Education program and beyond, the opportunity to acquire a specialist certificate in second language teaching. If our graduates are to function as competently with TESL as they do in Inuktitut, they need the same kind of integrated set of courses as is at present provided for their first language. Negotiations are already underway with McGill on the content of this certificate.

In order to introduce more Inuktitut instruction into the training process itself, two early graduates of our program were hired as trainee instructors after two or three years in the classroom. A carefully scheduled three-year program of academic study and professional development was prepared for each trainee. These programs were designed to equip the trainee instructors with the academic background and experience they would need before taking on the responsibilities and pressures of a permanent faculty position at EATEP. One trainee completed her program in 1985 and now holds a full teaching position specializing in Inuktitut Language

Arts, Drama and Cultural Studies. The second completed her program in December 1986, and now instructs courses in Inuktitut linguistics and computer education at EATEP.

In our negotiations to establish and offer Bachelor of Education courses in Iqaluit, McGill University was particularly helpful. They provided logistical and pedagogical support, they appointed two of EATEP's permanent staff to faculty at the University, they approved the establishment of several new academic courses, and encouraged faculty to visit Iqaluit regularly to offer seminars and instruct sections of our Bachelor of Education program. For example, we were encouraged to develop an eighteen credit academic Inuktitut component. This block of courses includes three three-credit linguistics courses dealing with the phonology, morphology and syntax of Inuktitut, a special topics course, and a six-credit course in Inuit literature. The Inuit literature course has had an interesting spin-off. EATEP, in association with the Hochelaga Research Foundation of Montreal, has acquired an exhaustive collection of some 3000 books, papers, and periodicals in Inuktitut or written by Inuit and published in other languages. This collection, which contains many rare and valuable books, is fully catalogued and is now situated on our premises in Iqaluit, where it is available as a reference to both our students and to other scholars involved in research on the Inuit language and culture. Our students have named this unique collection Isumaksaqsiurvik, literally "the place where you search for knowledge."

This probably sounds impressive enough. Does it work? Evaluations tell part of the story; the reactions of trainees give another clue. Early on in our summer programs, students began to give indications of an emotion closely resembling enthusiasm. One young lady had to leave class early on a Wednesday to have a baby. On Saturday she was back in class, apologizing anxiously to the writer for missing class on Thursday and Friday. We forgave her: she passed that course

and eventually entered the second year institutional program, graduating as a teacher in June 1985. Not every trainee has the opportunity to display commitment so obviously; not many would. We who teach in the program, and who make no pretence of being objective about it, claim to notice a marked increase in determination and career ambition among the young people we work with.

Another one of the indicators of such enthusiasm, presumably less subjective, is statistics. By June 1987, EATEP had graduated 55 teachers. All but four of this group are either working in our schools or have returned to us to continue their studies towards the Bachelor of Education degree. In addition to our own 55 graduates, seven Inuit teachers who earlier graduated from the Fort Smith program have registered in our Bachelor of Education program. Since the establishment of the field-based program in 1981, more than 140 classroom assistants have registered for the McGill - EATEP Certificate in Native and Northern Education. Of this number 55 are no longer active, mostly through resignation from their posts, but in each of the three regions we serve, there is a strong, active contingent of classroom assistants pursuing a coordinated program of studies which will lead to a Classroom Assistants Diploma, to teacher certification, and eventually to a full degree. At time of writing 80 classroom assistants are active in the field-based program, these in addition to the 18 institutional trainees registered for the 1987-88 academic year, and the 62 graduates registered in our Bachelor of Education program on a part-time basis.

Between November 1981 and June 1986 EATEP had offered seventeen field-based courses carrying university credit to the three regions of the Eastern Arctic: Baffin, Keewatin and Kitikmeot, in Montreal, and in Nuuk, Greenland. Students in the field-based program can take up to five courses per year, two each summer and three during the regular school year. If a course they

require is being offered, arrangements are made to release them from their regular classroom duties, and for them to travel to the community where the course is being offered. Until early 1986, these courses were funded by the Donner Foundation grant and provided the opportunity for classroom assistants, who otherwise had only infrequent access to training, to quickly acquire the basic teaching skills they need in their work, and to proceed from there towards full teaching credentials. It is now possible to earn full teaching credentials entirely through the field-based program. In addition, our institutional schedule is arranged so that field-based trainees can regularly join our institutional classes during the school year. This arrangement is particularly cost efficient and more than doubles the number of courses available to field-based trainees each year. Further courses at the first year, second year and Bachelor of Education levels are available each year through our annual July Summer Program. We estimate that by the summer of 1990, we will have graduated 90 trained Inuit teachers, and that at least 25 of this group will have gone on to complete Bachelor of Education degrees. It is also now possible to earn the Bachelor of Education degree entirely through courses taken in the NWT through the EATEP - McGill affiliation. The first Inuk to earn her Bachelor of Education degree without attending a southern university did so in June this year (1987).

We've had help. Kativik School Board of Northern Quebec paved the way in developing field-based programs in the Arctic and provided part of the model we have developed. Similarly, we adopted part of the approach taken by the University of New Mexico's Navajo Teacher Education Program. We learned much from these programs, but naturally we have had to make our own experiments and adjustments so that our program would best serve the needs of our own clientele. Dean David Smith and Professors Jack Cram, Gordon Bennett and Howard Stutt of McGill University have given us unfailing support in our efforts to establish a high quality teacher

training program in the Eastern Arctic. And, of course, our field-based courses could never have been possible without the generous support of the Canadian Donner Foundation. That funding has now expired, and although the GNWT has assumed some of the costs for this component of our program, one of our immediate concerns is to identify a source of further funding which will guarantee autonomy and flexibility for this vital aspect of our exciting program.

The formal, external evaluation of our program (Carney 1984), while very encouraging, served to show us our weaknesses. In responding to these issues, our task for the near future is to refine, to fine tune the programs and approaches which have already proved to be in accord with the needs of the area and people we serve. This is the current challenge for the program. It is a challenge we will meet with the same determination and innovation which have been our hallmark to date. From a small beginning, the EATEP - McGill program has grown into a vital, exciting, and continuing venture with implications for the future that are only now being recognized. Not only has the program provided Inuit of the Eastern Arctic with access to professional and university training, it has also opened up a new area of employment that is of great cultural and economic significance to them. At the same time, it has provided a model on which to base other professional training programs for minority peoples.

References

Carney, R.J. (1984). Northwest Territories teacher education program evaluation. Yellowknife, NWT. GNWT Education.

Govt. of the Northwest Territories (1977). An ordinance respecting education in the Northwest Territories. Yellowknife, NWT. GNWT Dept. of Information.

Govt. of the Northwest Territories (1982). Learning: tradition and change in the Northwest Territories. (Report of the Special Committee on education). Yellowknife, NWT. Legislative Assembly of the NWT.

Govt. of the Northwest Territories (1984). NWT Data Book. Yellowknife, NWT. Outcrop Ltd.

Teacher Education Program (1980). 1980 Yearbook. Fort Smith, NWT.

Wilman, D. (1981). Towards bilingual education in the NWT. In J. Cummins (ed.) Heritage language education: issues and directions. Ottawa, Canada (1983). Ministry of Supply Services.

Note: This is an updated and expanded version of a paper written in 1985 by David Wilman and Mick Mallon.

FURTHER READING

Govt. of the Northwest Territories (1982). Learning : Tradition and change in the Territories. (Report of the Special Committee on Education). Yellowknife, N.W.T. Legislative Assembly of the NWT.

Carney, Robert J (1971). Relations in Education between the Federal Government and Territorial Government and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, N.W.T., 1867-1961. PhD Thesis. Edmonton, Alberta : University of Alberta, Dept. of Education Foundation.

(eds.) Farrow, Malcolm & Wilman, David (1989) Self Determination in Native Education in the Circumplar North. Yellowknife : Govt. of the Northwest Territories, Dept. of Education.