THE HUNGER FOR PROFESSIONAL LEARNING IN NUNAVUT SCHOOLS

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Education
Graduate Department of Curriculum, Teaching, and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

The Hunger for Professional Learning in Nunavut Schools

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1998

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This dissertation addresses issues related to ethically based professional education in the school system in Nunavut. Nunavut is the new territory to be created in the Eastern Arctic on April 1, 1999 concluding the negotiation of aboriginal self-government for the Inuit who comprise an 85% majority in that part of Canada.

Exploring the emergence of an educator-directed model of teacher development, the dissertation argues that ethically based professional practice within Nunavut requires that southern models are carefully scrutinized and evaluated as potentially violent intrusions and contributors to the exponential and endemic cultural and linguistic erosion that is part of a colonial legacy. Professional learning is viewed as one of the most powerful catalysts in the pursuit of freedom and the retrieval and maintenance of identity, language, and culture. It is also seen as a potential key to addressing issues of difference, identity, and freedom within the school system.

The theoretical framework suggested in the dissertation combines Inuit values with Foucauldian ethics to propose a philosophical framework based on care of self within a community of educators. The self, in Foucault's sense, is viewed as politically located in an intellectually and spiritually dangerous

world. This is supported within an Inuit perspective by a commitment to community that is directly linked to survival in a traditional culture. Foucauldian ethics warn us that political controls and prevailing moral codes act as controlling influences within our lives. Self-knowledge enables us to understand these forces and make ethical choices on a daily basis in order to maximize our freedom. Freedom is a critically important concept within the struggle to establish self-government and educator-directed professional education in Nunavut.

Rather than learning within hegemonic models of staff development or teacher education that involves a response to prevailing ideological trends, Foucault's theories position a critically aware subject who engages in a constant surveillance of self and society in order to be free. Maxine Greene's concept of the Dance of Life is used as an example of critique which is situated in a much more holistic and communal context. This is particularly important within the cross-cultural world of Nunavut where colonial history contributes to major social discord and identity struggles for both Inuit and non-aboriginal educators.

For the Doc who saw the world big,

and for Ganzie who still tells me to mind myself.

Acknowledgments

It is February 1998 and time to finish this dissertation. I do so with some regret and a great deal of relief. Regret because I must let it go with all its flaws, relief because ready or not, it must be placed on a shelf to mark one important stage in my life, the time I spent working in Nunavut.

In looking back on the seven and a half years of work involved in completing this degree, there are many people who stood beside me, urging me to complete the writing, creating space for me to think and read and stating over and over again that I could and should finish the dissertation. I thank them for not deserting me at any stage in this arduous process.

Sandy and Kathleen McAuley have lived through all the struggles involved in completing this dissertation, providing support, advice, and love at every turn. Jim Cummins, my advisor, has always been a positive, helpful, and endlessly patient presence. Joanne Tompkins, Irene Chisholm, Elizabeth Fortes, Cathy McGregor, Cathy James-Cutler, Lena Metuq, and Jerome Chisholm have, through long conversations and deep friendship over many years, helped to shape my beliefs and thinking. My thanks to all of you.

Many northern educators and leaders have provided me with insight, inspiration and support, particularly Chuck Tolley, Naullaq Arnaquq, Peesee Pitsiulak, Noel McDermott, Eric Colbourne, Liz Rose, Joe Enook, Linda Makeechak, Eva Arreak, Maata Kyak, Jukeepa Hainnu, Brian Menton, Cathy Lee, Dawn Loney, Derek Cutler, Nick Newbery, Kate McDermott, Salomie Awa-Cousins, Muriel Tolley, Donna Stephania, Maggie Putulik, Peg Pardy and Uvinik Qamaniq. My thanks for all your patience. A special thanks to Sue Ball for her support as I completed the writing and survived my defense.

Writing reflects our lives. In it we can see ourselves, our families, our history, and our work. This dissertation reflects the dialogue, living, working, caring, and thinking involved in fifteen years of striving to make a small difference in the very challenging world of Nunavut. All assumptions, errors of judgement, or misinterpretation are my own. I ask that my mistakes be viewed as part of my own struggle to understand and trust and that they do not hurt any of the people who have offered me so much over the years.

Qujannamiiraaluk.

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Part One

Professional Education and the Hunger for Learning

Chapter One

Hopes and Dreams for Professional Learning in Nunavut Schools

"We must have dreams. We must have ideals.
We must fight for things we believe in.
We must believe in ourselves."
(Amagoalik, 1977, p. 165)

The Creation of Nunavut

On April 1, 1999, the Northwest Territories will change forever when Nunavut is created, the map of Canada re-drawn and Inuit gain a victory for Aboriginal self-government in North America. Nunavut signifies the end of colonial rule in a land which belongs to Inuit. This is a change of such complexity and depth that the residents of Nunavut are only beginning to grasp some of the possibilities and dangers for the future. The hope for radical change, new reality, and Inuit control is tangible.

This new reality has a double edge. Reductions in federal transfer payments, decreases in real income and benefits, and cutbacks across the government speak to a different and potentially frightening future for people who live in Nunavut. Anxiety deepens just as dreams are coming true.

The possibility that the new, majority Inuit government may simply replace one oppressive power with another, and that neo-colonialism will continue to perpetuate bureaucratic hierarchies which alienate and suffocate agency, is a shadow whispered about more frequently. An atmosphere of tension, excitement, anticipation, suspicion, and hope affects everyone working in the educational system in Nunavut at this time.

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Considering Professional Education in Nunavut

This dissertation, which relates to the professional education of individuals working in Nunavut schools, responds to and encourages dreams and possibilities for the future. It also acknowledges spectres of a painful past, the harsh realities lived today, and the unfulfilled hopes that shape an educational system in an immensely challenging environment in northern Canada.

The hunger for learning in Nunavut schools was identified as a desperate cry for professional education which came from 699 educators who completed a survey conducted in 1994. These educators live and work in the thirty-eight schools in Nunavut, schools that are among the most remotely situated learning environments in North America. They are located in a land which belongs to Inuit and serves Inuit parents and students who constitute an 85% majority population in Nunavut. The dissertation is about a hunger for professional learning, but it is also about a hunger for professional freedom, autonomy, and integrity which can easily elude educators in Nunavut and in the rest of the world.

Freedom has a special meaning in the post-colonial world of Nunavut where Inuit struggle for self-determination and control of their own society. Freedom also has a special meaning for educators who are fighting for control and ownership of their professional lives in the face of powerful political forces that threaten the foundations of education in our society. Conservative governments in the United Kingdom, the United States, and various parts of Canada are exercising greater control of curriculum, educators, and the classroom in the interest of promoting their own agendas. Recent years have

seen teachers in many jurisdictions losing the ability to make decisions with respect to content, methodology, and teaching approaches in their classrooms. This involves a loss of professional status and integrity, as well as potential influence within the society as a whole. Educators are now subjected to greater surveillance as our society demands higher accountability, the testing of students' basic skills, and higher levels of professional competence from teachers before they are licensed to teach (Darling Hammond, 1997).

This dissertation addresses issues of freedom and ethical practice that lie at the heart of education and argues that, as they search for freedom and integrity, educators engage in changes involved in educational reforms that are manipulated by politicians and the educational research and staff development industry. The pursuit of manufactured truth in professional learning draws educators away from self knowledge and a search for meaning that is personally driven. The dissertation suggests that ethically based practice can help educators to regain and maintain control of their own learning in a way that might lead to greater freedom.

Educators sometimes engage in a pursuit of meaning that looks to the academy and to theories about education for answers to their questions. However, the answers can often be found within our own professional communities though there is very little space or time provided to raise questions, reflect on our practice or discuss questions with colleagues. Educators are separated from each other by classrooms. They are isolated from other adults and confined within schools. The conditions necessary for the development of professional and personal understanding and freedom are rarely available in schools as they presently operate in this society.

Professional education based on collectively established, ethically based practices has the possibility to enable educators to move beyond the shallow

rhetoric of educational reform to establish powerful ways of addressing the real and urgent everyday challenges in classrooms and schools. The research and thinking conducted in Nunavut, and with Nunavut educators over the last three years, may be applicable in many educational contexts, particularly those prepared to address issues of diversity. Issues of diversity at the student and educator level are increasingly important in most educational jurisdictions in the world, and struggles relating to professional education in Nunavut face educators in many other cross cultural contexts.

The dissertation describes an initiative in professional education that we, in Nunavut, have called Pauqatigiit. Pauqatigiit is an Inuktitut word which means paddling together. Pauqatigiit addresses the desire of Nunavut educators to pursue their search for professional meaning with their colleagues. Like Inuit in the past who, while paddling together to hunt, encountered strangers who came from the south, so educators in Nunavut encounter and try southern theories, approaches, and ways of teaching at the same time as they try to bring a more Inuit way of thinking, learning, and working into Nunavut schools. Sometimes these southern theories don't make a lot of sense to educators in Nunavut schools. Something different often seems to be needed to address the challenges in our particular context.

Pauqatigiit started developing within Nunavut in 1994 as a response to the articulated professional needs and desires of educators, both Inuit and southern Canadian (Qallunaat[1]), who work together in a school system which includes the Baffin, Keewatin, and Kitikmeot regions of the NWT. It considers what is involved in teaching and learning together in Nunavut schools and communities and suggests that, with increased educator

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[1] Qallunaat are southern Canadians, The term, which means those with bushy eyebrows, derives from the time of the whalers who hunted in the Arctic waters and established camps along the shores of the eastern Arctic and elsewhere.

ownership of professional education which includes all voices, there is a possibility of making significant and positive differences for education in a remote, cross-cultural context in Canada.

The dissertation gathers together broadly relevant literature, themes, and research to frame and inform professional education in Nunavut. The analyses of quantitative and qualitative data gathered from 699 Nunavut educators in the extensive needs assessment conducted in November 1994 provide a background, are attached as appendices and described in Part One of the dissertation, but they do not form the main body of the writing. Instead the dissertation critically reflects on the literature and major issues in professional education as they impact on Pauqatigiit and on professional education in general. A theoretical framework which addresses issues of freedom and ethical practice is suggested in Part Three of the dissertation. Reflections on my personal experience, as an educator working in Nunavut and Canada over the last twenty-two years, is shared as an example of a struggle to make sense of my professional experience and learning.

Many voices are represented in this text. The voices of Nunavut educators cry out from their small communities asking for more opportunities to think, plan, learn, and work with their colleagues. The voices of academic researchers share their views about professional learning, some of them reflecting great frustration with the superficial way that educators are manipulated in the staff development business. Other voices speak of positive changes that are possible when educators work together and refuse to be manipulated by reform. My own emerging academic voice attempts to reflect the reality experienced by Nunavut educators, share my analysis of the field of professional education as it intersects with critical theory, ethics, and cultural studies, and reflect on my own professional

growth during the time I have spent working in the Eastern Arctic.

My personal voice responds to painful issues that I face in my work as a long-term, Qallunaq educator living in Nunavut and searching for professional freedom in a very complex educational context. I am not striving for an objective or dispassionate voice in my work. I believe that the "writer is always in the text" (Lather, 1991, p. 91), and that regardless of how objectively one might attempt to describe any process, one's attitudes and beliefs are reflected in the writing. There are times, however, such as in Chapter Twelve, when a more deeply personal voice is clearly identified and "strips the authority of ones own discourse" (Lather, 1991, p 91). The story describes my effort to find meaning as I move through several different positions within the educational system, gradually gaining understanding and reaching towards the possibility of using ethically based professional practice as a foundation within my life.

The dissertation critically interrogates the field of professional education, finding that it lacks coherence, theoretical grounding, and meaning for educators who face day to day realities in schools. It analyses much of the professional education literature as a hegemonic discourse which exerts control over the professional lives of educators. It argues that unless educators are equipped to critically appraise and analyse this hegemony they can become victims of its rhetoric, jumping on bandwagons and pursuing research agendas that are not their own. My critique of the literature, and the findings in Pauqatigiit, are used to build the theoretical and personal framework for professional education in Nunavut.

The Evolution of Pauqatigiit

Pauqatigiit was initiated in 1994, though its roots can be traced to the Spring of 1982 when education in the Northwest Territories changed significantly with the tabling in the legislature of Learning Tradition and Change (GNWT, 1982), the final report of a Special Committee on Education. The Special Committee was formed in response to a motion by Tagak Curley, MLA for Keewatin South who referred to the:

> [M]any educational problems faced by people of the Northwest Territories, and particularly with the Natives, including high drop-out rate, poor comprehension poor parent/teacher relationship, low recruitment of Native teachers and foreign curriculum for northern lifestyle, lack of proper high school facilities, and lack of continuing and special education facilities. (GNWT, 1982, p. 6)

Spring 1982 was also a time of significant change in my life as a Grade Three/Four teacher in Ontario for I was about to accept a position as a Special Education Consultant working in this northern school system that was so riddled with problems.

In 1975, following three years of teaching experience, I moved from Ireland to Canada. In Ontario I discovered an exciting world of public education influenced by recent waves of educational reform resulting from the Hall-Dennis report (Crittenden, 1970). Teaching school, working in teacher federation activities, coordinating outdoor education programs for elementary students, and completing a Masters degree in Education at Queen's University left little time to think very deeply about my career, but after seven years of working in Ontario schools as an elementary and special education resource teacher it seemed that I was ready for a change and some new challenge. There is no doubt that I found plenty of challenge and change, as well as uncertainty, doubt, frustration, joy, and deep professional meaning

in the years that have slipped by so quickly since I first went north.

Traveling extensively for eight years to all Baffin communities, and then to communities across the NWT, I worked as a Special Education Consultant and as a Special Education Coordinator at the territorial level. Later on I became a Supervisor of Schools for the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE), a job I held for seven years. I completed residency requirements for a degree at OISE, returning to my position as a Supervisor for just over one year. Five years ago I started working as a teacher educator with the Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP) in Iqaluit.

During my first eight years in the Baffin I visited schools, classrooms, and homes listening to Inuit and Qallunaat educators, parents, bureaucrats, and politicians, working to address the concerns they raised. Discussing students' needs, the complexities of bilingual learning, and the urgent need for more support services in the communities convinced me that the lives of educators in the north are incredibly demanding. I believe that the demands placed on northern educators exceed in many ways the challenges experienced by the southern educators I worked with in Ontario, but this dissertation is not about establishing hierarchies of challenge within teaching. The needs in schools were then, and remain, overwhelming. They are overwhelming in virtually every educational jurisdiction in the world. Educators in Nunavut are young, they struggle with limited supports, and often feel insecure and lacking in expertise. Principals do their best to respond to the concerns of their staff members, though some of them lack experience or are newcomers to the north themselves. It is a very difficult teaching context.

Inuit teachers were few and far between in the early eighties and sometimes expressed feelings of being over burdened with the many roles

they were asked to play in the schools. Though there are many more Inuit teachers now working in Nunavut schools, they still lack the resources and materials they need to teach in Inuktitut and many of them desperately want more professional education. The turnover of southern teachers was, and continues to be, very high; two years in a community is often enough for most educators. The old timers, both Inuit and Qallunaat, watch the white blur (Brody, 1975), provide advice and practical assistance to their colleagues, and sometimes become jaded and disillusioned as the years go by. Inuktitut is the language spoken in homes in many communities and though it is rapidly changing, English remains the dominant language spoken most frequently in schools, particularly those staffed primarily by Qallunaat educators. In the eighties and into the nineties, Nunavut struggles to leave behind its colonial history. Well-intentioned southern Canadians, like myself, whose understanding of Inuit, Inuit culture, and Inuktitut is very limited, still constitute a powerful and influential majority in the school system.

Learning, Tradition and Change (GNWT, 1992), the visionary report which was the result of Tagak Curley's call for improvements in the educational system, became a beacon for extraordinary and very rapid change in education, particularly in Nunavut. Based on the articulated, documented desires of aboriginal people in the NWT and strongly supported by the government and Dennis Patterson, the Minister of Education at that time, this document called for the creation of school boards, an Arctic College, supports for students with special needs, high schools in communities, the development of programs in aboriginal languages, and teacher orientations and inservice. Implementation of many of the recommendations in Learning Tradition and Change resulted in greater local control of education through the creation of Community Education Councils (now called District Education

Authorities), Boards of Education (now called Divisional Education Councils), higher rates of school attendance and high school graduation, higher numbers of college graduates in a variety of fields, more program development in Inuktitut and improved special services for all students in schools. It is in very many ways a positive, though hectic and sometimes confusing, story of educational change.

Teacher development and educator support, though specifically mentioned in Learning, Tradition and Change, received little organized attention as many other changes swept through the schools of the NWT. The years went by, the gap was frequently identified and discussed but resources were always directed to other important priorities, including preservice aboriginal teacher education, high school education, Inuktitut program development, student support, and technology.

Teacher orientations for newly hired Inuit and southern Canadian staff, though they were common in the seventies and early eighties, are now often left up to the communities and have become sporadic, in some years non-existent, due to the turnover in leadership positions and financial cutbacks. In spite of the Special Committee's recommendation that the number of professional development days be increased, they still remain at five, in a system filled with young teachers who, because of their limited experience, sometimes lack the knowledge and range of skills they need to address the challenges involved in teaching in a Nunavut classroom. While Nunavut Arctic College offers both campus-based and community-based preservice education for Inuit teachers up to the bachelor's degree level through McGill University, few relevant, credit-based opportunities for professional learning are widely available to qualified teachers working in the remote northern communities of Nunavut.

In early 1994 the three Nunavut Boards of Education, working cooperatively together, identified staff development as a priority area and agreed it was time to start organizing an approach to support the ongoing professional growth of educators in schools. The time was ripe. The ratification of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1992 signaled the coming of Nunavut in 1999. The success of community based teacher education programs had significantly increased the numbers of Inuit teachers working in schools and the need to start planning specifically for education in Nunavut, as opposed to the Northwest Territories, provided the impetus and climate for this kind of development. The multitude of changes occurring at the same time, and the history of simultaneous, constant change in the system, did not deter the Boards and the Regional Presidents of the Northwest Territories Teachers' Association (NWTTA) in their determination to explore the possibilities for providing a range of professional education experiences to Nunavut educators.

The Nunavut Boards of Education invited me to work with them on this initiative. In October, 1991, I had left my position as an administrator with the BDBE to work as an instructor at NTEP in Iqaluit. This move changed the focus of my work from administration, program development, and teacher support in schools to preservice teacher education, and from system wide change to the professional learning of small groups of student teachers. The opportunity to work on an initiative which promised to provide ongoing support and training to educators working in schools was attractive because it had the possibility of addressing the implementation of changes I had been closely involved with and committed to in the past: inclusive education, student support, program and resource development in Inuktitut and English, and educator support in schools. I believed that an

initiative in staff development would enable the Boards to bring together program development and professional development to create a more integrated approach to the whole area of professional learning. Nunavut Arctic College supported the Boards' request and from August 1994 until June 1996 one third of my time as an NTEP instructor was committed to this new responsibility.

Pauqatigiit is guided by a small committee of educators representing the Baffin, Keewatin, and Kitikmeot boards of education; NTEP, the Northwest Territories Teachers' Association (NWTTA), and the Department of Education, Culture and Employment. The majority of members of this decision-making Committee are teachers.

The importance of teacher involvement in any decision-making process which concerns itself with teachers' professional education is a fundamental principle for Pauqatigiit. The involvement of the teachers' association, also critically important, increased as time went by until by the Spring of 1996 the three association presidents for each of the Regions became full-time members of the Committee. The Directors of the three Boards of Education are also very closely involved in and supportive of work with Pauqatigiit and try to attend all Committee meetings. The involvement of key decision-makers in any educational change is vitally important as we work to ensure that Pauqatigiit survives and remains true to the values and principles outlined in 1994.

Pauqatigiit started with a comprehensive needs assessment involving survey research which is both quantitative and qualitative. In providing feedback to educators based on the survey results and asking for further clarification and direction in decision making, Pauqatigiit also involves action research. Qualitative analysis was used in the initial and secondary

analysis of open ended questions and interviews. Themes emerging from the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data, as well as insights gained through Pauqatigiit implementation and investigation of the literature within teacher development, were used as the foundation to build a theoretical framework for professional education which places ethically based critical practice as the central focus for educator learning throughout a career.

Further consultation with educators will continue the ongoing process of deliberation and involvement which is integral to the project. Educators themselves will increasingly take control of their own professional education at both the school, regional, and Nunavut levels. Further research will document this process, providing information with respect to the possibilities for implementing ethically based critical practice in other jurisdictions.

Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into three parts. Part One introduces the reader to issues that affect professional education in Nunavut. It tells the story of the Pauqatigiit results and paints a picture of what life and teaching are like for Nunavut educators. It uses the Pauqatigiit survey results to frame the issues with are considered in Part Two.

Part Two considers the major themes which influence professional education. Seven chapters explore these themes drawing primarily on professional education literature, but also on the Pauqatigiit data and issues which affect Nunavut educators. This section establishes the importance of ethics and practices of freedom in professional education.

Part Three explores Foucauldian ethics and Inuit values as they might provide a theoretical grounding for professional education in Nunavut. My

story provides an example of a search for meaningful professional learning.

Conclusion

Teaching is a very difficult profession. One Nunavut educator says she did not realise that "teaching is a terribly demanding career and that the general public is never satisfied with what we do" (Pauqatigiit, 1994). Teaching demands patience beyond what is normally thought of as human. It requires buckets of energy and creativity by the barrowload. It is a profession riddled with doubt, guilt, and feelings of inadequacy (Hargreaves, 1993, 1994a; Lortie, 1975; Nias, 1985). Everyone has opinions about the best way to teach, and parents have very high and often competing, expectations for the school system. Theorists, scholars, researchers, politicians, the media, and members of the business community all make suggestions for changing, restructuring, reforming, and improving teaching. It often seems that those outside the classroom exert far more influence on education than those who work directly with students. The stress on teachers to become all things to all people is ever present and increasing. In the final analysis, however, once the bands stop playing, the teacher is often left alone to make critically important decisions about educational practice (Little, 1990; Lortie, 1975; McLaughlin, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989). These decisions, made by classroom teachers as they teach, affect the lives and the future of children and young people in ways that are formative and long lasting. When these decisions are knowledgeable, thoughtful, well-informed, caring, and critically-based then they have a considerable impact on the minds of students. This impact can make a truly significant difference for the future of our world.

Until very recently the voices of teachers have been relatively silent in

the debate about their own professional learning. The inclusion of the teachers' perspective, particularly as researchers and critically reflective professionals which started with Stenhouse (1975), and continues as a major thrust in educational research today (Beattie, 1993; Connelly & Clandinin, 1989, 1995; Darling-Hammond, 1996; Fullan, 1997; Goodlad, 1995; Goodson, 1993; Grimmett & Neufeld, 1994; Hargreaves, 1997; Huberman, 1993; Lieberman, 1995; Louden, 1990; McLaughlin, 1994; Schön, 1983, 1987, 1991; Zeichner, 1996), has helped to bring teachers' voices into the mainstream.

The voices of minority groups of educators, including those of Inuit and Qallunaat, have not yet been heard and need to be added to this debate, particularly considering the history that is in the making in Nunavut at this moment in history. Teachers working directly with students in Nunavut schools and classrooms deserve to be heard and to receive the kind of support that can help them to meet the challenges in their professional lives. Their struggles parallel the struggles of educators working with aboriginal, inner-city, rural remote, and immigrant students across Canada and North America.

Pauqatigiit development is a story of cultural difference, constant change, and the difficulties involved in meeting the articulated needs of Nunavut educators without subjecting them to a reform agenda which originates outside their classrooms. This means it is sometimes a painful story full of disappointment, even cynicism, while at the same time it is filled with joy, hope, and the possibility for creating very strong professional communities. Pauqatigiit evolved as an approach to educator development that attempts to involve educators in decision-making about their own growth. The aspirations are not unique or new. Many researchers suggest that this approach is critically important if an educational change is to be

successful (Fullan, 1991, Hargreaves, 1993, Lieberman, 1996, MacLaughlin, 1990, Rosenholtz, 1989). Pauqatigiit is special, however, because it takes place in one of the most educationally challenging locations in the world, in the context of an emerging nation unique in Canada. The challenges, as with any educational change, are daunting. Fortunately, human nature seems to be capable of ignoring what appears to be impossible and insists on reaching out to try and change things for the better.

> Educational practice is a form of power - a dynamic force
> both for social continuity and for social change
> which, though shared with and constantly constrained by others,
> rests largely in the hands of teachers.
> Through the power of educational practice, teachers play a vital role
> in changing the world we live in.
> (Kemmis, 1995, p. 1)

Chapter Two

The Pauqatigiit Story: History and Background

"We can't tackle professional development in isolation. We are facing huge problems in our schools and Inuit educators are desperate to have their basic needs addressed. We need to meet each other half way. It is very frustrating. We have been saying that caring and sharing are needed in classrooms. As a teacher where do you get the support to keep going? The kids come to school hungry. Our assistants have to deal with some of the most difficult kids. We are facing very big issues in our schools on our own. Let's get even one small, specific thing going to try and help."

(Pauqatigiit Committee Member, Meeting Notes, May 7, 1995)

Introduction

This chapter, written primarily for readers unfamiliar with Nunavut, provides the background necessary to understand the historical, social, and educational context surrounding Pauqatigiit. It briefly describes the geographical dimensions and the demographics of Nunavut and reviews the social and historical context as well as past practices in educator development. The final section, entitled Educators in Nunavut, supports the interpretation of the research findings.

Chapter Three describes the Pauqatigiit research and identifies major themes emerging from the Pauqatigiit survey and from the interviews conducted as part of the research. Some possibilities for professional education in Nunavut are discussed at the end of the chapter. Part One explores the background which informs and frames the exploration of professional education in Part Two of the dissertation. In addition, it provides a grounding for the theoretical framework suggested in Part Three.

Nunavut: A New Territory for Canada

> In the national constitutional context, the creation of Nunavut is a
> beacon marking the flexibility of confederation. The decision to proceed
> with Nunavut, when taken in 1993, was an act of imagination that
> caught the attention of the world. A bold step was being taken to
> realign the political boundaries of Canada, to adjust our political
> institutions to the reality of a distinct society, to accommodate the
> political aspirations of an aboriginal people through institutions of
> public government. (Nunavut Implementation
> Commission (NIC), 1996, p. 1)

The Nunavut land claims agreement represents the largest settlement
of Aboriginal land title in Canada. Encompassing a land area of 1,916,602
square kilometers (740,000 square miles), Nunavut stretches from Kugluktuk
(Coppermine) in the west, to Broughton Island in the east, and from
Sanikiluaq in the Belcher Islands of Hudson Bay in the south, to Grise Fiord
on Ellesmere Island in the north. Nunavut includes the Baffin, Keewatin,
and Kitikmeot regions of the Northwest Territories, with the exception of the
community of Holman Island which is to remain part of the Western NWT
(TFN & DIAND, 1993). According to the Bureau of Statistics (GNWT, 1994)
the population of Nunavut is 21, 244, with a total of 18, 017 people
representing the 85% majority Inuit aboriginal group. The creation of
Nunavut on April 1, 1999, will see the map of Canada being re-drawn for the
first time in 50 years.

The struggle to free themselves from colonial rule has involved a very
long, patiently negotiated process for the Inuit of Nunavut. "The northern
revolution has been peaceful, and there is no precedent in the history of the
world for the movement of men and women from hunting camps to

boardroom within a few generations (sometimes only one)" (Crowe, 1974/1991, p. 227).

> The struggle for self-determination started in the early seventies when:
> [Y]oung Inuit leaders and the old people were beginning to realize that they had become aliens, that they were losing their unique place, in their Northern homeland.
>
> From a proud, adaptable, self-reliant people who would well have occupied a special place in the Canadian mosaic, the Inuit were rapidly becoming a colonized and dependent race unable to determine their future and isolated from the decisions which were being made thousands of miles from where they lived.
>
> The Inuit faced extinction, their culture in danger of being reduced to a museum piece, along with the artifacts that southern anthropologists found so fascinating.
>
> It was time to act, to fight back, to regain control over their own lives, to demand from Canadian society the rights that all Canadians take for granted: The democratic right to self-determination.
> (NWT Land Claims Commission, 1978, p. 7)

When Nunavut is created, the struggle for self-government will have taken almost thirty years, though it has taken over four hundred years for Inuit to fully understand that their land was gradually being invaded and to find the strength to fight back against the successive waves of contact, colonization, and domination they have been subjected to over many years.

Social and Historical Context

> "In less than one hundred years we have gone from a totally nomadic, traditional society to one that is technological."
> (Nunavut School Board Chairperson, Pauqatigiit Interview Notes, 1994)

The original peoples of Nunavut migrated from Alaska between 3000 and 500 BC as the Denbeigh people spread across the north in small nomadic groups, settling initially along the shores of the Eastern Arctic and eventually inhabiting most parts of what are now the Baffin, Keewatin, and Kitikmeot

regions. The Denbeigh people used tiny blades of flint embedded in antler as the tools to fashion other tools made of bone. Living in oval houses roofed with skins, the Denbeigh people used stone lamps, made special fur clothing to survive the arctic cold, and probably used dogs and skin covered boats for transportation. The Denbeigh culture changed in approximately 1000 BC as warmer weather affected animal migration and hunting, leading to the development of the Dorset culture which continued until AD 1100.

Believed to have originated in the Foxe Basin area near Cape Dorset, the Dorset culture spread rapidly across the Arctic. The Dorset people used bone snow knives, built sleighs, and lived in houses with turf walls that were partly sunk into the ground and covered with skin roofs. Inuit call the Dorset people, who eventually disappeared, the Tuniit and many stories are told of their ways.

A new wave of whale-hunting people arrived in the Eastern Arctic from Alaska between 800 and 900 AD. "Known as the Thule culture, its peoples were the direct ancestors of modern Canadian and other Inuit" (Crowe, 1974/1991, p. 17). The Thule people built houses paved with flat stones and lined with turf. They used whale-jaw bones, skulls, and boulders for the walls and rafters. Crowe (1974/1991) says that the Thule culture continued until 1700 with the way of life gradually evolving into the more modern history of the Inuit who now live in Nunavut.

Aspects of what Inuit call "traditional ways" are still based on the cultures of the Denbeigh, Dorset, and Thule peoples. Stone lamps are primarily used for ceremonial purposes today; however, some Inuit still prefer to use a qulliq to heat their qarmaq[2] . Many traditional tools used for

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[2] A tent resembling a traditional skin summer dwelling. Today a qarmaq is usually made of canvas and is sewn together by local women. The qarmaq frequently rests on a plywood foundation and may be heated by an oilstove. A sleeping platform is usually built in a qarmaq.

fishing, hunting, sewing, and cleaning skins still resemble the ancient implements fashioned by the Dorset and Thule people.

The early contact period saw the exploration of Nunavut by sea. It is believed that the Vikings were the first people to conduct some raiding and trading along the Arctic coast, but the process started in earnest after 1400 as fishing and whaling ships from Britain started to exploit the natural resources of the Arctic waters.

The Arctic explorations which started in the Elizabethan period continued from the late fifteen hundreds into the Victorian period with the arrivals, deaths, and departures of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, Bylot, Baffin, Ross, Perry, Beechey, Franklin, and others who attempted to conquer the Northwest Passage and bring stories of the north back to London. The Arctic explorers, though they "set forth like Arthurian knights upon a gallant quest, with firm faith in their ships, their science and their inherent superiority" (Bruemmer, 1985, p. 126), had less impact on Nunavut than the whalers who included the British, Dutch, Americans, and Scots. Fred Bruemmer states:

> More plebeian, less comfortable and infinitely more deadly than the wealthy dilettanti were the professional whalers, walrus hunters and sealers....
> Wherever the whalers touched, the native people perished. Within one generation, 50 percent of Alaska's coastal Inuit were dead. In 1888, when the whalers came to the Beaufort Sea, more than 1000 McKenzie Inuit inhabited the region. Twenty years later, less than 100 were left. With the whales gone, the whalers went. They left a land and a sea despoiled and a native people decimated and racked by disease.
> (1985, p. 133)

The whalers also left Inuit with the accordion, bannock, guns, Scottish dancing, shawls, the English language, and many tools and modern implements, which helped to change the traditional way of life along the

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The qarmaq may sometimes be built as part of the cultural program in a school.

Arctic coast and further inland. The Inuit were left alone again after the whalers departed. As Bruemmar states, "the Arctic, having ceded its secrets and bereft of much of its former wildlife, lost most of its appeal to both explorers and exploiters" (1985, p. 133). This was not to last for very long.

The trinity of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Anglican and Catholic Missionaries established small trading posts and missions across Nunavut in the period between the mid eighteen and nineteen hundreds. The Hudson's Bay Company went north in 1830 and the first police arrived in 1903. By 1895 the Government of Canada had divided the Northwest Territories into the MacKenzie, Keewatin, and Franklin districts and the NWT Council was established by 1877. A new era of colonialism had started in Nunavut and, in spite of the efforts of the government to create Inuit autonomy, it continues to be felt to this day.

> In legal terms the Federal government simply assumed legislative jurisdiction over the Arctic and the people living there by way of taking over from the British in the last century.
> In practical terms, it could never be said that this government was a reflection of Inuit perceptions in any way. There was no Inuit involvement or consultation in any of the acts that gave Canada the right to assume authority over the Inuit. It was simply unilaterally decided that Inuit were to be the subjects of this new nation.
> (NWT Inuit Land Claims Commission, 1978, p. 22)

The period from 1900 until the present day has seen the development of communities all across Nunavut. Inuit gradually moved in from the land as their children were first taken away to attend religious schools and later government schools in far away communities. Once schools were established by the government in the communities, children were required to attend. Parents were not consulted or involved in decision-making related to the education of their children.

Medical services were established and community health centres built.

Municipal government was put into place, and the infrastructures that generally support life in contemporary Canadian society were gradually established. Nurses, teachers, settlement managers, social workers, police, store managers, clerks, and construction workers from the south started living in the communities. The Arctic landscape was changed forever with the arrival of mining companies, the erection of Distance and Early Warning sites (DEW line stations), and the ubiquitous presence of government in almost every facet of northern life.

Inuit have started to take over government positions in many communities over the last twenty years, and Inuit-run Hamlet Councils, District Education Authorities, and Health and Social Services Committees have been established. Many Inuit Members of the Legislative Assembly represent their people in the Territorial Government which is located in Yellowknife. The white presence; however, remains significant. Though they represent a 15% minority of the population, some Qallunaat Members of the Legislative Assembly continue to represent the Inuit of Nunavut in the government. These are Qallunaat voted into power by Inuit.

Successful businesses, though they may be Inuit owned, are sometimes dominated by Qallunaat managers or investors. The Qallunaat presence, which can be covertly manipulative at the same time as it is overtly pro-Inuit, continues to exert control over many aspects of life in the communities of Nunavut. Community empowerment may be the buzz word of the nineties in Nunavut, but Qallunaat managers, accountants, social workers, nurses, teachers, and bureaucrats are still hired to staff many municipal and territorial government agencies. Inuit continue to constitute a minority in most management and professional positions, particularly within the medical, legal, and financial fields.

While most Inuit, even those who speak up loudly for the maintenance of traditional practices, would never want to return to living the harsh life on the land, there is a very strong sense of cultural and linguistic loss and dislocation expressed by Inuit of all ages. Cultural loss and southern progress stand side by side in curious juxtaposition to one another, creating a great deal of confusion, ambivalence, and emotional trauma.

As more and more Inuit complete education at the secondary and post-secondary levels, and enroll in the numerous training programs established to support the coming of Nunavut, the positions previously held by Qallunaat are gradually being occupied by Inuit. Inuit are taking more and more control of all aspects of life in Nunavut, though the process can often be painful and difficult for the individuals who take on this challenge. Though many Inuit proudly reclaim what is theirs and stand and speak out as role models for their people, others have found the stresses and pressures to be too much. The legacy of colonial occupation of Nunavut presently includes:

- the highest suicide rate in Canada (GNWT, 1990);

- poor health which is the direct result of changing from a highly nutritious diet of fresh meat and fish to a diet that is largely comprised of refined carbohydrates, as well as the change from a immensely hardy but healthy outdoor lifestyle to one which involves living in overheated, overcrowded, smoky homes (GNWT, 1990);

- unemployment rates which exceed 30% in many Nunavut communities and also involve high levels of dependency on social assistance/income support (Bureau of Statistics, GNWT, 1994);

- the erosion of language, culture, tradition, historical memory, mythology, spirituality, hunting, camping and skills, values and attitudes associated with the Inuit way of life (NWT Inuit Land

Claims Commission, 1978);

- abuse of drugs and alcohol attributed to loss of identity and pride

(GNWT, 1990);

- high levels of family violence and sexual abuse related to cultural

losses, substance abuse, and poverty (GNWT, 1990);

- low levels of education attributed to the alienating and abusive

experiences often encountered in the assimilationist schools of the past

which contributes to high drop-out rates and further alienation of

youth (GNWT, 1982); and

- chronic depression which results from unemployment, cultural loss,

and the disintegration of self-respect within a colonial context,

including residential school experiences which contribute to

intergenerational social dysfunction (GNWT, 1990).

This is what the Canadian government, whalers, explorers, and

invaders have given to the Inuit of Nunavut. It is the legacy Inuit must deal

with as they start to re-create their own society. No amount of land, money,

or autonomy can compensate Inuit for the damage they have suffered. Inuit

are without any doubt survivors, but it will take all of their strength and

power to recover from the debilitating effects of colonization. The long, hard

road to Nunavut does not end on April 1, 1999.

> In a land settlement, Inuit are looking for more than just an
> economic leg-up into Canadian society and it is this that the white
> negotiators from Ottawa must understand. It is a means by which Inuit
> can regain control of the processes and institutions which make their
> society unique. It is the means by which Inuit can become a self-
> determining society, the means by which colonization can end."
> (NWT Inuit Land Claims Commission, 1978, p. 14)

Inuit have come a very long way since those words were written by the

leaders who fought so hard to create Nunavut. Colonization; however, is not

at an end. Inuit must continue to fight very hard to become "masters in their

own land" (NWT Land Claims Commission, 1978, p. 21). Though it was written over twenty years ago, Inuit Nunangat The People's Land: A Struggle for Survival was absolutely correct when it stated "Self-determination and the perpetuation of colonialism are mutually exclusive" (p. 23). The process of decolonization is no simple matter. It is a political and emotional process which involves exorcism, reconnection, and collective recovery for an entire society.

Pauqatigiit, in its own small way, is part of this process and also involves a form of decolonization. In attempting to create self-determination for educators, some of the same issues faced by Inuit in their struggles to create Nunavut become critical. These issues have a great deal to do with voice, autonomy, freedom, ownership, control and integrity.

Educational History

Formal, southern-based education in Nunavut is approximately forty-five years old. This short educational history represents a dramatic change in the lives of Inuit. The educational system, in spite of some valiant efforts to make change, continues to replicate a southern Canadian model of schooling which differs radically from traditional Inuit learning. It is only over the last twenty years that education has attempted to reflect the philosophy and world view of Inuit. There are significant differences between Qallunaat ways and Inuit ways and the mores, structures, and practices that support the present school system are still largely southern. The schools must teach English and survival skills for the 21st century at the same time as they teach Inuktitut and try to become more Inuit-based. The system struggles with goals that sometimes appear incompatible. Providing culturally based education

delivered in Inuktitut at the same time as delivering a high quality mainstream Canadian education in English is not an easy task. Inuit parents and community members have stated over and over again that they want an education that can enable their children to become fluently literate in both Inuktitut and English, grounded in knowledge of their own history and culture at the same time as acquiring the in-depth knowledge of southern culture that will enable them to access both worlds successfully (BDBE, 1985).

There are no easy answers to the many very difficult problems and decisions that must be made in the Nunavut educational system; however, school attendance and graduation rates have risen dramatically over the last ten years. This may be due to the growing sense of autonomy felt by Inuit, as well as the fact that younger parents have gained an education within the southern based school system. It may also be related to the fact that the system is now more responsive to the needs of Inuit and that increasing numbers of Inuit teachers enable children to learn to speak, read, and write in Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun. There is no doubt that very positive progress is taking place.

There are presently thirty-nine schools in twenty-five communities in Nunavut. The school population of 7, 752 is growing very rapidly and is expected to continue rising over the next ten years (GNWT, 1997). Communities in Nunavut can only be reached for commercial purposes by air or water and it is both expensive and time consuming for individuals or groups to travel extensively throughout the three regions. Communication, supported through telecommunication, is still limited and can be unreliable, with the result that educators working in different schools may find it is difficult to reach their colleagues. Plans to implement a Digital Communication Network (DCN) should radically improve

telecommunication between communities and individuals across Nunavut with subsequent improvements in communication between educators. This is likely to facilitate efforts to offer professional learning opportunities.

Soon all communities in Nunavut, even those with student populations below 100, will offer an education up to the Grade Twelve level. Most schools, depending on the number of Inuit teachers available, presently offer an education in Inuktitut to the Grade Three or Four level. Increasingly, schools can choose to start offering the majority of the day in Inuktitut up to the Grade Six level, providing instruction in Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun as a subject past the Grade Four level and through high school. A few homeroom classes at the junior high school level are now taught by Inuit teachers who can offer bilingual, bicultural programs to their students. None of this progress takes place easily; however, and the lack of written resource materials in Inuktitut remains a major impediment in the implementation of literacy, particularly at the junior and senior high school levels.

The first government operated school in Nunavut opened in Cape Dorset in 1950. Since then the school system has changed from one which focused primarily on assimilation, acquisition of English, and the teaching of southern Canadian curriculum, to one which espouses Inuit-based learning delivered in Inuktitut, at the same time as it aspires to offering high levels of academic education in English. In less than fifty years a great deal of change has taken place.

Past Practice in Professional Development and Education

A brief history of the variety of professional education activities offered in Nunavut schools is provided to set the context for the results of the Pauqatigiit needs assessment conducted in November 1994.

Professional Improvement Funding. The Collective Agreement
between the Northwest Territories Teachers Association (NWTTA) and the
Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) establishes a Professional
Improvement Fund of approximately $400,000 for the use of NWTTA
members in the three boards of education. The fund is administered through
Regional and school-based Professional Improvement Committees. The
professional improvement funds enable teachers to plan regional
conferences, organize mini-conferences at the school level, attend conferences
in southern Canada and elsewhere, as well as organize a variety of creative
learning experiences. A three-year cycle of professional development,
involving a regional conference in one year, school-based initiatives the next
year, and individually accessed professional development in the third year
has been used in all three boards in the past. A more recent change involves
the allocation of professional development funding to each school to allow
for more decision-making and control at the local level.

The Collective Agreement also enables Nunavut teachers to access
funding for both short-term and year-long educational leaves. Short-term
funding is often utilized to attend credit-based courses offered during the
summer months at a variety of locations across North America or in a variety
of locations during the school year. Long-term funding is used to fund
graduate or undergraduate education at both NTEP in Iqaluit and at southern
universities. A committee representing the NWTTA and the Department of
Education, Culture and Employment makes decisions relating to the
allocation of educational leaves.

Departmental Professional Education Opportunities. Each summer the
Department of Education, Culture and Employment offers a two-week
principal certification course. Completion of two, two-week courses (Part 1

and Part 2) is required to earn principal certification in the NWT. These courses are not offered for credit. A one week Summer Institute is also organized by the Department and usually focuses on a particular theme reflecting priorities or new initiatives in education. Short-term professional development funding may be utilized to attend these events. In the past, the Department of Education, Culture and Employment has offered a number of credit-based courses related primarily to inclusive education or whole language. These courses were usually well attended.

Inservice Education and Implementation. A variety of inservice and implementation activities are provided by the Boards of Education and to a limited extent by the Department. These activities cover the implementation of new curricula, workshops related to initiatives in inclusive education, secondary programs, Inuktitut curriculum, English as a Second Language, and a wide variety of other areas in education.

Program development at the Board level has also involved some educators in the preparation of units or support documents to promote specific approaches recommended in Nunavut. Principals and Program Support Teachers (PSTs) have benefited from regular meetings throughout the school year which usually involve professional development workshops on a wide variety of topics ranging from inclusive education to traditional knowledge.

Implementation workshops are usually funded by the Boards of Education, though no specific budget allocation from the Department of Education, Culture and Employment identified this activity in the past. The lack of adequate assigned funding for curriculum inservice is a concern for all three Nunavut Boards and the NWTTA, and leads to ongoing debate and controversy. The Department of Education, Culture and Employment

presently prepares and distributes curriculum documents but provides limited support for their implementation. Historically, the Department was closely involved in promoting curriculum implementation at the Board level but in recent years there has been an expectation that each Board will assume this responsibility following inservice. This means that Boards must usually find the funds internally to support these activities from within their existing operating budgets, which may mean cutting another activity in order to fund implementation. In recent years, cutbacks of up to 20% in the base funding to the Boards makes it increasingly difficult to provide any kind of implementation support to schools. Considering the rapid turnover of staff in communities, this means that new curricula are not always well understood at the school level.

Teacher Education Programs. The Nunavut Teacher Education Program started in 1979 and an affiliation with McGill University was established in 1981. Originally designed as an institutionally-based teacher education program, NTEP also offered field-based courses in communities. Community-based teacher education programs started in the Keewatin Region in 1990, and have significantly increased the numbers of NTEP graduates working in schools. Thirty-three teachers graduated from the two year Keewatin program and twenty-four teachers recently graduated from programs in the Baffin and Kitikmeot regions.

Initially NTEP offered the two-year McGill Native and Northern Teaching Certificate and in 1986 started to offer a third year B Ed program. In 1995 NTEP moved to a three-year certificate program which is usually followed by a fourth year to complete the B Ed degree. This enables graduates of the NTEP program to earn 30 university credits each year for a potential total of 120 credits earned over the four year period of time. Graduates of

NTEP are usually bilingual Inuit though a few non-aboriginal educators have completed B Ed degrees. A variety of other credit-based courses can be completed by non-aboriginal educators when they enroll as special students at McGill University.

NTEP is presently funded for preservice education only; however, the coordination and delivery of the principals' certification program for Nunavut is soon to become an NTEP/Nunavut Boards responsibility. NTEP has recently started offering McGill courses at the Master's level and ten Inuit teachers are completing courses towards the M Ed degree. The possibility of offering more graduate level courses across Nunavut is being discussed by both the Department and Nunavut Arctic College, and was recommended by David Wilman when he worked as a Strategic Planner of the Department of Education, Culture and Employment (Wilman, 1994), and by the Nunavut Boards of Education and NTEP in their five year joint planning process completed in 1996.

Distance Learning and Correspondence Courses. Some Nunavut educators enroll in distance education or correspondence courses offered by a variety of colleges and universities in southern Canada. These include courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. A range of information relating to distance education options is not widely circulated to Nunavut educators. Completion of correspondence and distance education courses also requires a great deal of time, personal motivation, and discipline. Little statistical information relating to distance education has been collected in the Pauqatigiit project, though interest in this option was explored in the needs assessment. Nunavut Arctic College now offers some of its courses to communities through video conferencing.

Comments on Professional Education. In reviewing the history of

professional development activities in Nunavut, it is evident that while funding is allocated to a number of initiatives, they are organized and coordinated in different ways. Educators need to be quite well-informed and resourceful in order to access a variety of opportunities for their personal benefit. It is unlikely that all educators are fully aware of the wide variety of options or spend much time discussing how these activities might be coordinated to best serve their long- and short-term interests and needs.

When people talk about Pauqatigiit they often use the word partnership, a favorite term in Nunavut and in the current educational jargon. The Pauqatigiit Committee members have sometimes found it is much easier to talk about partnerships in the abstract than to create them in concrete terms within professional education. While most agencies supporting professional education in Nunavut seem to be very interested in creating more opportunities for educators, they sometimes have difficulty sharing resources, trusting each other, and breaking down the structural barriers created by legislation and policy. Pauqatigiit is very slowly evolving into a partnership between the Nunavut Boards of Education, the Nunavut Arctic College/NTEP, and the educators of Nunavut through the NWTTA but it is not always a smooth process.

An examination of this process seems to indicate that though the desire to create a partnership exists, issues of ownership, control, funding, location, and possible loss of identity and power for the agencies involved remain as barriers in creating partnerships that work on a daily basis. It is likely that these problems will be ongoing and reoccurring, depending on the individuals who hold positions of power and the nature of the legislation which sets boundaries for each agency. Partners involved in Pauqatigiit need to spend more time discussing the nature of their collaboration in order to

build trust and understanding as they move forward together. Once strong partnerships are established, some kind of formal agreement or memorandum of understanding needs to acknowledge the commitment to common goals. Formal agreements are worthless; however, without genuine goodwill and a sincere commitment to working together. This can be one of the most fragile and elusive elements in any educational change.

Educators in Nunavut

"Overall there is a great deal of commitment amongst Nunavut teachers. These devoted and caring professionals are genuinely concerned about the current and future state of education for the students of Nunavut.

Theirs is an emotional (yet positive) plea."

(King, 1995, p. 1)

The following section draws on the results of the Pauqatigiit survey and attempts to consider the realities and challenges that face educators in Nunavut schools. It is intended to provide some insight into the daily lives of educators, and facilitate an understanding of the theoretical framework which is gradually being established within the Pauqatigiit project and this dissertation.

The Pauqatigiit survey shows that educators in Nunavut are committed to and enjoy their work. They want to keep on learning in order to provide the very best educational opportunities to the children of Nunavut. They are most interested in Inuit culture and Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun, student evaluation, technology, the social and emotional needs of their students, and in practical strategies to address their

professional challenges. Nunavut educators want to share ideas with each other and believe that their best resources are colleagues. They express frustration with the time it takes to prepare materials to support teaching and with some of the political compromises around issues of qualifications and standards. They want the students in Nunavut to have a high quality education in both English and Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun.

The survey results remind us that 68% of the individuals working in the school system are women. Gender related issues such as child care, family responsibilities, parental leaves and difficulties traveling away from home are central and will be even more important in the future. Access to professional education outside school hours is more difficult for women who provide care to their own families once they get home from school. Leaving your family to take a course for up to three weeks in another community is very demanding. The cry to have professional education provided at the community level is related to this reality.

Another consideration which relates to gender centres around issues of voice, power and ownership. Like women elsewhere, Inuit women have experienced the negative influences of patriarchy through the church, the government and in their families. Tightly defined traditional roles ensured the survival of people, and women were generally responsible for cooking, cleaning skins, sewing clothing and tents, gathering arctic cotton for the quillq, and berries and plants for food. Women cared for the children and though there were exceptions, they did not hunt extensively with the men on a daily basis. Traditionally these roles did not place women in an inferior position. Roles differed but they were equal. Once the influences of patriarchal attitudes permeated Inuit life the more traditional views started to give way to a Western perspective which viewed men as being the leaders in

a society and cast women into an inferior, supporting role.

The situation seems to be changing within the contemporary society in Nunavut today. Inuit women are employed in higher numbers than are Inuit men (Awa-Cousins, 1994), and carry many of the responsibilities within their communities. In most cases; however, these women continue to carry the double responsibilities for work and home. As the voices of Inuit women are raised to speak out against inequality, the rate of spousal abuse and violence does not diminish. Women often pay dearly for their independence. Pauktuutiit, the powerful Inuit women's organization, speaks out for women against family violence, sexual abuse, and the negative results of patriarchy and sexism in the society. Given the high numbers of women working within education, issues of voice are integrally linked to gender issues and the historical and sociological location of women in any society which is strongly influenced by a Western, male perspective.

Harsh economic realities related to increased rental for government units, the exorbitant cost of food, limitations imposed by single incomes, and the necessity of providing support for extended families in communities need to be fully understood when considering the lives of educators in Nunavut. In May of 1995 Inuit teachers employed by the Baffin Divisional Board of Education earned an average salary, not including allowances, of $46,680 while non-aboriginal teachers earned $56,526. Paying the same rent, exclusive of heat and light and usually exceeding $1200 a month for a three bedroom government house, Inuit generally support more dependents, including children, relatives and elderly parents. Purchasing food and other daily necessities at northern prices in communities can rapidly deplete a net income. In the 1991 Census the weekly food costs for a nutritious basket of food to feed a family of four in Yellowknife was estimated to be $185. The

same basket in Nunavut was estimated to cost $282. A family of four would spend approximately $1128 each month just to feed themselves (NWT Bureau of Statistics, November, 1994). The combined costs for food and rent for a family of four would be approximately $2,328 a month. This leaves virtually nothing to cover all the other expenses involved in maintaining family life. Saving money is impossible for educators at the lower levels on the teachers' salary scale, and many families now experience serious financial hardship as a result of cutbacks in wages and benefits. Most Inuit educators working in Nunavut schools are placed at the lower levels on the salary scale. Educators working as classroom assistants or student support assistants are not members of the NWTTA and earn less than their colleagues who are paid as teachers.

The Consumer Price Index for Canada increased by 9.1 points from 1991 to 1996 (NWT Bureau of Statistics, June 1997), which means the cost of food is likely to be approximately 9% higher in 1997 than it was in 1991. Depending on the choices made by a family, monthly food costs could have risen to between $1,200 - $1,500 for a family of four living in Nunavut. During this period of time salaries and benefits were cut by 6%.

Recent investigations by the Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development for Nunavut indicate that a shortfall of up to $500 exists on a monthly basis for families with four or more children depending on one income from a Government position (Trumper, personal communication, September 22, 1997). These are families where one family member holds what is considered to be one of the best government positions in the community. These are positions such as economic development officers, renewable resources officers, or teachers. Inuit teachers are starting to leave the profession because they can receive far better salaries and benefits by

accepting positions at the management levels in federal or Inuit agencies.

Before community-based teacher education programs were established, Inuit had to leave their communities and support their families on student financial assistance for several years in Iqaluit. Students often choose to spend a year in Iqaluit in order to complete the B Ed degree which is still not widely available at the community level. This involves a considerable sacrifice, particularly when a large family is involved. According to the 1991 census the average number of children in a Nunavut family is 2.4 while in the Western NWT it is 1.6 (NWT Bureau of Statistics, November, 1994). In Nunavut communities many families are large and include relatives, grandparents and the spouses of grown children. The average number of people living in homes in one Nunavut community in the early nineties was 12 (Tompkins, personal communication, 1990).

Overall unemployment levels in Nunavut are 22% (NWT Bureau of Statistics, 1994), and run as high as 30% in many smaller communities. Coupled with the emotional impact of cultural loss, poverty contributes to social problems that affect both educators and students. It is not uncommon to find that educators may be dealing with disruptions in their personal lives at the same time as they struggle with the difficult behavior of students in the school. Student behavior is often linked to stresses encountered in families, and it adds extra pressure for inexperienced educators who may already be facing personal and economic issues that can seem overwhelming.

In the Pauqatigiit survey 45% per cent of Inuit educators and 34% of non-aboriginal educators request professional education to help them cope with stress. This indicates that over one third of all the educators working in Nunavut feel stressed enough to seek training, and a significantly higher number of Inuit are adversely affected. Understanding this reality and the

implications for professional development is vital. It means that the schools must not only nurture students and contribute to their well-being, they must also support and care for their staff members. The best way to provide this support needs to be discussed very carefully before suggesting any specific response. Acknowledging the impact of colonial attitudes and structures, and respecting individuals as equal colleagues may be the most powerful kind of help that can be provided. The provision of formal counseling services or employee assistance may be less effective than creating supports within the school itself including time to talk, time to learn, and time to share with colleagues. An alternative approach may be preferable to establishing another southern response to addressing problems related to colonialism and poverty in the society.

In Nunavut, as elsewhere, the nature of teaching restricts educators to interaction with students in classrooms for most of the day and limits their opportunity for dialogue with colleagues. Discussion usually takes place in brief exchanges during fifteen minute recess breaks, and most Nunavut educators go home to feed families at lunch time. Though it is common practice in some Nunavut schools, planning with colleagues may not be part of the daily experience of educators. Time after school, from 3:45-5:00, is usually spent preparing for the next day's teaching or involved in staff or committee meetings. Few Nunavut educators leave the school before 4:30, except on Fridays. Many Nunavut educators, particularly new teachers, return to the school after supper, especially during the Fall, at report card times, and when preparing for a new theme or unit. Secondary teachers in many small communities often offer study halls for students during the evenings. It is very common to see educators working in Nunavut schools on the weekends, particularly during the winter months.

Teachers in many Nunavut schools have a great deal of freedom to establish a classroom environment which reflects their beliefs and values, design unique learning experiences for children, involve the community in their programs, and make important decisions about evaluation and the diverse needs of their students. This freedom is a two-edged sword. It offers opportunities for creative, innovative teaching, but also leaves teachers with heavy responsibilities; responsibilities they can find overwhelming and immensely time consuming. Young educators often have difficulty using this freedom to develop programs that address the wide range of student needs in the classrooms. They need and appreciate the support of colleagues in addressing these challenges.

The lack of materials in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun creates a great deal of extra work for Nunavut educators. Providing first language instruction from the kindergarten to the grade twelve level creates an urgent need for books that provide information about science, social studies, and health, as well as books to read for pleasure. The BDBE, for example, has now published over 200 books in Inuktitut. This is a real achievement but is totally insufficient in addressing the urgent need for reading material at all grade and subject levels in the system. Even in English, where there are thousands of available texts, teachers feel there is an urgent need for more culturally relevant materials. Materials development is a time consuming reality in Nunavut schools. Additional time is not allocated in the Education Act to acknowledge that it takes extra hours to prepare for classes in a bilingual, bicultural education system. The quality of education can be adversely affected by a lack of adequate materials, and professional stress is compounded when educators must prepare so many resources for their classrooms. Time for reflection and self care is consumed by the creative, though often frustrating and painstaking,

task of preparing materials.

At 34, the average Nunavut educator is approximately ten years younger than her counterpart in the south. Nunavut educators tend to be less experienced and may lack the variety of professional qualifications now common among teachers in the south. Most Inuit teachers have completed a two-year program described by David Wilman, NTEP principal for several years and recently a strategic planner for teacher education, as "basic training, nothing more" (Wilman, 1994, p. 5). The Pauqatigiit research indicates that both Inuit and Qallunaat educators consider the two year program to be an inadequate preparation for the challenges facing most educators in Nunavut schools.

Given that 76% of educators have worked in the NWT for less than ten years, and 43% for less than three, it is not surprising that many educators need support. Teaching is a profession where high levels of skill usually develop over many years. In Nunavut; however, it is likely that educators with more than three years experience may be called upon to support their less experienced colleagues. This is an added responsibility for which no extra time or professional education is provided. While many individuals who accept entry level positions as Language Specialists, Classroom Assistants, or Classroom Support Assistants are experienced mothers, natural teachers or respected elders with exceptional skills in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun, they may receive no formal training related to teaching before they walk into a classroom. Sometimes these educators accept virtually all the responsibility for planning and delivering programs. Many educators find this challenge to be overwhelming.

Interactions between educators and their students have the potential to be sustaining and inherently valuable. Jim Cummins, when referring to

issues of identity in culturally diverse settings, states, "human relationships are at the heart of schooling. The interactions that take place between students and teachers and among students are more central to student success than any method for teaching literacy, or science or math" (Cummins, 1996, p. 1). When educators are stressed, feel inadequate, and question their own expertise, then relationships with students may be affected. Academically challenging, culturally relevant education, supported by strong relationships with educators, is seen as being vitally necessary for the achievement of academic success in the school system (Cummins, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1997; Nieto, 1996). When educators lack teacher education and daily support, it may not be possible to ensure that students are provided with the kind of academic challenge and process oriented education that promotes the development of thinking and high levels of literacy.

While values and cultural knowledge, transmitted by elders in particular, can address concerns about self-esteem in very powerful ways, the majority of individuals with less than three years experience, be they Inuit or Qallunaat, elders or recent high-school graduates, are asking for more support and professional education in meeting the challenges of teaching. Providing support during the school day is often difficult because teachers, program support teachers, and principals are dealing with a range of issues within their own professional lives and have little time to stop and offer the kind of sustained, in-depth support or team teaching that might lead to improved instruction.

As educational systems evolve and a northern society connects more and more to the global world, the need for higher education increases. The two-year teacher education program in Nunavut was remarkably successful, enabling Inuit educators to enter the teaching profession and making it

possible for Inuit children to learn in their first language. The Pauqatigiit survey results clearly indicate; however, that there is now a need to increase the educational levels of educators in order to meet the diverse needs of students and maintain a high quality of instruction in the schools. In stating this need it is also necessary to note that the Nunavut Implementation Commission cautions that educational standards can act as a barrier for Inuit attempting to access positions within the Nunavut Government. In this case, it is the Inuit educators themselves who are asking for more qualifications because they find the challenges they face are excessive. While considering the professional education of teachers as a potential obstacle to accessing employment may not be legitimate, there is a possibility that standards and expectations may be raised to such a level that graduate qualifications are seen as necessary in order to adequately teach in a classroom or work as a principal or program support teacher (Darling-Hammond, 1996). In this case, qualifications are likely to become barriers for Inuit educators.

Once an individual starts teaching with the basic two year or three year NWT certification, access to further courses is often available only to those willing to move to Iqaluit. Unless individuals successfully obtain leave with allowances for a full academic year, this involves considerable financial sacrifice for families. Basic and more advanced teacher education is greatly desired but access is never easy.

The provision of part-time B Ed courses in several Nunavut communities during the 1996/'97 school year marks a significant breakthrough with respect to accessing formal professional education. If these opportunities continue, increased numbers of Inuit educators should be able to complete the B Ed degree over the next ten years.

Nunavut educators work under difficult circumstances but are

committed to their teaching. Relationships with students, the close life in the communities, and the very same complexities that can be overwhelming are also sustaining. A hunger for learning, the desire to improve professional practice, and a determination to bring high standards and a cultural focus to the schools are strong motivators. Commitment and motivation of this nature are inspiring and bring hope for the future.

Chapter Three

The Pauqatigiit Story: Research, Results and Possibilities

"... when teachers develop their practice according
to what is important and of value to learners,
the struggle becomes one of how to act morally in
an uncertain and constantly changing educational context."
(Grimmett & Neufeld, 1994, p. 229)

Introduction

This chapter describes the initial and ongoing research which is part of
the Pauqatigiit initiative. It reviews some of the results of the needs
assessment and outlines some of the possibilities that are being considered for
the future.

Establishing a Research Agenda

When the Nunavut Boards of Education first started talking about
establishing a staff development project they immediately realized it was
necessary to consult with educators in schools before organizing any kind of
initiative on their behalf. This led to the creation of the Pauqatigiit
Committee, at that time a very small group of six individuals. This group
decided that it would be best to conduct a needs assessment to find out
something about the professional needs in schools. The group also suggested
it might be beneficial to conduct some interviews with individuals holding
decision-making positions in the Boards, College, Department and at the
political level. The Committee believed that the needs assessment and

interviews could serve two purposes: they would help everyone to understand the needs of educators and at the same time create some discussion and thinking about professional learning at the school and system level.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

In September, 1994, the Pauqatigiit Committee established eight questions they wanted to address in the research to be conducted in the area of educator development. The first and sixth questions were considered to be too wide ranging and were not included in the needs assessment that was developed and sent to schools:

1. What kind of skills, knowledge and attitudes do educators in Nunavut schools need in order to teach or administer effectively?

2. How should training be delivered?

3. How do educators like to learn?

4. Where would educators like to receive training?

5. Who should deliver training to educators in Nunavut schools?

6. How do different educators perceive the roles and training needs of different groups within the school system?

7. What kind of obstacles are Nunavut educators facing when accessing and completing training?

8. How can training and professional development be delivered so it strengthens and enhances the language and culture of Inuit?

It is evident from reading these questions now and considering the choice of language, that professional education was referred to as "training", revealing a limited understanding of the field of educator development at

that time and reflecting a technically rational orientation to education. The way the research was initially designed reflects a positivist orientation. An in-depth investigation of the teacher's perspective, or a study of some individual schools that could have involved a ethnographic approach, was not pursued or seriously considered because of the limitations of time and money.

Formal hypotheses were not developed prior to conducting the needs assessment, but a number of assumptions were discussed at meetings with board directors and program staff. It was anticipated that educators would want more organized professional development options and that education in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun for both Qallunaat and Inuit would be requested. A desire for more community-based options was anticipated and the concept of distance education was discussed several times. It was predicted that educators would request university credit for the completion of learning experiences. These tentative expectations and assumptions could be termed emerging hypotheses. No attempt to identify the specific biases of decision-makers took place, though members of the Committee were conscious that they could not assume their views represented the opinions of a majority of educators in the school system.

Research Methods

Survey research combined with structured interviews and supplemented at a later stage by informal interviews, feedback, and discussion groups were selected as the most appropriate research methods. A questionnaire was developed in English and revised eight times. The questionnaire, reproduced in the appendix to this dissertation, was discussed in person or over the telephone with all but one of the 34 principals in

Nunavut. It was reviewed by the committee members, board directors, NTEP instructors, and several members of the program staff at the Baffin Divisional Board of Education.

Baffin principals, BDBE program staff, and some NTEP students completed a draft questionnaire as a pilot and provided feedback on possible changes. Nunavut principals and NTEP instructors were particularly helpful in making specific suggestions about changes in questions on the needs assessment. The questionnaire was translated into Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, and French, and proofread prior to design, duplication, and circulation.

Three errors occurred on the Inuktitut questionnaire: an age category is missing, Board level administrator and consultant support were placed together in question four, and 'carving' was added to the long checklist on the final page. Fortunately, most of the 70 respondents who chose to respond in Inuktitut had the good sense to write their ages on the form and the other errors do not affect the results.

Copies of the survey were circulated to the schools and completed by 89% of educators across Nunavut during an early school closure on November 10, 1994. Every school in Nunavut returned the completed forms, though the mail delayed the arrival of some questionnaires until late December, with the last set arriving in early February. In spite of delays; however, the data from most questionnaires was entered by February, 1995 and the first tentative findings were available shortly thereafter. A professional research analyst with northern experience, Barbara Guy, was hired on contract to enter and analyze the data using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Data Entry program. Final data was entered by the end of February and a draft of the final statistical report was available by mid-March. Appendix A of this dissertation includes Barbara Guy's statistical

and data quality reports. Guy's statistical report is presented using a format and graphs which makes the information more accessible to educators in Nunavut.

Major Research Findings: Needs Assessment

The following summary of the research findings focuses only on the demographics and the major needs which emerged from the survey. A more detailed analysis of each question in the survey is provided in the Pauqatigiit report (Nunavut Boards of Education, 1995).

Themes emerging from the data analysis are discussed and supported with statistical information. Quotations from Nunavut educators speak to each theme and a brief analysis follows the quotations. Quotations are transcribed verbatim including underlining, capitals, spelling, grammatical errors, and punctuation. Each quotation stands as the only statement transcribed from an individual educator's survey. Once a quote was selected a survey was no longer available to be used again by the researcher. Quotations from individual survey questions were randomly selected from educators in schools all across Nunavut and then organized thematically.

Demographics and Information Relating to Educator Profiles. On November 10, 1994, there were 749 educators working in the Nunavut school system. This included assistants, teachers, support teachers, counselors, NTEP students and instructors, and school and board administrators. A total of 699 educators completed the survey which translates into 89% of the educators working in the three Boards of Education in Nunavut. The response rate was highest among assistants and language specialists, most of whom have not

yet completed teacher education programs. It was lowest among consultants and NTEP instructors, a small group of 28 educators who may have been traveling on that date.

Non-aboriginal educators constitute a 55.5% majority and Inuit represent 44% of all the educators in the system. The remaining 0.5% are non-Inuit aboriginal educators working in the school system. In the Nunavut school system 51% of all educators are classroom teachers, 33% hold positions as assistants, school community counselors, and NTEP students and most of these individuals work directly with students in schools. A total of 16% of the educators hold leadership or support positions as principals, support teachers, consultants, or school board administrators.

When considered on their own as a group, 68% of Inuit educators hold positions as assistants or students, 26% hold positions as classroom teachers and 6% hold leadership positions in the system. This contrasts quite dramatically with the group of Qallunaat educators where 5% hold positions as assistants or students, 71% hold positions as classroom teachers and 24% hold leadership positions. Significantly more Qallunaat hold positions of power in the school system than is the case for Inuit. It also means that the majority of Inuit educators working in the system are involved in completing teacher education programs. This means that Inuit do not hold positions of power within the educational system with the possible result that Inuit voices may be less powerfully represented within the school system. Some educators are completing their teacher education programs very slowly on a part-time basis, and in November, 1994, a total of 79 individuals were enrolled in full-time studies at NTEP locations across Nunavut.

Sixty-eight per cent of Nunavut educators are women and 32% are men. When considering the Inuit population alone this figure rises to 82%

and 18%, respectively. As more Inuit teachers graduate the number of women teaching in the schools will increase and gender needs to become a major consideration in professional education.

The average age of respondents is 34. This is ten years younger than the average age of 42 for teachers in southern Canada (Guy, 1995, p. 2). 75.3% of the educators in Nunavut are younger than 40. Student teachers are included in the statistics for Nunavut though many of them are in their late twenties and early thirties representing an older group than in southern Canada. A very small number of Grade Twelve graduates enroll at NTEP immediately following graduation from school.

Inexperience is a major consideration in the educational system in Nunavut with 43% of the respondents having worked in NWT education for less than three years. A total of 45.4% of Inuit educators and 30.5% of Qallunaat educators have less than four years experience in education. It is also important to note; however, that the majority of educators in the system, 56.5% have more than four years experience. The numbers of educators with more than twenty years experience is low representing only 4.4% of the total group. Recent changes to the Collective Agreement reducing salaries and benefits for educators by 6% may result in more resignations, early retirements, or in teachers changing careers to engage in more lucrative professions. This is likely to increase the number of young and inexperienced educators working in the school system, creating an even greater need for support and professional education.

Virtually all non-aboriginal educators hold B Ed degrees and approximately 16% have completed, or are working on graduate degrees. Thirty-three per cent of the Inuit teachers have completed a B Ed and a further 11% indicate that they are working towards completing this degree.

Sixty per cent of Inuit would like to complete a B Ed and 55% want to pursue graduate studies; however, no Inuit educators included in the Pauqatigiit needs assessment had started work at the graduate level by November of 1994, though ten are now enrolled in the McGill Masters of Education program.

While 80.8% of Inuit educators are bilingual and literate in both Inuktitut and English, only 3.3% of Qallunaat educators can speak, read and write in Inuktitut. It is also important to note that 15.1% of the Inuit educators working in Nunavut schools are unilingual Inuktitut speakers, and a small group of Inuit educators, 4.1%, speak, read and write only in English. This means that a significant number of Inuit educators require interpreters in order to communicate with Qallunaat educators or administrators working in the schools. It also means that without adequate translation services the ideas and thoughts of 15% of the educators in the schools are not necessarily shared with their colleagues on a regular basis. Considering that many of these educators are older Inuit with considerable cultural expertise and rich linguistic ability, this is an issue that affects the entire educational system, and has implications for the language of instruction in professional education. Most Nunavut educators, 69%, live in communities larger than 700. Twenty percent live in communities of 200-700 and 11% live in communities smaller than 200.

These demographics provide a picture of a school system filled with young educators who are only just starting their careers. While this may present a considerable challenge in meeting a wide variety of professional needs, it also brings hope because some young educators can be filled with energy, enthusiasm and a willingness to work very hard. This hope needs to be tempered; however, by an awareness that even though these educators are younger than teachers in the south, most of them have young families and

carry a great deal of responsibility within their communities. A careful consideration of these demographics is a sobering experience. Many Inuit still lack basic teacher education certificates and others are desperate to complete their bachelor of education degrees. A very limited number of Inuit educators have started graduate degrees in teacher education which may leave them vulnerable to criticism as being inadequately educated as a group.

Nunavut educators are spread out over a vast geographical area comprising 20% of the land mass in Canada. They are separated from one another by hours of airmiles and the very high costs of travel. Living and teaching in small communities, these educators are vulnerable to isolation from their peers in Nunavut and the rest of Canada. Building a sense of community, common purpose, and direction within professional education involves a considerable challenge. The isolation, common cultural heritage, and sense of shared challenge also unites these educators across vast distances, and creates a sense of solidarity and unity when they gather together at conferences and meetings. Strengths brought to the system by Inuit and Qallunaat educators can balance each other. Inexperience, a lack of formal education, and isolation may appear to be insurmountable challenges when compared with other school systems, such as the one in Prince Edward Island where all the teachers in the whole province can be brought together several times a year. While these challenges are significant, they are far from insurmountable. Pauqatigiit is one initiative which reaches right across Nunavut. and has the potential to build and strengthen the communication links between educators working in the thirty-nine Nunavut schools.

The Hunger for Learning. The hunger for learning in Nunavut schools is a theme that weaves through Pauqatigiit. It is at its keenest with Inuit teachers, NTEP students, teaching assistants, and language specialists who are

the teachers of the future for Nunavut schools, but it is also expressed by many Qallunaat. This hunger relates primarily to becoming a competent teacher capable of making a difference for students. It involves a commitment to education, a deep concern for Inuit culture and Inuktitut, a community spirit which expresses itself in a need to work closely with colleagues, and a willingness to continue learning throughout a lifetime.

The hunger is also linked to some of the frustrations of living in small communities where a variety of professional learning experiences are not readily accessible. For example, most Nunavut educators are practically denied access to graduate level education because of their location. Distance education and correspondence courses are not realistic options for many Nunavut educators who are responsible for families. However, in spite of family responsibilities and the challenges provided by a long Arctic winter, 71% of Nunavut educators are willing to continue their learning in their own time or in the summers. This indicates the kind of interest in learning that is present in Nunavut communities.

In considering some of the survey results we find that 85% of Nunavut educators believe it is important to be involved in a continuous process of learning. While this learning does not just involve credit-based professional education, with 82% of Inuit educators and 67% of Qallunaat wanting university credit, there is a very definite need for learning which is offered by the academy. The percentage of Inuit interested in this option is higher than for their Qallunaat colleagues, reflecting the desire to complete a first degree and then move on to access graduate level education. The percentage of Qallunaat requesting credit-based professional education is also very high but their primary interest focuses on learning how to speak Inuktitut and understand Inuit culture in a much deeper way.

Given that 77% of Nunavut educators request professional learning beyond the B Ed level, it is evident that they consider that degree as a first step in their careers. Unfortunately, courses at the B Ed level are not yet readily available within Nunavut communities which means that it may take many years to complete the ten courses that most teachers require beyond the Certificate level. Obstacles related to location provide significant barriers when Nunavut educators try to access graduate level education.

On a detailed checklist of 76 possible topics covering a wide range of professional learning interests, the average number of items checked by Inuit educators was 27. Qallunaat educators checked an average of 22 items. There were many Inuit educators who checked all items on the extensive list indicating their keen interest in learning as well as their need to learn more about a very wide variety of areas in education. Considering that this checklist was the last item on a six page survey which included several open-ended questions, the response once again indicates very high levels of interest in professional learning.

The desire to complete the B Ed degree was expressed by 60% of the Inuit educators in question 18 in the Pauqatigiit survey. In the same question, 50% of the Inuit educators express their desire to complete studies at the graduate level. Given the desire of Inuit educators to learn and improve themselves professionally, it is important that further education be offered at the community level, thus enabling Inuit to more easily access professional learning opportunities. Inuit teachers presently represent the largest group of university educated Inuit professionals in Nunavut. This means they have the potential to speak with some authority on professional matters, including their own learning. It is likely that some of these qualified teachers will quickly move into positions of leadership within Nunavut over the next five

years, both within education and at the management level within other agencies, creating a need for even more Inuit teachers within the schools.

The individuals who move into the leadership positions, while they also require additional education and support, constitute a very important group that may be able to speak persuasively to the needs that are felt in schools. The issue of voice is crucial in any effort to bring more power into the hands of educators. In the years preceding and following the creation of Nunavut, it is more likely that Inuit voices will be heard by politicians and others holding decision-making positions.

The following comments, all from different educators, indicate the hunger for learning which is felt by Nunavut educators:

- "The more knowledgeable we are, the better equipped we will be to help and teach our students."

- "The prin.[ciple] goal must be to produce educated, dedicated teachers who know what they are doing and why."

- "I would desperately like to take courses or workshops and there doesn't seem to be much availability now."

- "I feel that classroom teachers of Nunavut urgently need assistance, training, support in meeting the needs of the multi-level class."

- "There is a real need for upgrading and more training for people who do not yet have the B Ed. I would like to see resources allocated to this before my own needs."

- "The needs of our students are constantly changing and we must be trained to meet those needs. If we don't value education enough to ensure that our teachers are well qualified, how can we expect results from our students?"

- "We are a diverse group; but with one common goal - the quality

education of our young people."

In analyzing the hunger for learning that is expressed in the Pauqatigiit survey, the links between geographical location, the history of education, the emergence of Nunavut, and the creation of an intercultural school system, come together with issues of voice, freedom, collective self-determination, and community. Geography dictates some of the isolation which has made access to professional learning an ongoing challenge for Nunavut educators. This in turn creates more desire to learn because educators are aware that they are missing out on some of the possibilities available to educators who work in southern locations where access is a little easier.

Difficulties experienced by educators teaching multi-level groups where skills in Inuktitut and English vary a great deal can lead to a sometimes desperate search for solutions. This search can be frustrating if it proves to be difficult to meet and talk with other educators, to share resources, and discuss ways to meet student needs. Present structures in the schools do not foster communication among educators. The lack of resources, particularly in Inuktitut but also in English, means that educators are constantly on an exhausting treadmill of planning, developing, and photocopying materials which leaves very little time for reflection, discussion with colleagues, or the kind of long term planning that can lead to the creation of shared resources at the school and regional level.

The constant turnover of staff means that even when reflective planning is established in schools it is often temporary. Once key individuals leave a school some of the established practices of sharing may not continue. The important thing to realize about this frustrating cycle is that professional learning is not cumulative. Constant turnover means that valuable learning may not be built upon in any real sense over the years. New administrators

take different approaches. New educators step onto the same treadmill year after year and repeat the same process of planning as the colleagues who preceded them. Stopping this cycle needs to become a major goal for Pauqatigiit. The team planning and teaching requested by Nunavut educators may address staff losses in a more coherent way. Long-term members of a team can provide an orientation, continuity, and a support system to new staff members.

The hunger for learning needs to be addressed through both informal and formal professional education. This is not a simple hunger that is easily satisfied by providing a few courses, or setting up some time for planning in schools. It is a much deeper hunger for understanding and a hunger to create a school system which is grounded in Inuit values and ways of learning. It is also a hunger and a longing for close relationships between Inuit and Qallunaat colleagues working together in schools. Above all it is a hunger and desire to provide a better education for students who face a very complicated, challenging, confusing, cross-cultural world.

Culture and Language. Another striking finding in the Pauqatigiit needs assessment relates to the desire to learn more about the Inuit culture and Inuktitut. Not only did 71% of Qallunaat and 65% of Inuit rate learning more about Inuit culture as their highest priority in the checklist in Question 22 of the Pauqatigiit survey, it is a matter referred to constantly in the open-ended questions. For example, in an open-ended question (15) which asks, "What do you feel are the most urgent training needs of classroom teachers in Nunavut?", 58.5% of Inuit and 36.6% of Qallunaat wrote about the need to maintain and strengthen the culture and language. Barbara Guy, an experienced research analyst, was astonished that such high numbers of individuals would take the time to respond to open-ended questions in a

long survey. She notes that this question "has a very high response rate of 85%, the highest response rate for all the open ended questions" (Guy, 1995, p. 11). A total of 68% of Nunavut educators believe that Inuit culture and traditions should be central in professional education. Typical responses include:

- "I feel our elders are here today and gone tomorrow. They should be involved in some ways possible. They're the only ones who really know how to survive in our land. No matter how much education we have (in schools) we would never be able to change our land — e.g. climate, seasons, animals, landscapes. We have to go to them to learn how to survive even today. They're the only people who can pass the knowledge that has been passed on from one generation to the next (clothing, transportation, food, tools ...) I am not opposed to southern ways but I feel that today is the time to start to know how to survive in our own land."

- "I need to learn Inuktitut. I work with teacher trainees and Inuktitut speaking students in an uni-lingual Inuktitut program — but I have no opportunity to learn the language."

- "Traditional skills - legends, stories, ajaajas, beliefs etc. in order for us to carry on our tradition. Who will take over when the elders are gone? US! So we need these kind of training urgently."

- "I feel it is crucial that I be given the opportunity to learn the language (Inuinnaqtun/Inuktitut). The north is my home and I will be remaining here; therefore, I need to learn the local language to help me begin the process towards fluency so I can use the language in my class."

- "We have to make Inuktitut curriculum law."

In attempting to analyze this cry for more culturally based learning we see that the Inuit desire to regain cultural identity merges with the Qallunaat desire to support the creation of an Inuit educational system. This is an immensely powerful and positive desire, capable of fueling the drive to create a school system in which Inuktitut and Inuit culture are central. As we shall see in other themes emerging in the survey, this desire does not overwhelm the need for strong academic skills in English. It exists alongside a desire for the highest level of intellectual challenge. Nunavut educators believe that culturally based learning is compatible with an academically challenging education. The challenge, yet again, becomes one of enabling this cry to emerge from the schools and of building solidarity in a system which separates people both geographically and educationally.

Working and Learning Together in Communities. The desire to work, share, and learn with colleagues in their own communities stands out in the quantitative as well as in the qualitative data that is voluntarily shared by educators. The strength of this need is "demonstrated when the cumulative effect is measured. 64% of respondents wanted to be supported by team teaching or support from other teachers (70% of Inuit and 60% of Non Aboriginals)" (Guy, 1995, p. 5). For example in Question 5, which addresses interests in taking courses or workshops, there is a strong desire to learn with colleagues in the community.

While pursuing learning at a southern university and by distance education were chosen by 42% of the Qallunaat educators, slightly higher numbers, 43%, want to pursue learning at the community level. A total of 44% of Qallunaat express desires to learn with their colleagues. Though only 13% of Inuit educators were interested in going south to study and only 7% were keen on distance education, a total of 56% wanted to learn in their

communities and 34% wanted to learn with colleagues. The numbers of Inuit who want community-based learning is even higher in other questions with a total of 69% of Inuit and 65% of Qallunaat requesting this option in Question 11.

Nunavut educators prefer the support of their colleagues above any other kind of support. A total of 30% also enjoy the support they receive from Board level consultants. Those who provide support at the school level, program support teachers and school principals, did not fare so well and were only selected as preferred support by 18-19% of the educators in the system. This raises some interesting questions which relate to the way principals and program support teachers are perceived in the schools.

The following comments demonstrate the kind of interest that educators in Nunavut have in sharing with colleagues:

- "Ideally I would like team teaching opportunities so that I can receive feedback from others and learn from them also. I would also like to be on a team of teachers that is committed to helping one another do the best for students."

- "I like brainstorming sessions where ideas on activities and teaching strategies are shared."

- "Sharing, available in a non-threatening manner."

- "I am most interested in training that involves all school staff and which is ongoing over the year with definite times set aside for feedback and evaluation and refinement of learning goals."

- "I would like to work with another professional teacher to [learn] how to improve on different teaching techniques."

- "... sharing between fellow teachers is invaluable and often of more use than outside help - you need to learn on the job. You need to work

with a variety of teachers - textbooks just don't cut it."

• "Allow time for teaming."

Nunavut educators realize they cannot face their challenges alone. They feel a strong bond with colleagues who face these challenges and want to reach past the structural barriers which confine them to their individual classrooms. The unusual nature of this desire can only be fully appreciated by understanding the plethora of research which describes teachers as individualists interested in working alone in their classrooms. Philip Jackson (1968), Dan Lortie (1975), Susan Rosenholtz (1989), Jennifer Nias (1989), Judith Warren-Little (1986), Ann Lieberman and Lynn Miller (1992), Andy Hargreaves (1994a), and others have all conducted research which points to a pervasive individualism within schools. For example, Andy Hargreaves in discussing Flinders' perspectives on teacher isolation states, "Isolation here is something that is self-imposed and actively worked for. If fends off the digressions and diversions involved in working with colleagues, to give focus to instruction with and for one's students" (1994a, p. 170). This is not what we hear from Nunavut educators. They see sharing as a fundamentally important strategy for increasing their effectiveness and survival as teachers. They see solutions, ideas, and expertise arising from dialogue with colleagues. This is an entirely different way of viewing schooling and education. It is relational, communal and reciprocal as opposed to individualistic, isolated, and closed.

While the researchers cited the above point to individualism as a pervasive characteristic in the lives of teachers, they virtually all point to collegiality, collaboration, and cooperation with other educators as one of the most powerful factors promoting professional growth (Lieberman, 1995; Little, 1986; Rosenholtz, 1989; Hargreaves, 1994b). This means that Nunavut

educators are demonstrating tremendous potential for professional growth with benefits for student learning in schools. This potential needs to be addressed.

Evaluation of Students. Evaluating students was checked by 51% of the educators in Nunavut, being the second highest need on the checklist of 76 items. In a bilingual school system where the curriculum supports in Inuktitut are only just emerging and the literature base is still somewhat limited, concerns about literacy levels and the evaluation of those levels are frequently heard. At present there are few policy and curriculum documents which relate to bilingual, culturally appropriate student assessment, and evaluation. The Department of Education, Culture and Employment has adopted baseline testing programs for all students in the Northwest Territories using standardized instruments developed in English for the provinces across Canada. The relevance and morality of using tests designed for English first language learners to evaluate students who are learning English as a second language is questioned by many Nunavut educators, but the political pressure to apply uniform standards across Canada has led to this decision.

Alternative approaches have been insufficiently explored. A project which evaluated the writing skills of Baffin students was never completed though informal results indicated improvements in writing ability following several years of instruction in Inuktitut (Baffin Divisional Board of Education, 1990).

The concern expressed about student evaluation also relates to the multi-level classrooms found in most Nunavut schools. Not only are several grades placed in one classroom in the smaller schools, the range of academic skills in both Inuktitut and English is very broad. This adds many challenges

related to teaching and evaluating students. It is clear that the whole area of student evaluation requires some focused attention and that educators would benefit from professional education in this area. Comments from teachers include:

- "Have a northern based relevant standardized testing system so that we know exactly what level of reading our students are."
- "I'd love if the Dept., or Board, could lay out behavioural skill expectations for each unit, for each year of instruction, for each subject. A complete checklist of skills for everything. Wouldn't that make it easier in evaluating."
- We need evaluation and assessment tools that will allow us to set bench marks for achievement.
- "We need to know how we are doing, compared to other schools (both in the north and in the south)."
- "The programs offered must ensure that certain standards are maintained."
- "Stick to the curriculum: set standards and evaluate!!"

The fear that Inuit students are getting shortchanged in the academic area drives these concerns. In addition the confusion, frustration, and lack of awareness of issues within student evaluation provide considerable barriers to understanding achievement in a bilingual school system. Educators do not know how to approach the evaluation of students. This points to the urgent need to provide some professional education in this area as soon as possible.

Addressing the Social and Emotional Needs of Students. The call for more professional education in the whole area of behavior management, counseling and student wellness is supported in both the quantitative and qualitative data. Many teachers expressed deep concern for the well-being of

their students and for colleagues they worked with in schools. In the checklist at the end of the survey the following areas were rated within the first ten priorities: building self-esteem, preventive discipline, behavior management and anger management.

Classroom management and areas relating to this topic were mentioned as the second highest priority in the training of classroom teachers in Nunavut by 28.3% of Qallunaat educators and 15% of Inuit educators. This may indicate that Qallunaat experience more difficulties than Inuit in dealing with student behavior which may be related to cultural differences. Qallunaat educators chose counseling as their second highest priority for studies at the graduate level and they noted that behavior management was an area missing from their initial teacher training. Only 5.2% of Inuit educators noted that behavior management training was missing from their teacher training, compared to 24.9% of Qallunaat.

The following comments reflect the needs expressed by Nunavut educators in this area:

- "As teachers we deal with a student's emotional side quite often and we have no counseling training. I think all teachers need training in counseling because if we can't recognise problems with our students it's hard to meet their needs."

- "a. Dealing with the misery of children due to neglect and abuse and resultant learning and behavioural problems. b. Dealing with the teacher's own stress due to having above responsibility.

- Management of the very difficult students (many students have troubled home lives)."

- "the troubled populations of our schools require specially trained teachers. Suicide, abuses of all kinds, alcoholism - help us."

- "Knowing how to handle children with anger in them. There are lots of children who are angry inside them for different reasons. Some with parents that drink too much, unhappy families. Some that are foster children and other problems. If teachers knew how to cope with these problems it would be much better for teachers to teach these children."

The challenge of disciplining students in a cross-cultural context where social problems provide added stress is evident in these comments. The anger, sadness, and frustration experienced by educators who try to deal with these issues in classrooms is more than they can manage. These stresses are immensely debilitating over a period of years. Even very experienced northern educators can often take months to establish the trust within a classroom which eventually leads to calm and order. Educators often talk about the "band aids" that are applied when students are counseled, withdrawn from classes, or sent home from school.

The problems students bring to school are often deeply rooted in poverty, cultural loss, family violence, or sexual abuse. Unfortunately; however, it is often the students themselves who suffer because of their inappropriate behavior. This results in a double victimization: the likelihood that they manage to access very little education not only because their attendance is poor, but because they are excluded from school when they misbehave. Educators believe they are poorly prepared to deal with these issues and yet providing a safe, stable, and caring classroom environment which challenges students to learn may be the best possible solution to these problems. Few educators have the skills and experience necessary to manage students who violently disrupt classes. Helping educators to believe that they can make a significant difference in the lives of students, as well as supporting them so they can personally survive the challenges in a

classroom, may be one valuable outcome of providing opportunities for professional learning in schools. Educators who turn to each other for strength, ideas, and ways to address these issues can often overcome what may seem like an impossible teaching challenge. Turning to a cadre of trained professionals and psychologists who can diagnose problems and provide therapy based on southern models has the potential to become an even more expensive bandaid which may deny students access to an education with their peers.

Credit Based Professional Education. The need for credit-based professional education merits special attention. A total of 74% of the educators in Nunavut indicate an interest in gaining credit when they complete courses. At 82%, the numbers are even higher for Inuit educators.

During the 1996/'97 academic year NTEP organized 16 courses in 11 Nunavut communities. These courses were completed by 250 people. Further courses are planned for the 1997/'98 academic year. This is a practical response to an articulated need. NTEP responds directly to requests which come from the communities and each course is tailored to meet the specific, identified needs of educators. This promising start bodes well for the future because Nunavut educators can start to use their professional development funding to organize courses themselves and, with the support of NTEP, can offer particular kinds of learning experiences to address needs.

Maintaining Standards in Teacher Education and School Programs. A substantial number of comments in the open-ended questions express concerns that Inuit teachers are not fully qualified to take on the challenges of teaching in Nunavut classrooms. A total of 21.5% of Qallunaat educators mention this kind of concern in a question relating to future planning for education in Nunavut. In the same question only 5.8% of Inuit express the

this kind of concern. It appears that Inuit do not have the same level of anxiety with respect to the relationship between academic skills in English and competency to teach in Inuktitut. On the other hand, 71% of Inuit educators do believe they would benefit from more academic upgrading and are willing to spend time working on their literacy skills.

Several comments from Qallunaat educators indicate that they are concerned about the weak Inuktitut skills of their Inuit colleagues; however, in general judgments about standards are based on the perceived necessity of completing a secondary and university education in English before a person should be allowed to teach in a Nunavut classroom. Unless Inuit teachers achieve the same qualifications in English as Qallunaat teachers, then they are perceived to be unqualified to teach. In order to be considered legitimate, qualifications need to be gained in English at a southern university. Qualifications gained at NTEP, though they are credited through McGill, are not considered to be equivalent. Though most Inuit educators teach in Inuktitut, not English, 21.5% of Qallunaat educators in Nunavut seem to believe that achieving academic levels in a southern educational system are prerequisites for delivering a high quality education in Inuktitut to students in Nunavut schools. This could be interpreted to mean that only those individuals educated in southern schools and universities are really capable of delivering the curriculum and teaching properly. It is also possible to suggest that almost 25% of Qallunaat educators consider that the teacher education program offered in Nunavut is inadequate and second class.

There is no doubt that some Inuit educators did not complete a high school education in English. Science and mathematics are areas of academic weakness identified by Inuit teachers and they are requesting more academic upgrading believing they need higher levels of education to teach effectively.

To assume; however, that a lack of academic background in English limits the ability to teach effectively in Inuktitut seems more like a bias than a reasonable hypothesis. It would also seem logical to suggest that as more and more Grade Twelve graduates enroll in teacher education programs these concerns can be addressed, though students who complete a high school education in Nunavut schools often lack the cultural and linguistic knowledge that is required to provide rich, culturally based programs in Inuktitut. They express concerns related to this lack of knowledge and feel inadequate when trying to provide an education in Inuktitut. It appears that Inuit educators lose on both accounts in what amounts to a perceived double inadequacy in their roles. Further exploration of these findings is required before any conclusions can be drawn; however, the results may indicate that some Qallunaat educators hold biased views of the educational backgrounds of their Inuit colleagues. They may not understand or support the vision of an Inuit-based school system. It is worth noting that most Qallunaat educators can speak very little Inuktitut though they teach in a system which aspires to become bilingual.

The two year teacher education program, established in 1979, was always seen as a basic, interim step in meeting the need to provide instruction in Inuktitut to students from the kindergarten to grade three level. It is worth thinking about the number of Inuit who might have graduated if they had been required to complete their high school grades and then finish a degree at a southern university before starting to teach in Nunavut schools. Given the difficulties encountered by some Inuit students who try to complete studies in southern universities, it seems reasonable to suggest that very few would have graduated from southern teacher education programs offered in English. This approach could have practically denied many Inuit educators

access to teacher education certificates over the last twenty years and very few Inuit would now be teaching in Nunavut schools.

Some of the first teachers to graduate from NTEP were in their thirties and forties and had spent many years successfully teaching Inuktitut in the schools. Few of these individuals were in a position to give up their full-time incomes to take academic upgrading in English before completing teacher education. Even one year away from their communities involves a considerable financial sacrifice. Unfortunately, the negative comments directed at the lack of academic skills of Inuit educators is not balanced by references to their expertise in Inuktitut, their cultural knowledge, or awareness of the communities.

Teacher education programs were not offered at the universities in Canada until quite recently. Before then many Canadian teachers working at the elementary level completed teacher education programs of less than one year duration in teacher training colleges. These courses were often completed right after high school graduation. I am unaware of any studies which compare the quality of education provided to students by university graduates as opposed to graduates of teacher training colleges. Several of the best Qallunaat teachers working in Nunavut have only recently completed their bachelor degrees following many successful years of teaching, and others continue to provide excellent programs based on the completion of one year in a teacher training college. A few individuals holding senior positions in the educational bureaucracy started their teaching careers with only six weeks of formal teacher training.

This is not to deny the benefits of providing high quality, academically demanding, university accredited teacher education programs within Nunavut; however, it is necessary to question the rejection of professional

education provided in the north. The following comments are typical of the concerns expressed about the academic limitations of Inuit educators:

- "Quality of training for teachers must be up to date and second to none. Classroom teachers must fulfill 'full degree' requirements before they can teach in a classroom."

- "They should have Grade 12 education (at the <u>very</u> least) before they do their B Ed. It is so ridiculous to have people teaching who don't have a good education themselves! i.e. A person with Grade 8 teaching children in Grade 6?!! This is absurd."

- "Proper, detailed training! Two years of KTEP do not cut it!!"

- "Better training so they are prepared to teach all levels. The idea that the least prepared teachers are teaching the most critical years of a child's life (K-4) scares me somewhat???"

- "The basic academic level of educators trained through EATEP and now NTEP is too low. It is having a serious restricting impact on the quality of school program. Much of the English vs Inuktitut debate popping up in schools is actually based on the fact that the children taught in English are receiving an academically superior opportunity — Inuit educators need to be able to teach the curriculum requirements effectively."

- "Get an education."

Summary of the Survey Results

The survey results show that the majority of Nunavut educators are anxious to learn a great deal more about the Inuit culture. Inuit educators are deeply concerned that elders are dying and valuable traditions and knowledge

are dying with them. Inuit are also determined to complete their first degrees and start working on their graduate qualifications. Inuit educators are willing to upgrade their literacy skills in English. Both Inuit and Qallunaat are very anxious to learn and improve their Inuktitut. There is a recognition and a strong desire for the school system to reflect the culture of the Inuit majority in the schools.

Educators want to team teach and work closely with other classroom teachers in meeting the needs of the students in schools. They want to learn and take courses together with their colleagues in communities. Qallunaat educators also want the opportunity to study in the south and take courses by distance education. Most educators want to have credit for professional learning.

The social and emotional needs of students are a major concern for Nunavut educators, particularly Qallunaat. Many educators are asking for some kind of professional education in counseling. The link between meaningful, relevant, student centered learning and issues of identity, school success and wellness are mentioned by some Nunavut educators but seem to be poorly grasped by many others.

Educators struggle with the issues involved in evaluating students, particularly in a second language. Comments on surveys indicate that the issues involved in bilingual student evaluation are not understood which leaves some educators confused and insecure when making judgments about students' learning. Some of the comments on surveys indicate that educators see student assessment in terms of standardized testing and are anxious to have ways of measuring student performance in reading, writing, and mathematics.

In spite of the interest in Inuit culture and Inuktitut, almost a quarter

of Qallunaat educators express concerns relating to the academic proficiency of Inuit educators. The two year teacher education program is criticized for not providing adequate academic training to graduates and leaving them ill equipped to teach the curriculum in schools. Inuit educators, while they are anxious to learn and improve their academic skills, do not mention anxieties related to their ability to deliver the curriculum. These findings merit further exploration as they indicate that Inuit educators may not be accepted as equals in Nunavut schools. They are perceived to be inadequately trained by almost a quarter of their Qallunaat colleagues. This is bound to make it difficult for those Inuit teachers who have not yet completed the B Ed degree, or are about to complete a degree that is seen by some of their colleagues as inferior. The debilitating effect of working in a school where your credentials and expertise are constantly doubted needs to be appreciated. Teaching in Nunavut schools is already very demanding and stressful. The added pressure of being considered less than an adequate professional could undermine the confidence of some Inuit educators. These are the same educators whose voices already speak in a environment that is affected by a colonial and post-colonial history and context. One Inuit educator stated that her greatest challenge was, "To be prepared to work with ignorant individuals who demand to be in control and in charge. To deal with co-workers who don't accept the Inuit culture and values." It seems this educator has experienced some of the domination which can result when colleagues are considered less than adequate. Another Inuit educator states, "Teachers from the north should not feel they have to take a backseat to teachers from the south because of their educational background." Unfortunately, a substantial number of Qallunaat educators in Nunavut strongly believe that Inuit teachers are not adequately trained. This is a serious problem that needs to be

addressed as part of any professional education initiative.

Interviews

Twenty structured interviews were conducted to determine the views of decision makers and educational leaders. The following questions were used to guide these interviews:

1. What kind of training for Nunavut educators needs to be the highest priority at this time? Who really needs training and for what purposes? Why is training needed? How much training is needed?

2. How should training courses be offered in a place as geographically challenging as Nunavut?

3. Who should be coordinating the training? Why?

4. Where will the resources for a new training initiative be found? Is this the right time to start a new training initiative?

5. Who should be delivering training to Nunavut educators?

6. What are some of the obstacles facing the Boards/College and individuals pursuing training? How can these obstacles be overcome?

7. What are your opinions about training and the enhancement and strengthening of Inuit culture and language?

8. Which groups should be targeted as priorities in a training plan?

Each interview took approximately one hour to complete and all were conducted in English as Inuit participants felt comfortable without interpreters. Twelve of the individuals interviewed were non-aboriginal educators, eight were Inuit. Fourteen interviews were conducted in person and six were completed over the telephone. Thirty interviews were planned but difficulties locating people as well as several cancellations made it

impossible to complete these interviews within the available time. Interviews were tape recorded and played back to identify themes. A second play back confirmed emergent themes and provided the opportunity to transcribe short sections relating to significant themes.

Interview Themes

The following brief summary of major themes emerged under the conditions outlined. Detailed transcriptions of the interviews would further refine these themes and provide confirmation of the initial analysis.

Development of Inuit Educators. Without exception, every individual interviewed identified Inuit as the highest priority group for further development. Seven individuals suggested that Inuit needed specific training to assume leadership positions in Nunavut and one person stated, "The only way to change things is to put Inuit into leadership positions." Five individuals mentioned the need to provide Inuit with more training at the junior and senior high levels in the school system. Other priority groups identified included support assistants, program support teachers, principals, and senior administrators. One director stressed the need to graduate more classroom teachers in order to reach the target of a 50% Inuit teaching force by the year 2000.

Preparing for Nunavut was mentioned in every interview. Individuals holding senior management positions suggested that the system needs to reorganize resources to focus on teacher education for Inuit as the highest priority. One person said, "Very little progress will take place until we have more aboriginal teachers." The need to continue providing basic teacher education to the bachelor's degree level emerged as a major theme in these

interviews. Other comments which support the need to direct professional education efforts towards Inuit included:

- "We are barely meeting the need for [Inuit] teachers in the school. We need to assist the grads in the schools."
- "We lack a developmental philosophy which focuses on Inuit."
- "I firmly believe that training must be directed towards Inuit first at the Certificate and then at a higher level
- "Redirect resources to teacher training."
- "The priority group should be the TEP grads plus special needs assistants and language specialists."
- "We need to create a greater sense of possibility for Inuit. Until we have Inuit [teachers and leaders] things will not change."
- "We need to focus on training more Inuit classroom teachers."
- "We need to put Inuit in charge."
- "There needs to be an Inuit leadership plan."
- "We have so many potential leaders in Baffin schools."

Inuit Culture and Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun. Culturally based teaching and learning were identified as a high priority and also as an area of great weakness in the system. Almost everyone referred to the lip service paid to culture. "Inuktitut is not equal. There is not a balance with Qallunaatitut," one person asserted. Some administrators expressed dismay at the levels of Inuktitut utilized by Inuit educators, including graduates of NTEP. In referring to the weakness of Inuktitut language skills among recent NTEP graduates, an Inuit principal stated, "I don't feel comfortable having these folks in the classroom." "Large numbers need their first language skills upgraded," said one of the directors of a school board.

When discussing the teacher education program another Inuit

principal stated, "I don't understand the training. They are learning in English to teach in Inuktitut and no Inuit people are teaching them." A senior administrator said the lack of Inuit instructors at NTEP was embarrassing. "Start from the premise that training is rooted in the language and culture," urged one administrator.

Cross-cultural training and orientation for teachers from the south was mentioned several times and with some urgency by three Inuit educators. These educators felt that the lack of adequate preparation of Qallunaat teachers meant that students did not necessarily receive the best quality education while newcomers struggled to adjust to cultural differences and the challenges of teaching English as a second language.

The need to provide teacher education programs in Inuktitut with a strong focus on culturally based learning emerged as a major theme in the Pauqatigiit interviews. The emphasis on culturally based learning is supported by the following statements:

 * "There needs to be a cultural centre, like a TLC in each school where we can record the culture, make books, videos, make our programs better. Teachers in training could work there and get credits for participating in this [program development]."

 * "We have to look at where we want to go in Nunavut. Look at Inuuqatigiit. We need aspects of culture integral to the school. Not done in a 'half-assed' way. Put culture in and really make it [the school] reflect culture."

 * We need more elders delivering culturally based teaching. Young Inuit need that background. It can help southerners to be more culturally aware. Elders should be involved."

 * "We have to do more in the area of cross-cultural training."

•"Inuit still see just snippets of culture in the schools. That's not effective."

•"We need to turn our southern institutions into Inuit ones."

•"Nunavut is focusing on we as Inuit.... We really should be pushing culture. If we ignore it we will become reflections of a negative culture."

•"We need to provide supports to let cultural values permeate the school."

•"We need a school system run by Inuit for Inuit and based on the Inuit culture."

Improving Academic Skills. Concerns about academic skills in English, Inuktitut, and Inuinnaqtun were mentioned, particularly by principals in schools with large numbers of recent NTEP graduates. Two years at NTEP was described as inadequate, providing further support for the recent move to a three-year teacher education program. The following comments, made by both Qallunaat and Inuit, speak to some of the general concerns that centre around academic skills:

•"In 1999 people say standards will be gone. It's being voiced by senior high teachers working in the school system."

•"There are a lot of concerns about standards expressed in the communities. There is a lack of academic and vocational programs."

• "I have issues with the quality of education in Inuktitut and English. There is not enough challenge for Inuit kids."

•"... the cultural programs are fine but there needs to be a standard."

• "The quality of the Inuktitut language is an issue."

• "Some [Inuit] teachers can't even read to the children. We need upgrading in the language [Inuktitut]."

- "I am concerned that [Inuit] teachers are not prepared. They need to upgrade their Inuktitut skills .... I can tell some of them about their culture."

- "I have heard the [NTEP] students mixing their languages [Inuktitut and English] when they are teaching.... They need to use rich language [Inuktitut] when they are teaching."

The individuals expressing these concerns all have extensive experience working within Nunavut and all but two of these comments come from Inuit educational leaders. This is a concern that is linked to the erosion of Inuktitut and Inuit culture as much as it is to academic standards. The two things are closely related and indicate a need to raise the standards in both languages and acquire a more in-depth knowledge of both cultures. The majority of the comments about teachers target recent graduates of NTEP, particularly those students who completed two year programs in the communities. There appears to be a perception that the two year community program did not provide the same quality of teacher education as the campus-based program. The overall message, in the words of one educator is, "Let's not compromise too much." Many people are afraid that quality is being sacrificed for quantity in our anxiety to put Inuit teachers into classrooms. As one Inuit principal stated emphatically, "Don't look at quantity, look at quality....Teach to a higher level. Get the best."

Visualizing Possibilities and Coping with Leadership. Eight of the individuals interviewed stressed the importance and difficulty of Inuit realizing that they are capable and competent. Inuit themselves suggested that self-doubt and lack of confidence deter many of their peers from seeking leadership positions and further education. They said that Inuit do not easily envision themselves as being in charge. Issues related to motivation were

mentioned many times. The interviews suggest that Inuit may be motivated in very different ways than non-aboriginals and, though this is insufficiently substantiated within the Pauqatigiit data, there is a strong suggestion that motivation is linked to a commitment to the community, to Inuit as a group, and to the culture.

Inuit referred to the loneliness and isolation experienced by those who move into leadership positions. They spoke about being the "lone Inuk" holding leadership positions where the majority of one's peers are Qallunaat. They also described a debilitating jealousy that can be directed by Inuit towards those who are successful. One leader stated, "When you have these skills everything is dumped on you." Another Inuit leader talked about leaders being like crabs trying to escape from a bucket and being pulled back down by their own species. Inuit also feel that once they accept leadership positions they are watched very carefully and scrutinized as if failure were anticipated. Other Inuit tend to question the authority held by Inuit leaders. This creates additional stress. The following quotes highlight the difficulties involved in visualizing possibilities and encouraging Inuit to take on leadership positions:

- "Inuit need to bring out their own power."
- "Inuit in leadership positions are burning out."
- Anytime you try to succeed someone pulls you down"
- "Inuit doubt their own kind."
- "The expectations are even higher when you are Inuit."
- We don't allow our fellow Inuit to move up the ladder."
- "We need an Inuk voice to speak in many of these areas."
- "Confidence is needed."
- "Leadership ability is not related to paper. It has to come from the

person within."

- "It hasn't been easy to hold onto my position. I have to keep a light on for these [Inuit] teachers. I encourage them. Keep them going. Give them the leadership."

- "Inuit team leaders are reticent to take on roles but are very competent.... We need to make more opportunities available."

- "We need to create a sense of possibility. A spirit. A kind of tusu [envy and desire] for leadership."

- "We need more synergy. Inuit need to do this together."

- "We can look at what's in the way, or we can look at what's possible."

Colonial Attitudes. Paternalism and colonial attitudes towards Inuit were mentioned several times. "It's real ugly out there. The racism and discrimination are endemic," stated one individual. People mentioned learned helplessness and passivity of Inuit who seem to be willing to allow Qallunaat to direct the educational system. We are still promoting a "cultural invasion", suggested a person with responsibilities at a very high level. Another individual expressed similar frustration with the difficulty of changing individuals working in the public service. He stated, "We can't deal with it [colonialism] until we have a majority Inuit public service. We must get rid of the colonialism that permeates the system." A Qallunaat consultant said, "I get scoffed at a lot [by other Qallunaat] for saying that Inuit have a lot to offer."

The following comments, all from Inuit educators and leaders, also speak to the colonial presence in Nunavut as it is felt in the lives of individuals:

- "I don't think that until folks [Qallunaat] who have been in Government let go or leave, that we can see much change. They hang

on to the old ways. Getting people to let go of Qallunaat power is very difficult."

• "Everytime I thought I was there he [Qallunaat boss] raised the ante and eventually I left."

• "Our schools tell kids they can't. Then the same people say they are unmotivated."

• "I believe the decision-making power was being taken away from the Board by the Qallunaat bureaucrats."

• "You [Qallunaat] don't listen. Until I raise my voice and start swearing you don't listen to me."

• "I'm a token Inuk and I hate it."

• "Qallunaat can't care the same way."

• "[Qallunaat] Bureaucrats have a lot of power."

• "I often wonder where we would be today if the Director, Supervisors had been Inuit."

• "I came out of Fort Smith [teacher training] as a brown colored southern type teacher."

• "We need to push Inuit to take leadership. It just won't happen if we wait for Qallunaat to do it."

• "I never said anything at staff meetings then one day I realized, wow, we are able to do it now."

• "There is this kind of freeze up of, 'Oh no, I don't know anything about this stuff.'"

• "The College is too isolated — an alien place. It has its own Qallunaat culture."

• "Everyone expected more from me [because I was an Inuk]."

• "There needs to be an Inuit leadership plan. Inuit people should be

delivering the training."

● "Qallunaat say that more education will correct the social problems. Inuit need to deal with the social problems themselves and educate in their way."

● "I'm a little skeptical about giving more training to teachers. It may be part of the colonial learning ethic."

Family Commitments and Economic Disparity. Individuals interviewed mentioned that Inuit educators face more economic obstacles in seeking further training including: supporting extended families, earning less than their non-aboriginal colleagues, paying equivalent rents, and purchasing more goods in the north at higher costs. This economic disparity led one director to express fears about the possible "ghettoization" of Inuit educators.

Salary freezes and lack of opportunities to complete university level courses at the community level were mentioned because Inuit teachers can not readily access education that leads to increased salaries. This may create more financial difficulties in the future. Quotes that refer to this concern include:

● "Teachers have large families. Housing is a problem.... Teachers bring their problems to school. Teachers tend to be not happy or energetic."

● "Many TEP grads are at the lower end of the pay scale. 40% are sole wage earners for their families facing cultural expectations that someone who is doing well is expected to support extended families."

● "We need to get Inuit up the payscale or there will be hierarchies and class differences created."

Coordination. Most individuals suggested that professional development should be coordinated by some kind of bridging committee

representing the Boards of Education and NTEP. Several individuals
expressed the view that NTEP needs to be more flexible and creative in
coordinating programs. Individuals from the Boards of Education felt that
NTEP did not consider their views and opinions sufficiently in designing
teacher education. Others suggested that the relationship between the Boards
and NTEP needs to be fostered. In referring to the importance of building
relationships, one person said, "We are going to have to build these
relationships. To ignore them is to die." Other comments which support the
need and difficulty of bringing agencies together include:

- "The challenge will be getting people together."
- "Reorganize the relationship between the College and the Boards."
- "Establish collaborative structures and joint coordination."
- "Boards are not very good at partnerships."
- "Establish a special joint committee to bring things together."
- "We need to teach people how to communicate so they can work
together."
- "Our jurisdictions and responsibilities criss-cross. This should be
more of an administrative concern. We could all agree about what is
needed. We need to work in conjunction with the schools."
- "We need a different structure. Something that brings us all
together."
- " The past history is not positive and is coming back to haunt us. We
need a lot more PR with other agencies in a positive way."

Time, Money, and Resources. Everyone interviewed declared that this
was the right time to become involved in this project. "It is precisely the right
time to start this initiative. It's time to take a good hard look at what we are
doing." Reorganization of resources and priorities was cited as a means of

finding funding. The need to combine our resources across Boards and between the Boards, Nunavut Arctic College, and the Department was mentioned many times. Administrators seemed to believe that the resources for this initiative could be located. "Use existing people," suggested one person. No one had any startling ideas about how we would find the time to enable educators to access professional development opportunities, though a few people mentioned the need to provide more paid leaves. Individuals called for more time for educators to learn, reflect, and think.

Final Comments on the Interviews

The interviews demonstrated that there is agreement with respect to the issues that need to be addressed. The need to bring agencies, people and resources together in order to address those issues was stated many times. The interviews appear to provide support for the creation of a joint structure or committee. The need to have this committee become a majority Inuit group is also evident. It is no longer acceptable to Inuit to have Qallunaat making major decisions that relate to their lives, their careers, and their professional learning. While 56% of the educators in the school system are Qallunaat, the population in Nunavut is 85% Inuit. More Inuit educators are becoming teachers which makes it more important that the decision-making become as Inuit-based as possible. It is difficult, if not impossible, to address issues of cultural relevance, traditional values in professional learning, and Inuit ownership of professional education when a decision-making group is predominantly Qallunaat.

Action Research in the Pauqatigiit Story

Pauqatigiit involves action research as educators examine their own articulated needs and work together to develop a "self-critical community" (Carr and Kemmis, 1986). There are 750 potential researchers who need to work on Pauqatigiit — not a small team. Is it possible to involve so many people in an action research project? In considering Pauqatigiit development; however, it does reflect aspects of the critical action research suggested by Carr and Kemmis which includes: a dialectical view of rationality, the systematic development of teachers' interpretive categories, ideology-critique, collaborative participation in discourse, self reflection, the organization of enlightenment, and the transformation of action.

A dialectical view of rationality rejects both the objectivist and subjectivist positions inherent in the positivist and interpretivist traditions, and calls for a critical, dialectical relationship between theory and practice as well as individuals and society (Carr and Kemmis, 1986, p. 184). There is no question that over and over again Pauqatigiit Committee members call for the development of this self-critical community and discuss their beliefs that theory and practice are dialectically linked. They are intensely aware; however, that this is no small challenge within the community of Nunavut educators and that it will take considerable commitment, energy, and time to create the conditions necessary to enable such a community to develop and work effectively.

In my opinion the model of action research proposed by Carr and Kemmis stands within a rationalist orientation. I believe that the addition of a more interpretivist perspective which starts with the personal stories and feelings of educators is more likely to lead to the development of the

interpretive categories described in the next paragraph and that this will lead to greater critical insight.

The "systematic development of teachers' interpretive categories" involves educators in discussing their "own understandings of their practices" and "explicitly sharing and examining these understandings"(Carr and Kemmis, 1991, p. 188). Pauqatigiit is working very hard to create the space and time necessary for educators to articulate understandings of their own practice. The Pauqatigiit Committee frequently reiterates their determination not to impose categories on educators but to create the space for educators to develop their own categories. This will not happen overnight and requires patience, persistence, and political support as well as skilled facilitation at the school level. It is necessary to stress that within an action research framework in Nunavut, a critically realist/interpretive orientation which involves a holistic view of self is more appropriate than one based on the rationalist orientation suggested by Carr and Kemmis. Stories are not shared in a linear, rational manner. They pour out in what might appear to be confused, muddled narratives. These narratives can be analyzed, interpreted and discussed by the individuals themselves. The themes emerging from narratives, which are often linked to educators' frustrations, are more deeply rooted in people's lives than goals established for professional education in a rational discussion that may not focus on the issues that are really preoccupying people.

Ideology-critique involves educators in a process of critiquing their own historical location, and discussing aspects of their belief system that may be distorted by socialization, rhetoric, mythology or power. Contradictions between beliefs and practices can be identified, explored, and named. The delicacy of this work will be explored in more detail when considering a

model for professional education in Nunavut; however, without ideology-critique educators may not realize the way that dominant power relations actually contribute to their powerlessness. The necessity of ideology-critique within the Nunavut context cannot be overemphasized.

This does not mean implementing a strident, political agenda which uses the vocabulary of leftist rhetoric. Pauqatigiit is interested in acknowledging the influence of all kinds of ideology, including that which derives from the left, as part of a growing awareness and interpretation of personal stories and experience. Political labels alienate teachers who need safe places to question and consider their own history and location. Educators know they are not safe and it does not take very long for them to realize that their fears and frustrations are politically based. No location in Nunavut, or anywhere else for that matter is safe and everything is dangerous as Foucault reminds us. We are all implicated in the colonial history of Nunavut and we are all involved in the post-colonial struggle for new identities. Bringing these issues to the surface is controversial and potentially threatening and must therefore be considered very carefully and judiciously. Practices are not necessarily ethical just because they involve ideology critique.

Collaborative participation in discourse is a particularly important principle for the action research involved in creating Pauqatigiit. At present Inuit educators are very poorly represented in discourse and decision-making, and many voices remain relatively silent within professional dialogue as it is presently conducted in Nunavut. Creating space and the climate which fosters the development of collaborative discourse is a major goal and yet another difficult undertaking for Pauqatigiit. Sending out survey results and inviting feedback can not be viewed as a collaborative process that involves dialogue among colleagues.

Carr and Kemmis refer to the "organization of enlightenment and the transformation of action" as components of action research. These are possible outcomes of ideology critique and collaborative participation within a self-critical community but it is inappropriate to predict that they are likely to occur with the next few years for Nunavut educators. Organizing enlightenment presupposes someone who does the organizing. This seems like a highly dubious position. Patti Lather (1991), addresses this issue in her book Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy with/in the Postmodern. Her comments with respect to enlightening others are insightful:

> For those interested in the development of a praxis-oriented research paradigm, a key issue revolves around this central challenge: how to maximize self as mediator between people's self-understanding and the need for ideology critique and transformative social action *without becoming impositional*. (p. 64, emphasis in text)

When Pauqatigiit started it was in danger of becoming the kind of technical action research that Carr and Kemmis (1986, p. 202), describe as "investigation of issues raised by the outsider". The issues were initially raised by Nunavut administrators, hardly outsiders, but certainly not classroom teachers working in the schools. As it progressed and educators were encouraged to become involved in planning Pauqatigiit, the action research became more "practical" (p. 203) in that self-reflection was fostered by providing everyone with the survey results and the time to discuss and think about the implications for their professional lives. Feedback from this process was then returned to the Committee creating a spiral of communication. This is not some kind of clinical process; however, where educators unanimously embrace self-reflection, overwhelmingly endorse the approach, and give thanks that they are involved in a process of change. Suspicion and accusations of manipulation are just as likely to be the legitimate, critical

responses of some educators who wisely question any change, and wonder if it is yet another administrative scheme which will actually limit their power rather than extend it. A strong desire for autonomy and independence often leads to the rejection of any agenda which does not originate from the school level.

Pauqatigiit involves a system-wide change. Does such a change actually contradict some of the hopes for creating ownership of the project? Is it possible to have locally-based, system-wide change? This is one of the most pressing questions and ever present tensions in the Pauqatigiit debate.

Very recently Pauqatigiit has started to take on some of the characteristics of "emancipatory" action research as it very slowly moves towards collaborative ownership of all aspects of the project. More people are beginning to take leadership roles within the project and as school-based Pauqatigiit Committees develop and reflect on professional education in their own communities the possibilities for both personal and collective transformation increase.

It is premature to hint, or perhaps even suggest, that Pauqatigiit may become emancipatory action research. Not enough educators are yet involved. There are insufficient opportunities for educators to reflect and examine their educational practices. Many voices remain silent and the whole project takes place in a cultural context which still promotes considerable disempowerment. It is emancipatory; however, in its intentions, though also "prudent", in that it moves at a rate which is "practically achievable" (Carr and Kemmis, 1986, p. 205).

Action researchers must be "socially realistic as well as educationally committed" (Carr and Kemmis, 1986, p. 207), realizing that "reflection and action are held in dialectical tension" (Carr and Kemmis, 1986, p. 206). Social

realism is insufficiently explored when planning most new projects, including Pauqatigiit, which are very idealistic in their aims. Idealistic aims untempered by political and social realities become empty rhetoric very quickly. Social reality constantly intrudes as projects unfold in the world of schools. This reality can be used as an excuse for taking no action and it can be used to brand or label "pie in the sky" plans. Voices of reality sometimes belong to conservative educators, or they may represent the cries of the weary and cynical who need time to recover from the traumas of change. Social and political realities must always be considered. Ignoring them amounts to a kind of blindness that can be dangerous. Labeling and rejecting oppositional voices limits understanding in any initiative. This does not mean that relativism is suggested, rather, it calls for a close examination of any position, particularly one which has implications for large numbers of educators. "If innovation is imposed ... without the chance to assimilate it into their experience, to argue it out, adapt it to their own interpretation of their working lives, they will do their best to fend it off" (Marris, 1974, p. 157). Educators in Nunavut need time to interpret, debate, argue about, disagree with, and adapt Pauqatigiit. This is the process that is required in every educational initiative for otherwise we are talking about prescriptions. We must constantly ask, "Whose agenda is being served in this initiative?"

Guiding Principles for Professional Education in Nunavut

The following statement was prepared by the Pauqatigiit Committee members in April 1997 to try and describe and define the purpose of Pauqatigiit and capture the spirit of the initiative. The original principles developed in 1994 were based on the survey results and were discussed in all

Nunavut schools during the feedback sessions in 1995. The statement of purpose and the principles are seen as articulating the desires and dreams of Nunavut educators:

> The major purpose of the Pauqatigiit initiative is to facilitate the development of a coordinated, school-based, educator-directed approach to professional education within the school system in Nunavut.
> Pauqatigiit brings together all the agencies involved in educator development, including those providing credit-based teacher education, inservice education and professional growth, and development at the school, regional, and Nunavut levels in a way that fosters communication and cooperation and addresses issues of equity, equal access, and educator ownership of professional education.
> (Nunavut Boards of Education, 1997)

The fourteen principles outlined below are based on the needs of Nunavut educators as articulated by themselves in 1994. They are intended to guide the actions that will be taken between 1997 and 1999 to build a collaborative initiative within professional education. The two sentences which introduce the principles stress the fundamental purpose and right to learn of all Nunavut educators:

The fundamental purpose of professional education is the improvement of learning for all students and educators in Nunavut schools. All Nunavut educators have the right of equal access to career long professional education. Professional education in Nunavut:

1. Is determined, owned, organized, and directed by Nunavut educators, for Nunavut educators, and with Nunavut educators.

2. Is based on the needs of all educators in the school system.

3. Improves teaching.

4. Builds and maintains collaborative, supportive relationships among educators.

5. Enables the voices of all educators to be articulated and heard

in the language of their choice.

6. Fosters the development of critical understanding of self, students, culture, and community.

7. Provides time to question, think, reflect, observe, discuss, learn, plan, and work individually and collectively on goals established for their professional lives

8. Takes place in a respectful, affirming, caring educational context which promotes acceptance, dialogue, collaboration, recognition, and trust.

9. Collectively addresses fundamental questions, issues, and problems raised by educators and relates them to the practical challenges of teaching and learning in Nunavut schools.

10. Enables and promotes a deep understanding of curriculum, teaching, and learning.

11. Provides educators with a variety of choices in accessing learning opportunities, including informal and formal school and community-based approaches, credit-based professional education, educational research opportunities, and access to other educators around the world to encourage and enable the full participation of Nunavut educators in a variety of educational communities.

12. Fosters public respect and understanding of the value of education by involving parents and members of the public in professional learning and discussion of important educational issues.

13. Utilizes existing personnel and resources creatively, cooperatively, and equitably to provide all Nunavut educators

with access to the widest possible range of professional learning experiences.

14. Enables educators to develop a long-term, clearly articulated, critically aware vision for their own professional growth.

The implementation of these principles provides the basis for the development of professional learning which is personal, critical, collaborative, and controlled by an informed, aware self. As such it supports the kind of ethically based professional practice that is suggested in this dissertation.

Considerations and Possibilities

Once the statistical report was completed in March 1995 and provided to the Pauqatigiit Committee, discussions about the results took place, and a draft report was prepared which shared the major findings and made some suggestions for possible directions for professional education in Nunavut. The draft report and a six page bilingual summary report were revised, published, and distributed to all schools across Nunavut in the Fall of 1995. Each school was provided with workshop suggestions to try and encourage a process-oriented approach to the discussion of the documents, and schools were asked to provide feedback to the Pauqatigiit Coordinator following the workshop.

The three boards of education authorized schools to take up to a half-day to discuss the Pauqatigiit survey results. The dates for discussion were left up to individual schools and most workshops took place in November or December, 1995. Baffin schools were encouraged to take a half day on November 10, exactly one year after the survey had been completed. Written

feedback following discussion of the report was hard to obtain and usually provided only after Committee members in each region repeatedly phoned schools to request the information.

In considering the implications of the needs assessment and making suggestions related to specific action, the Committee members were careful to remember that the survey took place to determine and then respond appropriately to professional needs. The ultimate goal, given the many difficulties associated with objectivity, was to develop a deeper understanding of educators' needs in Nunavut. Understanding is multi-layered; however, and emerges only after carefully and systematically reading and rereading the statistical report and the qualitative data with the determination to discover some aspects of what we used to call the truth. In other words, in skeptically and thoroughly examining what was said and combining it with our knowledge of the context, history, and evolution of Nunavut, the Committee members attempted to make some considered judgments about the very best way to proceed in efforts to address the needs expressed by educators.

The Committee realized that dashing off with poorly formed opinions was sure to meet with dismal failure. They also knew that each person would come to the data and results with biases and ideas about professional education and might search for the information to bolster or support particular positions. Depending on issues of power surrounding the entire range of decision-making, one person's views on a Committee, or in a school, might dominate or sway the opinions of others. Going from research results to analysis, to discussion, to feedback, and finally to action is far from being a clear, linear process.

In reflecting on possible action and suggesting the following possibilities, the data has been reviewed many times to determine underlying

themes. These suggestions were first made in the Spring of 1994 and discussed in some depth with the Pauqatigiit Committee members. They were then shared with educators across Nunavut. The word possibilities, which was also used in the Pauqatigiit report, indicates that they are merely suggestions for action and were never intended to become hard and fast recommendations. Though these suggestions were discussed in all Nunavut schools, it does not ensure that each educator had a real opportunity to understand, consider, discuss, and comment on them. In spite of our best efforts to establish a process for discussion of the reports and suggest approaches that would foster maximum participation and the expression of all voices, there is every possibility that in some schools the documents were circulated, read quickly, briefly discussed in English, and dismissed. In other schools educators may not have even seen the documents. These are the some of the realities involved in establishing ownership and are among the real obstacles we all face with the implementation of any change.

Feedback received from the schools; however, indicated that many educators read the reports carefully, spent time considering the possibilities, engaged in a variety of activities to process the information, and took the time to provide written comments to the Committee. Most feedback took place in small groups and was bilingual. A few educators took the time to write individual responses. Some schools seem to have used the document as an opportunity to think about their own professional growth and the direction for professional education in Nunavut. A very brief summary of feedback is provided before sharing the range of possibilities. It is shared in order to frame the possibilities with the comments from people working in the schools.

Summary of Feedback from Educators. Feedback was provided from 16

out of the 34 schools in Nunavut. Most comments about the Pauqatigiit reports were positive. For example:

- "Many of my feelings as a Kallunaat are well reflected in this document. Perhaps Inuit and non-Inuit professional development needs are too divergent to be dealt with together."

- "Six of the ten major findings directly relate to my thoughts and attitudes with regards to areas where I need help."

- "Worthwhile. More time should be allocated to put a document like this into practice."

- "A good review of important needs."

- "Worthwhile if our comments/ideas are actually taken seriously."

- "Need for a coordinated, clear cut, long-term plan for Nunavut p.d. needs."

- "Much needed. Thanks!"

- "Political but informative. Many of the findings were things I think/feel."

- "I like the kayak as a symbol for individual growth,"

Some educators doubted the validity of the results and one school suggested that the survey should have been conducted by an outside pollster to ensure that it was objective and statistically accurate. A few comments related to the separation of the results into those for Inuit and non-Inuit educators. Comments which raised questions about the reports and the survey included:

- Reading the results gave me the impression that someone had some preconceived notion as to what direction P.D. should take in the future.... I [It] would appear that someone in the Baffin Region is hoping to stamp their views of P.D. on the Nunavut Territory."

◆ "If we are trying to work together as educators with common goals, why are all the questionnaire results given according to native and non-native responses? I think the responses could have been presented under the generic name educators."

◆ "Not concrete enough."

◆ "Waste of money on publication."

◆ "Not worth half a day."

Most of the other comments in the feedback related to practical concerns including the need to provide more culturally based learning, address social emotional needs in schools, provide more funding for professional education, work together on professional learning, and take more control of professional development at the school level. In many ways these comments repeated and confirmed the findings in the Pauqatigiit survey.   Other general comments included:

◆ "More remote communities should continue to get money."

● Important for teachers to keep responsibility over P.D. funds."

◆ "We need a 2-3 year strategic plan. Set priorities ... articulate a vision."

◆ "Aboriginal and non-aboriginal educators need training in traditional skills."

◆ "Need for flexibility and equity in timetable considerations when planning for in-school P.D."

◆ "Provide opportunities for teachers who want to work together."

● "Innovation and risk taking is important."

◆ "Need more sharing among teachers."

● " Provide teacher orientations at the beginning of the year."

• "Take time to visit other teachers' classrooms."

- "Funding is too limited to do anything really worthwhile."

- "The greatest restriction is time."

The feedback process was a worthwhile step in the discussions around the Pauqatigiit findings. It provided an opportunity for all educators to read the reports, comment on the results, and work with colleagues to establish school-based approaches to professional education. The feedback also helped the Pauqatigiit Committee to refine their interpretation of the data and reports as well as consider practical responses to the findings.

<u>Suggested Possibilities</u>

The possibilities suggested in the Pauqatigiit report included:

1. Inuit culture and Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun becomes a central focus in

professional education.

> "Since our culture was not based on the written word [but on] story
> tales and legends passed on by word of mouth, I feel that these
> are very important to put fibre in our society. As they seemed to
> be like laws or guides to remind us what to do in certain situations...."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The call for more professional education related to Inuit culture is

identified by the majority of Nunavut educators and passionately, even

urgently expressed in open-ended questions. The statistics are clear and reflect

the shared desire of educators, both Inuit and Qallunaat, to create an

educational system grounded in Inuit culture. This request extends beyond

professional education needs to reflect major concerns which relate to the

entire educational system.

The survey results were published in the same year that Inuuqatigiit

was implemented. Inuuqatigiit, a NWT curriculum developed by Inuit

educators and focusing on Inuit-based learning, provides a foundation for the

education of Inuit students. Inuuqatigiit implementation and culturally-

focused initiatives within professional education could complement and

support each other in the future as the whole system becomes more Inuit-

based. It is suggested that Pauqatigiit implementation also include

Inuuqatigiit implementation as a central element in professional learning.

Inuuqatigiit is taken in the broadest sense to include Inuktitut as well as

learning related to traditional knowledge.

Interviews and the needs assessment results indicate that educators are

frustrated with the lip service and rhetoric surrounding the efforts to bring

Inuit culture into the educational system. They feel it is time to act to ensure that everyone working in the schools, whether they are Inuit or non-Inuit, learns more about the culture. The following suggestions may help to address frustrations expressed many times over many years.

Discuss the meaning of culturally based professional education.

"I am indeed interested in studying about
'My Inuit History'
and putting it together into teaching materials
up to the high school level."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

In developing professional education for Nunavut schools, it is important to consider what it really means to become culturally based. It involves far more than offering professional education in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun with a focus on traditional knowledge. Equating culturally based learning primarily with traditional skills may be quite limiting. Culture includes history, sociology, politics, science, commerce, archaeology, medicine, literature, the arts, and the language, viewed from an historical and a contemporary perspective and from an Inuit as well as a southern perspective. It includes the 'here and now' with everything that it means to be Inuit and Qallunaat citizens in today's evolving society. It also includes the 'times gone by' with all the lived experiences of Inuit people throughout the years.

As educators start to bring a more Inuit perspective to their teaching and learning, they also need to discuss the purpose of stressing culturally based learning in a society where language and culture are threatened. Issues of identity, cultural loss, and survival are central in understanding the meaning and importance of culturally relevant education.

It will not be a simple matter to offer Inuit-based professional

education; however, providing as many opportunities as possible for learning in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun would be a very good start. Workshops or courses delivered in English using English resources can ensure that discussion, reflection, and activities take place in Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun. This bilingual model enables Inuit educators to access information in English and add their own experience and understanding to build knowledge.

Learning and improving Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun is a priority.

"The Inuktitut language is the language we speak
and we should always use it and pass it on from our ancestors."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

While courses can introduce vocabulary and language structures or refine skills, the need to learn or improve Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun can also be addressed by daily efforts at the school and community level. Introducing staff meetings with a mini-lesson in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun, having a phrase a day and spending time immersed in the language are effective ways for Qallunaat to acquire a working vocabulary. Inuit and Qallunaat might also use their five professional development days to spend time with elders working on specific vocabulary and should consider contacting NTEP to ask if credit can be provided for these experiences. Offering a variety of NTEP courses in Inuktitut at the community level will also be very helpful, particularly for Inuit educators interested in improving their knowledge of the language. More advanced courses in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun for Inuit holding teaching certificates need to be offered at the community level. Some of these ideas are already being used in schools and will be discussed during this school year.

Focus on culture.
"Teach about the land and safety on the land."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Educators can learn a great deal about the culture through the

programs they choose to organize for students in schools; however, they also need to have opportunities to learn skills in much greater depth. The development of modules related to traditional culture could be offered as workshops, parts of courses, or as whole courses depending on time available for professional education. These modules might include: iglu building, skin preparation, ice fishing, caribou hunting, kamik making, and a wide variety of others. In addition, modules on Inuit history, literature, mythology, cosmology, archaeology, science and mathematics and others could also be developed for delivery in communities across Nunavut. Many of these modules can be offered on the land. Nunavut Arctic College has developed a program in Inuit Studies that might be adapted to meet the needs of educators in schools.

In the long-term, it may be possible to develop a degree in Inuit Education for delivery in Nunavut. The degree might be offered at the undergraduate or Master's level. Theoretical and practical studies and research focusing on Inuit education could be offered primarily by Inuit in the future. While this goal may require a great deal of long-term planning and organization it should also be possible to include more culturally related courses within the Certificate in Native and Northern Education offered by NTEP. Inuit teachers and elders could provide these courses in Nunavut communities over the next few years.

<u>Amalgamate the Teaching and Learning Centres with the Nunavut Teacher Education Program</u>.

> "I often think that Inuit teachers
> should be taught in Inuktitut."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

In <u>Learning, Tradition and Change</u>, the concept of a Teaching and

Learning Centre (TLC) involved, "program development, support services, and staff training."

Each centre, representing its own regional and cultural interests will:

- prepare programs of study for K-12 and adult education;

- test new programs of study;

- train teaching staff in the methodology required for implementation of new programs;

- supervise the initial phases of a new program's implementation;

- prepare programs for special education and provide support services for them as required;

- evaluate programs of study;

- design and present teacher education;

- carry out specific tasks for the divisional boards of education;

- communicate useful information to the staff of the divisional boards of education; and

- coordinate regional activities with the Arctic College.

(GNWT, 1982, p. 62)

This amalgamation, with a focus on program development and support, as well as teacher education, was never implemented. The divisional boards and the Arctic College have separated these functions for the last twelve years. Recent trends within teacher education programs across North America and elsewhere in the world are recommending that schools and teacher education programs work more closely together. There are many examples of successful, collaborative efforts which have taken place between school systems and universities interested in building closer links with each other. The recommendations made in 1982 were years ahead of their time.

NTEP needs to ensure that Inuit cultural knowledge is central in its program and this could be facilitated by a close working relationship with the TLCs across Nunavut. Working together on professional education and program development, consultants and instructors can support each other with projects and teaching. The inclusion of elders in this process can enrich the knowledge and language at the same time.

It is worth revisiting the original concept of Teaching and Learning Centres with the purpose of sharing personnel, maximizing the ability to develop materials, and involving larger numbers of Inuit educators in teacher education. This suggestion involves program consultants from all three Boards of Education working together with NTEP instructors in addressing the need for professional education in Nunavut schools. Initial discussions related to the amalgamation are taking place between Nunavut Arctic College and the Divisional Boards.

Establish Teaching and Learning Centres in all Schools.

"I want to have more hours to work on Inuktitut materials. There are not enough Inuktitut materials."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Each school needs an area where educators can gather to learn, discuss, and reflect on teaching. There is also a need to provide a comfortable area either inside or outside the school for elders to visit and interact with both students and educators. A Teaching and Learning Centre in a school might become such a gathering place. The area could provide access to professional reading materials, distance education technology, and elders. Parents could also spend time at the Centre which would build the relationship with the community and help to develop a greater understanding of the school.

This idea is not new and has been discussed for many years. Shortage of

space in schools and a lack of input into capital planning has made this difficult to achieve in the past. As Nunavut becomes a reality this needs to be considered.

Inuit educators offer community-based professional development.

> "I am willing to support education in Nunavut if I'm given
> a chance to speak my own native language to deliver a course."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The involvement of Inuit educators as instructors, co-instructors, and facilitators of professional education will enable many more opportunities to be available in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun. As new Inuit teachers move into the system, the more experienced educators may become involved in offering professional education. Many NTEP courses can be offered at the community level and taken for credit if desired. In suggesting such an option, it can not become yet another burden for Inuit teachers. Balancing teaching in a school with offering professional education to colleagues could become overwhelming. Sharing classrooms and establishing team teaching situations may address the need to involve more Inuit in teacher education. This will require support and organization from the Board and school level.

2. Provide opportunities for Nunavut educators to work together in schools.

"In many respects, collaboration and collegiality bring teacher
development and curriculum development together."
(Hargreaves, 1994a, p. 186)

Wishes for increased interaction with colleagues dominate the needs assessment. The interaction that is desired centres on sharing of knowledge and skills with other teachers more than on being supported by individuals who do not share the same daily challenges. The wisdom developed in interactions with students is valued and solutions that come from real classroom experience are the most precious. Simply establishing team planning and teaching as another structure within the school may not fully address the complexity of the need expressed by educators. While educators don't want to be alone with challenges they find overwhelming, they may not appreciate being told what to do. A 'should' from someone who does not share one's experience can be patronizing and impractical. Facilitating more collaboration with peers and accessing expertise without bureaucratizing the process will be a real challenge.

Facilitate team teaching and interaction with colleagues.

"I want to work as part of a team in a community."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Fifty-six per cent of Inuit teachers and 44% of non-aboriginal teachers express a desire to team teach. While team planning may be taking place, team teaching may not be as common. Team teaching involves more than just planning a theme for delivery in separate classrooms. It means educators share a teaching load and are in a position to offer feedback and support to each other on a daily basis. This means that classes might be grouped together with teams of educators developing programs and teaching students.

Opportunities to plan and work together with other educators could be provided to groups of educators willing to take on the challenge. Simply sharing frustrations, concerns, and program ideas may help educators to solve problems and feel more supported.

In considering this option, educators need to be aware that working together effectively does not always happen spontaneously. Open communication, patience, trust, and expertise are all necessary ingredients in creating a successful team. This means that the first stages of team teaching can be very frustrating, particularly if common understanding is not developed. Spending time visiting each other's classrooms, team planning, and openly discussing the possibilities and frustrations of a team situation prior to implementation may save a lot of energy. Providing some inservice related to team building, group dynamics, and conflict resolution may be useful in focusing attention on some of the elements which might be important in helping educators to understand important aspects of interpersonal interaction including empathy, reciprocity, feedback, and listening.

<u>Share expertise</u>.

"The best training experiences I've taken were on the job.
I am much more comfortable dealing with problems
with my co-workers who are willing to share past experiences
with similar/same problems."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Balancing the knowledge and expertise of the experienced and less experienced educators in schools has many benefits. More experienced teachers can support less experienced educators, though this should not involve additional responsibility for individuals already overworked in schools. Mutual benefit needs to be present for sharing to take place. This

probably means that educators need to be integrally involved in identifying the kinds of teams they would like to be involved with. Creating larger teams which involve two or three experienced teachers working with two or three inexperienced teachers, and sharing responsibilities for planning and teaching several classes of students has tremendous potential provided issues of equality and power are articulated and ground rules ensure that domination does not become an established element in the team. Most classes in Nunavut require multi-level instruction and there may be real advantages in having four people get to know a larger group of students quite well. Each person on a team will bring some different skills, understandings, and talents to the group. This kind of sharing takes a lot of work and commitment. Some schools are already using this kind of teaming and sharing very successfully. There may be advantages in contacting teachers working in these situations to solicit their advice and suggestions when establishing bilingual teams of educators. A final caution relates to mandating team approaches in schools. Some educators will never be happy working as part of a team and individual preferences must be considered to enable each person to find their own direction with respect to professional growth. Tensions created between those who "team" and those who refuse to team can be immensely destructive within schools, sometimes creating hierarchies of preferred pedagogies that are inherently dangerous to morale.

Sharing cultural expertise is also going to be essential if schools are to become more Inuit-based. Knowledge of the language, culture, communities, and students, often brought to schools by Inuit, needs to be maximized and expanded. The knowledge of English and a southern way of life, usually brought by Qallunaat, is also needed as a complementary aspect of an educated person in Nunavut. These two knowledge bases must be respected

equally; one as a foundation for learning and strong Inuit identity, the other as vitally necessary for success in today's world. Sensitivity to aspects of southern domination are essential in balancing this learning and sharing. Cultural expertise involves an awareness of the present imbalance between the cultures within the school system and the wider society in Nunavut.

Educators in training would benefit from more support at the school level. They should receive training on the job and whenever possible work in team teaching situations. Facing classrooms alone, as sometimes happens in Nunavut schools, provides many educators with an unfair challenge. Educators who want to work with colleagues should not be left alone with their professional challenges and certainly not with the entire responsibility for planning, materials development, program delivery, and evaluation.

Support shadowing and mentoring.

> "We need to take an apprenticeship approach,
> create opportunities for new grads to shadow
> experienced teachers who have a lot of skills."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994).

Shadowing and mentoring provide opportunities for educators to watch each other teaching. This would occur naturally if teachers worked in teams but may also be desired by those educators who like to have their own classroom but want to work more closely with a colleague. By watching another professional deal with a similar problem teachers expand their repertoire of skills. These kinds of opportunities have been made available to educators in roles of leadership such as Program Support Teachers or principals. Classroom teachers, classroom assistants, and language specialists would also benefit greatly from these options. Unfortunately, a word like 'mentoring' may imply that one knowledgeable person guides a less knowledgeable individual and there are possibilities of 'telling' rather than

simply 'sharing' within such a relationship.

Cooperative learning research has indicated that partnerships work best when gaps in knowledge, culture, background, and expertise are not extreme. The wider the gaps the more potential there is for frustration. This occurs in classrooms when students who finish first are always asked to help students who experience the most difficulty. Awareness of this research may be helpful when trying to establish mentoring relationships. It may also explain why some teams do not work particularly well. Team building and training in cooperation may be necessary before people start to work together.

Discuss the roles of school leaders.

"Positive reinforcement from
administration is paramount."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

In order to provide opportunities for team teaching and planning, sharing, and shadowing and mentoring individuals in positions of support will need to take over more classrooms and free educators to dialogue and plan together. Organizing such support in small schools when the principal teaches, or in large schools where administrative duties are considerable, may not be very easy. Combining classes for games, exercises, or activities in the gym, library, or outdoors might make it possible for educators to find time for exchanges with colleagues. Some Nunavut principals are already organizing their schools to support various forms of collaboration. Sharing these ideas with other school leaders might be very helpful. Recent financial cutbacks in the schools are making these kind of arrangements very difficult to establish.

Individuals in support and leadership positions often feel their jobs are overwhelming, and that it is just not possible to stretch themselves to cover classes as well as cope with administrative demands. Covering classes for

teachers cannot be successful unless individuals in positions of leadership voluntarily make decisions to view their responsibilities in a way which stresses program, rather than administrative, priorities. It also means that administrative demands from the Boards of Education need to be carefully examined and adjusted to enable school principals to reorganize their time and priorities to focus on student and educator support.

3. Educators direct professional education.

> "We should not be directed and led...thinking is allowed."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Making decisions for others fosters dependency and learned helplessness. In the past, some of the decisions about professional education have been made by the Department of Education, Culture and Employment, NTEP, Boards of Education, the NWTTA or principals, or committees at the school and Board level. Educators in Nunavut have been given relatively little time to think about their own professional education. Sometimes educators sit back and wait for others to organize their professional learning. Providing time for reflection on professional needs is even more important when colonial practices in decision-making may have already fostered dependency.

Professional development funds have been used for conferences or workshops that can be very valuable but may not result in any long-term changes in professional practice. Changing educational practice proves, time and time again, to be one of the most difficult things to achieve. To expect that educators can start using complex professional skills effectively after taking one workshop and without opportunities to try ideas and receive feedback and support is naïve. Educators themselves must be willing to

change and need to be interested in exploring different way of teaching. This requires considerable reflection, discussion, and understanding. Secondly, the change itself needs to be fully understood and individuals who are comfortable using a particular practice or way of thinking need to be available to support the changes over an extended period of time. Finally, time, resources, and support all need to be available in a way that is acceptable and comfortable for the educators who are trying to change.

The funding spent on professional education in Nunavut might be used more effectively to provide time and support at the school level to educators working in the classroom. Imposing or prescribing support as part of an evaluative process; however, is not likely to be effective. Most teachers want to learn from someone they trust and respect professionally and from someone they believe can offer them non-judgmental support. This is often difficult to achieve within the context of evaluation. Educators want to grow at their own pace and try out ideas where they can take risks without fear of negative criticism. In considering how this might be achieved, ownership of professional learning becomes a real issue. The following suggestions consider ways of fostering educator ownership of professional education.

Educator design of professional development.

"To carry off the concept of self-directed professional development,
we, as teachers, must begin to think of ourselves as designers."
(Clark, 1994, p. 77)

At present, professional development is a year by year process with decision-making taking place more and more at the school level. This enables educators to organize professional growth opportunities to meet their needs and provides significant freedom in choosing to attend conferences and workshops in other places or stay at home and have experts or knowledgeable

colleagues provide workshops to the staff. These experiences are very rarely credit-based, do not usually fit into a series of opportunities related to the development or improvement of teaching, and rarely involve dialogue and follow-up related to educators' practice in classrooms.

Given that the expressed professional needs of Nunavut educators reflect remarkable congruence, it may be possible to design credit-based professional growth opportunities to address these needs in a more organized way. A specific example may be helpful. A school in the Baffin organized a four-day professional development workshop on cooperative learning during the 1994/95 school year. In June 1995, a twelve-day credit-based course on cooperative learning was offered at NTEP in Iqaluit by the same resource person. One experience awards credit, the other does not. The costs involved are proportionally comparable. The course included most of the same material offered in the workshop. The instructor could easily break the content of the course into modules to be offered for credit in any location. In the future, educators in a school might organize these modules of cooperative learning over a two year period of time using professional development funding but gaining credit at the same time. This would also be a powerful way to learn to apply cooperative techniques because educators could support each other throughout a year and then bring that learning into the next module of a course. This approach involves educators in the school making a commitment to go beyond the one workshop, quick fix concept of professional learning. It involves a determination to change and improve practice over the long-term. Designing professional education in this way is within the control of educators in a school and can be achieved by using professional development funding in a different and possibly more rewarding way.

It may also be possible for groups of Nunavut educators to meet and design a range of credit-based professional development opportunities to address the specific needs expressed in the questionnaire. These opportunities could be organized into modules for courses and be made available for credit through NTEP. To avoid the danger that this may lead to a future based on a lock-step, course-bound approach to professional development, these kinds of options would be available as choices controlled by the educators themselves. Courses would not be mandated. They are simply available as one of many choices. Educators could still access professional development funding as they have in the past, but when they want credit they could consider organizing a series of credit-based modules. Accessing these courses would involve organization by educators at the local level through their professional development committees just as occurs at the present time in schools. In essence, individual schools could set up a range of professional development experiences over a period of time and eventually meet the needs of staff members.

Combine funding sources.

> "It takes years ... to reach the point of concerted action,
> and that point seems almost invariably to coincide
> with a period of fiscal recession."
>   (Goodlad, 1994, p. 45)

At present the funding for professional education comes from a variety of sources provided by different agencies. Improved communication and coordination between these agencies might facilitate more professional learning opportunities for educators. For example, when a school or Board organizes professional development they can contact NTEP to discuss the possibility of accessing credit. Professional development funding, both regional and central, as well as all funding presently allocated by the Boards of

Education for educator training and inservice could be amalgamated into an Educator Development Fund administered by educators themselves. At this time, such a concept would be controversial and problematic, but as more and more cooperation takes place it may be possible.

The Fund is suggested to demonstrate that there could be real benefits in using limited financial resources in a different way. Such an arrangement can not affect the ability of members of the NWTTA to exercise control of the existing professional development funds. It could, however, with Board and NTEP support, increase the funding presently available for professional development and enable educators to access a much wider variety of professional growth opportunities designed specifically to address their needs. Elements of trust are critical when considering such an option. The NWTTA has resisted efforts to discuss such an option because they believe other agencies may attempt to use the professional development funding to achieve their own goals. However, once professional education is truly educator owned and directed, what is at present a necessarily cautious position may change.

Educators make decisions and choices for themselves.

> "...because each teacher is unique in important ways,
> it is impossible to create a single, centrally administered
> and planned programme of professional development
> that will meet everyone's needs and desires.
> Why not let the individual be in charge of asking
> and answering the timeless questions:
> 'Who am I? What do I need? How can I get help?'"
> (Clark, 1992, p. 77)

Christopher Clark raises what may be the most important question in the life of any educator, "Who am I?" Further fundamental questions which relate in important ways to professional education and the professional

growth of educators include:

- What are my beliefs, values, attitudes?

- What kind of a teacher am I?

- What kind of a teacher am I becoming?

- What kind of a teacher do I want to be?

- How does my personal vision for education fit with the collective vision for education articulated in the school, the region and within Nunavut?

- How can my professional learning help me to become the teacher I want to be?

Once educators raise these questions and develop educational philosophies and principles based on these questions, then they are in a position to start organizing their own professional education. Educators themselves can make informed choices related to career planning but they need time to talk about themselves as educators and think about their needs. Providing more information about the range of choices within professional development is essential. Professional growth plans can only have meaning when they contribute in a real way to learning for educators. Simply completing some administrative forms with little possibility of having needs addressed in any realistic way is an exercise in frustration. Mandating professional growth can never succeed. Providing interesting, practical choices and inviting educators to get involved in their own growth is much more likely to create active involvement. As Christopher Clark (1992, p. 77) comments in his article on self-directed professional learning:

Why should teachers, individually and collectively, take charge of their own professional development? Why is this a good idea? First, we need to recognize that adult development is voluntary—no one can

force a person to learn, change or grow. When adults feel they are in control of a process of change that they have voluntarily chosen, they are much more likely to realize full value from it than when coerced into training situations in which they have little to say about the timing, the process or the goals.

4. Provide additional time for professional education.

"School boards have to creatively find time for people to
do training instead of just 'adding' it on to a teacher's load.
Most Inuit teachers are very hard working mothers."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Teachers who complete their professional education and are then fully prepared for all aspects of teaching in a school are rare. Even the most talented and competent new graduates require support, ongoing discussion related to their work, and a variety of opportunities to learn and improve skills. New teachers benefit from close relationships with experienced colleagues they respect and trust.

Teaching involves a lifetime of constructing new knowledge, improving skills, changing attitudes, and modifying understanding. New insights constantly occur throughout a career in education. The range of social and emotional needs of students, the explosion of information, and the complexity of today's society make teaching one of the most challenging professions in today's world. Changes in curricula, new methodologies, and initiatives such as inclusive schooling mean that teachers are expected to acquire new skills and teach in ways that may differ from approaches they learned during their teacher education programs. No magic wands are provided. It takes time to understand new theories, time to read new curricula, time to try new techniques, and time to accommodate the needs of

all learners in a classroom.

Nunavut educators have clearly indicated that they want to learn a great deal about a wide range of educational topics. They cannot learn all these things in the five days allocated for professional development. Many of these approaches require extended practice and communication with peers in order to reach levels of comfort in the classroom. Completing a course may only be the first step in a process of learning that will take several years.

Time is also required to complete courses and implement different approaches reflectively. Time is required to plan learning experiences in a different way and is needed to enable colleagues to support each other or discuss new strategies as learning takes place. This is one of the most obvious facts about teaching anywhere, especially in Nunavut; however, it is not reflected in teacher workloads and schedules. In fact, the public seems to feel that teachers already have too much time for professional growth and that schools should never close to allow teachers to learn new skills. Given public misunderstanding of teachers' lives, which translates into pressures to lengthen the school year, cut back on planning time, and account for every moment in a school day, what are some of the possibilities for the future? Shortage of time is one of the greatest obstacles Nunavut educators face in pursuing professional growth.

Provide more planning and reflection time for educators.

"I want to plan with another teacher that teaches the same grade."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The demands on Nunavut educators, particularly with respect to the preparation of materials and resources, exceed those in the south and yet this is not acknowledged in the allocation of planning time in schools. Planning time has been an ongoing agenda item during NWTTA negotiations in the

past. Perhaps there needs to be an even more concerted effort to have time for planning, reflecting, and learning enshrined in the Collective Agreement.

The Pauqatigiit Committee is preparing a document which argues for increasing the time available to educators for professional education and planning. While creative scheduling allows educators time for planning in many schools, the system must acknowledge the needs of teachers in more concrete ways. This document focuses on the realities of teaching and the considerable challenges teachers face in their careers. It stresses the importance of adequate time for reflection, planning, and learning in maintaining well-being and increasing professional expertise

Increase the numbers of professional development days.

"Time must be allocated for professional development, reading
and interaction with other teachers."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The possibility of increasing professional development time has been discussed many times. A recommendation in Learning, Tradition and Change (GNWT, 1982) suggested increasing the time available for professional development but this was never implemented. In jurisdictions in the south, teachers can access up to twelve days in an academic year for professional development. In Nunavut, where educators are in great need, only five days are available. One possibility that would require a great deal of discussion involves requesting five additional days of inservice from the Minister of Education while agreeing to commit five days of personal time for professional development. This gains an additional ten days for professional education during the year. A choice such as this could not be imposed on teachers; however, it is worth considering. Those educators willing to be involved would find themselves with fifteen days each school year allocated

to their own professional growth. The five extra inservice days would only be granted to those educators willing to give up five days of their own time to take courses or pursue professional growth opportunities. It is unlikely that educators would have unlimited freedom to choose when they could use this time as operational requirements in school also need to be addressed.

Allocating days at the beginning and the end of each term would probably be the only realistic options available. The exorbitant costs involved in hiring supply teachers to cover the classes of educators taking fifteen days of professional learning would immediately preclude the possibility of keeping schools open. It may be that courses across Nunavut would be offered at a prearranged time each year in a three-week block. It is also possible that these three weeks could be broken up and offered in the fall, winter, and spring, or that all educators in a school could agree to take one day each week for fifteen weeks in order to address a specific need. For example, if a school decides that they want to work on their Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun skills over a three month period then this option might be appropriate. Unless some creative ways of addressing the issue of time are discussed in Nunavut schools it is unlikely that this matter will be easily resolved. Communicating the real challenges faced by educators is essential in helping members of the public understand the needs in schools and be ready to support increased professional learning time. As one Nunavut Educator stated in her needs assessment, "There is a false misapprehension that teachers must be busy 'teaching' all the time. Unless time is given within the regular working hours for professional development there will be no improvement" (Nunavut Educator, 1994).

Increase opportunities for leaves with and without allowances.

"[Please provide] Training for renewal...
I have been teaching for a long time."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The importance of providing leave with and without pay cannot be underestimated. Options such as deferred salary leaves can also provide educators with much appreciated professional renewal and time to reflect on their careers. It is critical that the number of leaves be protected and possibly even increased over the next few years. Providing more leaves without pay might be an option desired by more experienced educators who may be able to raise funds through scholarships or contract work. Educator exchanges are not commonly available in Nunavut schools and could also provide opportunities to work in another jurisdiction and expand professional skills. As funding becomes harder to locate it will be important to explore alternative sources of professional space for educators.

5. Implement more opportunities for professional education within Nunavut communities.

"Get more Inuit teachers."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

A failure to implement the community-based teacher education programs suggested by David Wilman in his work as a strategic planner for the Department of Education, Culture and Employment may have dramatic consequences for Nunavut schools in the future. In his draft report, Beyond Basic Training, Wilman (1994, p. 4), argues that forced growth will raise the numbers of teachers in NWT schools 27% by the year 2000. He suggests that without a concerted effort to maintain community-based teacher education programs the percentage of aboriginal teachers working in schools will actually decline after the year 2001.

The community-based initiatives, ongoing since 1991, will have

increased the numbers of Inuit educators working in Nunavut schools; however, the numbers are insufficient to meet the projections required to achieve and sustain the 50% Inuit employment figures recommended by the Nunavut Implementation Commission for the year 1999. They are also far from the 85% Inuit employment required to match the demographics in Nunavut, as is recommended by NIC for the year 2021. Population growth in Nunavut remains high, higher than it is in the rest of the NWT. Consequently, it is unlikely that the 50% aboriginal teaching force called for by the Minister of Education in 1991 can be achieved in Nunavut without ongoing, successful teacher education initiatives at the community level. This need is clearly documented in the new strategic plan for teacher education in Nunavut (Department of Education, Culture and Employment, 1997), which states that 273 Inuit teachers will be required to reach the 85% goal by 2010.

Given the vision for the future outlined by the Nunavut Boards in documents such as Our Future is Now (BDBE, 1996), the consequences of failing to continue community-based teacher education programs need to be fully realized. The Boards of Education need to continue to demand teacher education programs at the community level and keep politicians informed about their importance. The Pauqatigiit initiative provides further evidence that educators desire community-based options. This combination of an urgent need for Inuit teachers and the desire of all Nunavut educators to continue their professional learning at the community level, is more than sufficient to warrant a concerted effort to maintain and strengthen the community-based initiatives.

The reorganization of resources to address this call for more community-based resources is not a simple matter; however, and the

following suggestions require a willingness to look at teacher education and professional development in a different way.

Provide more community-based options.

> "The best training experience I've had is in my own community
> because I don't worry about my family and still have quality
> time with them. If I were out of town, I'd be worried and be
> stressed by family because of leaving them behind."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Given family commitments, the cost of living, and the expenses associated with taking leave to pursue studies at NTEP or in the south, it makes sense to implement as many community-based options as possible. There are many excellent educators working in Nunavut communities whose professional responsibilities might be reorganized to include an instructional component within teacher education programs at the undergraduate and graduate level. Not only is this the most economically feasible response, it also addresses the need to incorporate more classroom practice into professional education. School-based professional education has the unique advantage that concepts, approaches, and ideas can be tried immediately with students in classrooms, discussed, critiqued, and reapplied. There are also possibilities for coaching and peer support that are not as easy to establish in an institutionally-based program. The disadvantages include increased and more complex workloads for experienced educators as well as the fact that it is very hard to find extended time for reflection and discussion when the needs and whirl of a school seem to inevitably consume educator time.

It is possible that by providing student financial assistance to part-time students as well as establishing job-sharing situations, more individuals could participate in professional education in schools. Experience with the

community-based teacher education programs has provided some insight into the realities of balancing life as an educator with life as a student. The separation of the two functions into manageable time segments is essential or the burdens of planning and preparing to teach will severely encroach on the efforts to read, understand, and reflect on what is being learned. It is a matter that requires considerable discussion but can be resolved.

Use Nunavut educators to offer professional education.

> "There is a lot of expertise across the north
> which could be shared..."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Nunavut teachers living in communities may be the best people to facilitate, coordinate, and deliver professional development to their colleagues. These duties would need to become part of their professional responsibilities. Time to prepare for and offer courses, modules, or workshops must be provided. This affects teaching time and will be difficult and costly to organize unless groups of staff take professional development time together.

The issue of credit for instructors also needs to be addressed. Individuals who offer courses might be able to earn credit at a graduate level while offering courses at the undergraduate level. Monetary compensation would be costly and options that do not involve expensive honoraria need to be explored. The matter of compensation and recognition for work must also be considered carefully.

Access specific expertise to support professional education in Nunavut communities.

> "I need to meet new people, new ideas—after ten months of teaching
> I need to have input from people outside my 'environment'."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Not all professional education can be offered by teachers in communities. Fresh ideas and new faces can help to bring a different perspective and more knowledge into the system. Expertise available throughout the school system, in the NWT, and elsewhere needs to be accessed. At present, Board level consultants, TLC staff, NTEP instructors, and personnel at the Department of Education, Culture and Employment have some specific skills that could be utilized in offering courses or supporting individuals in the communities. In fact there is every possibility that spending time specifically addressing the growth of professional learning of educators may be a much better utilization of the limited consultant and departmental staff available to support schools. Given that 30% of the educators wanted support from Board level consultants there is also evidence that this expertise has been appreciated by many individuals.

The ability to send Nunavut educators to acquire specific skills in the south is another option that should be explored, particularly when it provides long-term educators with expertise they can share with their colleagues at the community level for many years into the future. When deciding if expertise is required it will be important that the sharing of practical skills based on theoretical knowledge remain a major consideration. The costs involved in bringing expertise to the north, or sending northerners to the south, will always be high and the long-term benefits need to be clearly demonstrated when making decisions about accessing or using individuals with specific expertise.

<u>Use distance education and telecommunications with professional learning</u>.

"We need an extensive distance education network
for student and staff training."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Qallunaat educators are particularly interested in distance education options. The possibility of expansion and improved access to telecommunications through existing bulletin boards and the Internet means that communication between educators can be fostered. Inservice in using technology needs to be built into the plan for professional development. The use of Computer Mediated Communication and electronic media to access southern expertise and link northerners together is being explored by the Boards of Education, the Nunavut Arctic College, and the Department of Education, Culture and Employment. In addition, a committee is investigating the possibilities for training educators in the schools to use computers and technology more effectively.

Initiatives in telecommunication may have a significantly positive impact on our ability to offer courses across Nunavut. This technology, particularly video conferencing, is expensive and difficult to maintain. Resources such as North of 60, the bulletin board of the Department of Education, Culture and Employment, have already proven their value as powerful ways of sharing ideas throughout the system and they provide a relatively inexpensive, if somewhat unreliable, way of communicating between schools. The implementation of a Digital Communications System across the NWT will address many of the concerns with respect to reliability.

Several northern educators have already completed courses by distance education from McGill University, the University of Victoria, and the

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. Expanding the options presently available and involving Nunavut educators as instructors and facilitators for distance learning courses seems eminently possible and desirable. Some individuals express concerns that the medium lacks the interactive element that would enable modeling of approaches in classrooms. This can be addressed through the use of videotapes and journals. Video exchanges by educators trying different strategies and the sharing of videos of the classrooms of outstanding Nunavut educators could be used as a focus of discussion. Journals relating to professional practice can be used on line to enable educators' professional experiences to be part of the course content.

6. Professional education leads to university credit.

> "I strongly believe the teachers should have their
> B Ed before they start teaching."
>   (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Educational systems are staffed by individuals with qualifications from universities. This is a reality. While southern-based education must be adapted to Nunavut and the expertise of elders and unilingual Inuit used in professional education, Nunavut educators have the right to access university level education to the graduate level. The Certificate in Northern and Native Education and the McGill B Ed presently enable Inuit to access university level education in Nunavut. As more NTEP graduates start teaching they continue to desire credit-based education throughout their teaching careers. Educators from the south are staying in the north and will be needed in the educational system for many more years. Many of these educators are committed to northern education and want their studies to be

relevant to the north. The provision of a wider variety of credit-based options is now necessary.

The NWT principal certification program, presently offered each summer by the Department of Education, Culture and Employment, will soon be offered within Nunavut. It is essential that such initiatives involve joint coordination between the Boards of Education and Nunavut Arctic College. In addition, the lack of credit for the Principal Certification needs to be addressed. Tying School Community Counselor training to credit-based teacher education also needs to be considered. SCCs are requesting more inservice education and are interested in pursuing teacher education in order to increase their professional competence. This may help to address the need for credit-based opportunities at the community level.

Provide university credit for purposes of scholarity.

"We need training to earn more money."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Nunavut educators, particularly those who are Inuit, face severe obstacles in accessing the kind of professional growth opportunities available to southern Canadians. Inuit express concerns about their ability to continue credit-based learning once they graduate from NTEP. Though we may object to the way academic knowledge is privileged over traditional knowledge, years of university education are rewarded on a salary scale that extends to seven years of academic, university education.

Access to credit-based courses, and consequently professional equality with their peers in the south, is important to Nunavut educators. They can also benefit from participation in various communities of learners around a variety of disciplines. Failure to provide credit-based educational opportunities means that some Nunavut educators may not be able to access

the financial rewards associated with scholarity as well as access to knowledge which can enable them to participate in a wider society. This has consequences for professional growth, financial status and class differences in schools. A system committed to educating Inuit must continue to provide access to professional opportunities at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

To believe that the provision of educational leave is sufficient in enabling Inuit to complete their B Ed degrees is to fail to recognize the obstacles that face educators, many of whom are women. Professional education must be available at the community level if it is to be accessible; time must be available to complete coursework and educators must be able to take courses without losing their salaries. This is the only realistic way to address the needs of educators, particularly for the many Inuit educators teaching in Nunavut schools.

Continue the relationship with McGill.

A relationship between McGill University and NTEP has developed over the last eighteen years through the implementation of the two-year Certificate in Native and Northern Education, the B Ed program, and the new M Ed program. Relationships with universities take time to develop, provided ongoing support is available and flexibility is evident, it is probably expedient to continue negotiating with McGill for other options at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

This is not a popular recommendation in the Department of Education, Culture and Employment where McGill is seen as collecting fees but offering very little in return. Indeed, that view is being shared by more and more Nunavut educators, including members of the Pauqatigiit Committee. The Department would like to see other universities approached

in order to make some comparisons related to costs and the kind of support and programs that might be available. McGill University may not be the best available source at this time; however, it takes time and a great deal of negotiation to investigate some of these possibilities. The issue requires extended discussion and thorough investigation because students presently pay double fees for all courses. Fees are paid to both Nunavut Arctic College and to McGill with neither institution being willing to consider transfer credits or other options that might end this practice. In the future, when the Nunavut Arctic College becomes a degree granting institution, this issue will be resolved.

Explore a variety of university level options in professional education.

The expansion of the range and variety of university level opportunities available in Nunavut needs to be a primary consideration. At present most courses are offered at the B Ed level or lower, and do not necessarily lead to any post-graduate certificates, diplomas, or degrees. Most people acquire individual courses that do not relate to each other in any coherent way. There is a need to develop some postgraduate options which relate primarily to education in Nunavut. The courses in such options need to be broadly based, linked to Inuit philosophy, and world-view and be developed primarily by Inuit educators. Suggestions for credit-based options to be explored over the next five years include:

- More courses in Inuit Culture and Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun—Possibly using existing courses at NTEP and the Inuit Studies Certificate developed by Nunavut Arctic College;
- Courses related to Inclusive Education—Providing more skills in meeting the needs of all children in school and including courses in multi-level instruction, student evaluation, and social and emotional

development. Some of these courses are available at the B Ed level and could be brought together with other courses to become a Certificate in Nunavut Education;

• Courses in Educational Leadership—Designed for all educators but particularly those individuals interested in leadership and administration within the school system;

• Masters Program in Inuit Education—A long-term goal designed specifically to look at issues in Inuit education from the perspective of practicing educators.

Working within the framework of existing programs as much as possible will make it easier to access a variety of credit-based options through McGill and adapt them to the needs in Nunavut. Existing courses can be rewritten to reflect educator priorities as well as current practice. Starting new initiatives in a time of fiscal restraint will be difficult. The necessity of using courses already available through NTEP must be fully explored before other opportunities can be made available in the system.

The value of involving groups of highly skilled Nunavut educators in revising and developing NTEP courses to ensure they meet educator needs has not been fully explored. Establishing a core of courses at the B Ed level to be developed by Nunavut educators and then offered in communities has tremendous potential. Options such as this foster communication between NTEP and the schools and help to combine expertise at the school level with expertise at NTEP and southern institutions. These courses might include options such as:

• Cultural Knowledge in Nunavut Schools—Providing opportunities to learn a range of cultural skills in more detail than is usually possible in a workshop.

- Educational Issues in Nunavut Schools—Exploring issues of bilingualism, Inuit-based learning, student evaluation, and multi-level instruction.

- Working Together in Nunavut Schools—Considering initiatives in team planning and teaching, problem solving, cross-cultural communication, and conflict resolution.

- Meeting the Needs of All Students in Nunavut Classrooms—A course which provides practical skills in using multi-level instruction, adapted instruction, concepts of multiple intelligence, centres, cooperative learning, and small group work.

These options, while very general, may prove to be practical vehicles for the first steps in a Pauqatigiit initiative. It is better to start with simple options that can actually be implemented with existing resources, than to design elaborate plans that require the infusion of money, time, and expertise that is not readily available.

7.   Professional education is practically focused.

"...ideas about the nature of educational theory
are always ideas about the nature of educational practice..."
(Carr, 1995, p. 41)

The practice versus theory debate may be based on false premises and false dichotomies that have plagued teacher education for years. That educational practice is informed by theory, even when it is assumed and not clearly articulated, has been suggested by many educators such as Joseph Schawb (1971, 1973, 1983), Ann Lieberman (1979, 1991), Max Van Mannen (1990, 1991), and Donald Schön (1983, 1987). The writing of these researchers and theoreticians has provided the impetus for a whole movement in school

and classroom-based research and reflective practice. The benefits of examining practice to uncover theory, as well as the advantages of critically reflecting on practice, are well-supported in literature relating to professional education. This means that courses should use the experience of participants as well as their current practice as key elements in considering and examining particular approaches and strategies that might be used in classrooms. In meeting needs, it is important that a focus on practical learning is not dismissed because of concerns that it amounts to nothing more that a set of activities or superficial experiences. In discussing practice in Pauqatigiit, the intention is not to provide tricks of the trade but to focus on informed, critically examined practice that has as its roots powerful theories of education, formulated by educational philosophers such as John Dewey (1938). This orientation is critically pragmatic in that it values practice while at the same time subjecting it to scrutiny (Cherryholmes, 1988). Rather than a bandwagon approach it suggests that innovation be examined carefully to determine its merits and applicability within the professional life of each educator.

Practicing educators facing the daily challenge of the classroom want to learn skills, approaches, and ideas that make a difference for students. This is not a simple request for a "bag of tricks". A bag of tricks when looked at carefully is the accumulation of years of trial and error in a classroom and usually involves a great deal of thought at some stage in its development. To devalue practical knowledge is to deny that teaching is a practical art based on deeply held theoretical understanding. Practice is inextricably linked to theory. Educators constantly reflect on their practice though it may not be in a focused, deliberate, and clearly articulated way. The process of reflecting and refining ideas polishes practice. A very skilled teacher may not be conscious of

her decisions and actions. Providing time for reflection, feedback, and brainstorming are important in bringing a critical focus to classroom practice. Professional dialogue can have a very significant impact on teachers and their practice.

Focus on the world of the classroom and the realities encountered by educators.

"I need more practical courses."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The improvement of skills related to professional practice needs to be the specific focus of any initiative in professional development. This means that excellent practitioners should be involved in developing, offering, and supporting the process of professional growth. Many of these teachers have been identified by name in one of the questions on the survey. Using these talented northern teachers, who work with students on a daily basis, will help to bring a practical, relevant focus to professional education. Linking professional development to classroom practice is essential if confidence and teaching skills are to improve significantly. The concept of team teaching or shared teaching, as long as it involves high levels of trust, would enable colleagues to provide feedback to each other as they teach.

Provide regular reflection time for educators.
"Where teachers were encouraged to reflect-in-action, the meaning of 'good teaching' and 'a good classroom' would become topics of urgent institutional concern."
(Schön, 1983, p. 335)

Reflection is essential in any process of change. Professional educators need time to engage in a process of critical reflection and informed practice, and require opportunities to both experiment with and reflect on their

teaching in order for changes in professional practice to take place. As one educator stated: "I feel I need training less than I need time — time to read, to plan, to see the big picture" (Nunavut Educator, 1994). Changes in professional practice occur slowly over years of teaching and dialogue with colleagues. Maintaining professional journals, building reflection time into staff meetings, and sharing professional reading can facilitate thinking which contributes to professional growth. School leaders who are conscious of this need can help to provide this time to educators as part of the school day.

8. Long-term career development needs to be a focus for Nunavut educators.

> "The teachers should continue taking courses
> and wanting to learn."
> <div align="right">(Nunavut Educator, 1994)</div>

Provide opportunities for dialogue and reflection related to educators' careers.

At its best, career planning involves a clear articulation of personal and professional values and beliefs followed by decision-making related to teaching and professional learning. Career planning has the potential to help an individual identify a variety of professional possibilities they might not otherwise consider. At its worst, career planning can be an artificial, superficial, and unrealistic process utilizing southern based measurement tools that have little relevance in the lives of educators, particularly those who teach in Nunavut communities. It may be unrealistic to expect community-based career development to be available to Nunavut educators within the next few years; however, there is a great need to focus on more long-term professional learning in order to help educators identify specific needs as well as provide information related to the development of relevant

educational opportunities in the future.

While individual growth plans might help Nunavut educators appreciate their skills and articulate their career aspirations more clearly, they can easily become intrusive, mechanistic, and potentially manipulative, reducing the professional practice of an educator to a checklist and the discussion of professional learning to the technically rational level. In many cases individual growth plans that are tied into a process of supervision and evaluation have the potential to become either professionally rewarding or coercive and demeaning, depending on the sensitivity, awareness, and skills of the individuals holding positions in the educational hierarchy. These are important considerations when any growth planning is used with staff.

At present, some educators, particularly those working in entry level positions in the schools, are not fully aware of the opportunities they can access or the choices that may be available in their professional lives. Time limitations may prevent discussions of professional education needs with new staff. As with all aspects of professional growth, there is a significant difference between self-directed learning and learning which is directed for us by others. Provided career development remains a self-directed process it has potential within Pauqatigiit.

A more coordinated approach to professional education might enable educators in training to pursue opportunities for further development on their own. Ownership of professional development is essential but not a simple matter to organize. Starting a process of reflection in the schools and at NTEP may help to gradually address this need over a period of several years. In the past, educators have enrolled in courses at NTEP without an awareness of teacher education as a whole. Government programs have sometimes taken away decision-making and control from Inuit educators and required

them to participate in training that was not fully understood. Pauqatigiit,

while providing access to more opportunities, needs to (a) promote educator

awareness of involvement in an educational process, (b) provide

information, (c) leave the decision-making to individuals themselves.

Anticipated Results of Implementation

"There is substantial evidence that professional development programs can make a difference—that teachers can and often do, experience significant changes in their professional knowledge base and instructional practices."
(Borko and Putnam, 1995, p. 60)

What are the results to be expected from a more coordinated approach

in professional development? Will these opportunities make a difference in

the quality of education provided to the students in Nunavut schools? The

following changes can potentially take place if Pauqatigiit actually addresses

educator needs, provides opportunities for the development of practical

skills, and fully engages educators in a process of critical reflection about their

own work.

Growth of knowledge, understanding and skills.

"Education is an ongoing process. By selecting this profession
I should hope that teachers see the need to
continually improve, upgrade and educate themselves."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Adult learners need more opportunities to understand knowledge and

interpret it based on their own experiences. Enabling individuals to access

practically focused, credit-based education at the community level throughout

their careers creates the possibility for knowledge and skills to develop over

many years. These opportunities need to be tied to classroom practice with

colleagues to create dialogue and reflection related to professional growth. The very process of being involved in long-term learning experiences will increase knowledge related to the complex, virtually unlimited world of teaching.

As more Inuit educators become involved in this process, they will be able to constantly renew their professional skills and knowledge. The value of such an initiative can hardly be measured when it involves providing educational opportunities to individuals who in turn provide learning experiences directly to students in classrooms. Parents want teachers to be informed, thinking, caring human beings who help students acquire academic skills, discover themselves, and find their way in the world. Critical literacy is an essential skill in a society that is inundated with competing values and choices. Only those who are educated to weave their way through this web of learning can in turn help students. Pauqatigiit is based on fundamental concepts of education including the ability to ask questions, interrogate educational rhetoric and ideology, and construct meaning in negotiated processes with colleagues, students, parents and the public. Denying educators access to knowledge and reflection may render them incapable of educating the children who are the future of Nunavut.

Improved teaching.

> "Some are still teaching in the way they used to teach.
> And teaching the same thing over and over again.
> e.g. record player playing over and over again."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Commitment to improving teaching practice is a basic principle for Pauqatigiit. The major purpose of professional growth is improved professional practice which in turn leads to improvements in students' learning. It is anticipated that if Pauqatigiit is implemented in keeping with

the desires and aspirations of educators, and opportunities for ongoing interaction with colleagues are made available, then improvements in teaching will result.

Improved morale.

> "Teachers are exhausted. They are not social workers
> and behaviour specialists."
> — Nunavut Educator, 1994

The Pauqatigiit needs assessment clearly indicates that educators experience almost overwhelming challenges in their daily work. We have seen that Nunavut educators want to learn more about dealing with the stress in their lives. Many educators referred to problems related to morale. For example:

● "...the demands on teachers are much greater here as is the resultant stress and fatigue."

● "I tend to overwork because I find a teacher's work is never done. This is burning me out....This is the first time in my teaching career where I feel really empty."

● "Teachers need affirmation....We spend a lot of time giving affirmation to students. I think the Boards needs to be attentive to providing this kind of affirmation to teachers and administrators."

Pauqatigiit advocates the creation of teacher-centered schools where trust, respect, and acceptance create the conditions for professional growth. This kind of caring school climate can make a real difference in the lives of educators. Pauqatigiit provides educators with new understanding and skills to manage the challenges in the classroom, but it can also provide time to talk about frustrations, take care of themselves, and develop strategies to solve

problems in a proactive rather than reactive manner. This will improve morale as well as teaching. Professional competence increases professional and personal confidence and with it the self-esteem and sense of control that educators need in their lives. Ann Lieberman (1994, p. 17) states,

> In more collaborative settings teachers reported that teaching is a complex craft with professional learning as an unending process. In isolated settings with little principal support, barriers to collaboration and limited collective goals, teachers reported that their professional learning was limited to the first two years of teaching.

Maintaining high morale may be one of the first and most worthwhile results if Pauqatigiit is implemented as it was conceived, that is with goodwill and a desire to help Nunavut educators improve their professional practice.

Increased resources at the community level.

> "There would be many more trained teachers
> if training is done in the communities."
> (Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The implementation of these suggestions may see the development of Teaching and Learning Centres in each school, increased expertise at the community level and the development of improved technology and resources related to the professional development of teachers. This supports the Department of Education, Culture and Employment's strategic plan, People: Our Focus for the Future (1994), and enables communities to function more independently in the future. It builds expertise and confidence at the local level and enables educators to take control of their schools and their professional learning.

The amalgamation of NTEP and the three TLCs to create a new structure closely reflects Administrative Structure Recommendation 11 in Learning Tradition and Change (GNWT, 1982, pp. 62-63). This

Recommendation, now fifteen years old, has never been implemented. It suggests the creation of two Centres for Teaching and Learning: one in the Western Arctic and another in the east, which is soon to be Nunavut. The Recommendation states, "We believe that program development, support services and staff training will be most effective if the persons responsible for them have a voice in the establishment of priorities and policies" (p. 62). This is not elaborated very much and while it states, "Each centre will serve all the schools and residents within its region", the details remain quite vague. The Centres are to be run by a board of directors which includes, "The Deputy Minister of Education, the superintendents of education from each divisional board of education within its region and the principals of the Arctic College" (p. 62). Among other responsibilities, the Centres were expected to:

- prepare programs of study for K-10 and adult education;
- test new programs of study;
- train teaching staff in the methodology required for the implementation of new programs;
- supervise the initial phases of a new program's implementation;
- conduct educational research.

No in-depth discussions relating to these Centres has ever taken place within Nunavut. When reminded of Recommendation 11, virtually everyone who worked in the Eastern Arctic at that time declares it is a shame that it was not implemented. Considerable support for the concept exists within NTEP and the TLCs themselves, as well as at the administrative levels in the Divisional Boards, the Nunavut Arctic College, and the Department of Education, Culture and Employment. The building of trust, communication, and dialogue around the concept of expanding the mandate of Centres for

Teaching and Learning needs to become a focus for Pauqatigiit development over the next year. As this dialogue takes place it will be essential that educators are truly represented. All too often energies are focused on creating the structures that create bureaucracy, policies, and the other trappings of government, rather than on creating ownership and involvement within the system.

Conclusion

The Pauqatigiit story is taking place in the real world of Nunavut. It is an active, complex, living, evolving educational change influenced by political realities, changing power structures, and the individuals who take part in the range of discourses which surround the initiative. At times the story is confusing, even disheartening. This is usually related to the departure of an important voice from the Committee or to one of the many misunderstandings which can take place when communicating across regions and between agencies and schools that are so far apart.

The story is also uplifting and inspiring. These moments are usually related to the synergy which inevitably results when the Committee members get together to renew their commitment and make plans for each period of time. It is inspiring to see agencies with different mandates, different views about professional education and many reservations about the possibilities for partnerships, coming together to create new possibilities for the future. It is always easier to accept the bureaucratic boundaries, to stay within the conventions and limitations prescribed by policy and legislation, and to maintain the status quo. The change process involved in Pauqatigiit is very slow but it is gradually breaking down the boundaries that exist between

agencies. As I write the conclusion to this section of the dissertation it is June, 1997. Spring has arrived in the Eastern Arctic and the long days of sunshine bring new hope. The Pauqatigiit Committee is reorganized, the partners have renewed their financial and ideological commitment to the principles established for Pauqatigiit, and we are gathering strength for the Fall. Change is not easy but it is certainly possible. In the words of Nunavut educators, "Sivumut", let us move forward and onward together.

Part Two

Exploring Major Themes in Professional Education in Nunavut

Prologue

Themes in Part Two

In examining several themes that constitute dominant influences on professional education in Nunavut today, the second part of this dissertation considers aspects of professional education that influence educators' thinking and behavior. These themes include the hegemony of staff development, the culture of schools, the post-colonial world of Nunavut, critical reflection, ownership of professional education, ethical practices in professional education, and conceptions of freedom which consider space, voice, and community.

In many of the approaches inherent in these themes, it is evident that educators can become the objects of reform efforts located outside the schools. Approaches, even those disguised as empowering, frequently maintain the existing power structures. Other approaches, including ethically based, culturally relevant professional education, have relevance for Nunavut and form important elements in a theoretical framework for professional education.

Part Two of the dissertation is not limited to a discussion of professional education. Pauqatigiit involves work in schools that are located in a significantly different cultural and historical context. The school system in Nunavut is struggling to actualize a vision of Inuit education which means that what happens in the south is often questioned, or simply ignored because there are more important local issues to address. Nunavut schools are immersed in huge challenges and northern realities which differ in many

ways from those encountered in other school systems. Exploring the teacher education literature, as it relates to and is affected by this different cultural context, usually means that even when ideas are very valuable and interesting, they need to be examined, adapted, and explored from a northern and an Inuit perspective. This necessity is stated frequently throughout this section and adds a further dimension to my critique.

Professional education can no longer be viewed as a fix-it kit designed for educators by others, but neither can it become a bogus collaborative venture which sees reformers or academic researchers gaining personal credibility from their empowering work with educators in schools.

Educator control of professional education remains the central theme in Pauqatigiit. As such it needs to disrupt the hegemony of staff development, to question the control of politicians, policy-makers, and some academic researchers, and to question the entire organization of the professional knowledge industry that presently holds teachers in its grip. It also requires that educators establish ethical professional education practices. This dissertation outlines an approach to professional learning which calls for changes in the organization of education so that all educators will have more time to think, read, write, plan, discuss, dialogue, critique, and experiment with a wide variety of theories and approaches in education. It suggests a leveling of the knowledge hierarchy to enable teachers to more readily access the privileges of the academy and help them become the generators of their own versions of the truth. These changes are seen as contributing to the development of a more ethically based school system.

Based on my belief in the strength and insight of some of the individuals who presently hold positions of power in Nunavut, I nurture a hope that this dream might actually become a reality. As one Inuit teacher

who works in a Nunavut classroom states,

> "We must teach our northern educators to become independent
> thinkers and learners - in turn they will teach the children to become
> independent thinkers" (Nunavut Educator, 1994).

Chapter Four

The Hegemony of Staff Development

"The same economic ideology that is driving the global economy
is pushing the goal of universal education to the
bottom of the political agenda."
(Barlow & Robertson, 1994, p. 165)

The Business of Staff Development

In the United States staff development in education is a huge business. All kinds of packages are available on video or in binders, and inspirational speakers guarantee magical workshops to transform the practices of the nation's teachers. Staff development is marketed as a product to teachers, teacher educators, and administrators. Professional learning is a valuable commodity to be sold in a market economy. The knowledge 'industry' is not a misnomer in the case of staff development and analyzing the market can tell us a great deal about the world of educational reform.

The Twenty Fifth Anniversary edition of the Journal of Staff Development was published in the Fall of 1994, just as Pauqatigiit started. The topic boldly displayed on the front cover was Results-Oriented Staff Development. The Executive Director of the National Staff Development Council, Dennis Sparks, had written an article called, A Paradigm Shift in Staff Development, subtitled, "Results-driven education, systems thinking and constructivism are producing profound changes in how staff development is conceived and implemented". It seemed to me that he had managed to put all the latest trends in bed with each other in one sentence, thereby supporting, endorsing, and influencing the staff development market and reflecting the latest bandwagons in education.

Looking through the journal almost three years ago, I idly wondered if I needed to become a more effective presenter by purchasing the boldly advertised Facilitator's Fun Kit. The entertainment of teachers appeared to be more important than promoting thinking. I paused to ponder the words "results-driven", seeing its link to the back to the basics movement which influences school reform efforts in the United States. Results are very important in a time of educational cutbacks when everyone is fighting to save their programs. Results are very important for people like Dennis Sparks who must walk a fine line with respect to the political will of advertisers and readers. The journal must reflect just enough of the prevailing neo-conservative agenda so it won't lose those who find its messages appealing. At the same time, it must reflect the liberal agenda of progressivism which uses words like student-centered, democracy, equality, and diversity. The Journal certainly can't afford to become too politically radical for fear of losing more conservative readers but it does need to maintain a tiny hint of activism to appeal to educators who support social justice agendas. This is the balancing act that is involved in marketing education in North America. One needs to read the politicians, the funding agencies, the researchers, and the readers and reflect views in such a way as to stay in business. As a result, the Staff Development Journal and many texts that are aimed at the mainstream educational market uncritically reflect and maintain popular trends in North American educational thinking. They are like the mirrors of the system. New research findings and ideas are usually written up with utter conviction, as if they were absolutely right, not as if they were just opinions to be considered among other evolving perspectives.

This is not the evil empire, of course, and Sparks is not just a puppet

responding to the winds which blow from Washington, Harvard, or California. He is; however, influenced by those winds and his job is to reflect current trends back to the readers of the Staff Development Journal. This rather simplistic analysis of one mainstream journal does not mean that the individuals involved in researching, writing, and marketing are deliberately manipulating our minds. Most individuals sharing their ideas and insights with other educators are providing valuable information to teachers working in classrooms. Aspects of student-centered learning, whole language, cooperative learning, authentic assessment, and professional education itself are inherently valuable. However, something seems to happen to these good ideas in a market economy. They turn into bandwagons very quickly and otherwise intelligent educators seem to become zealots and consumers in an endless parade of well-intentioned reforms.

Researchers and writers whose ideas are successfully turned into products are unlikely to turn around and critique the marketing of their own work, even as it is over simplified, misunderstood, and carelessly implemented. Academics and researchers are susceptible to market forces and can be swept up by new changes, advocating them with conviction and zeal, particularly when they believe they are critically important for teachers. Educators working at the system level are always anxious to provide the best possible information and programs to teachers. If constructivism is hot, then it is important that teachers are aware of this. Failing to reflect current trends means teachers in your system are denied access to important information. It becomes critically important to not hop only on bandwagons at just the right time, but also be ready to hop off them very quickly so you are not caught holding a behaviorist banner when everyone who knows better has started waving cognitive banners and then quickly moved on to take up

constructivist banners as fast as they can.

The hegemonic nature of the marketing of reform movements guarantees that these changes of opinion are seen as natural progress and inherently good, not simply as part of an endless consumption of educational goods and services which reflect global consumerism in general. Research and academic writing are just as vulnerable to consumerism as any other endeavor (Lather 1991; Barlow & Robertson, 1994), particularly as public funding of institutions shrinks in response to neo-conservative, market driven ideology.

The combination of big names, educational rhetoric, and bold advertising in the Journal of Staff Development made me feel that I had stumbled into a kind of Disneyland of professional education. Staff development was portrayed as the missing link in the reform efforts of the last twenty years. "Never before in the history of education has there been greater recognition of the importance of professional development. Every proposal to reform, restructure, or transform schools emphasizes professional development as a primary vehicle in efforts to bring about needed changes" (Guskey, 1994, p. 42). It seemed that after several years of stressing educational leadership as the key to change in schools, teachers' work with students was now viewed as the real answer to changing schools.

These articles made me wonder very seriously if I had entered a business which actually focused on teacher manipulation. The rhetoric and hype in the Journal of Staff Development left me with a sinking feeling that this whole staff development movement was the cleverly constructed, psychologically well-informed machine of the reformers, providing the ultimate answers to bringing recalcitrant, stuck-in-the-mud educators in line with current thinking. This was powerful stuff, bold and appealing. It had a

dangerous quality and I approached it warily, skeptically, and suspiciously

with a conviction that underneath the rhetoric lay issues of power-knowledge

and the inevitable pursuit of the almighty dollar.

Ken Zeichner (1996, p. 200) says,

> The selling of educational solutions and gimmicks, what Canadians
> Massey and Chamberlain have referred to as 'snake oil' staff
> development, is still big business today in many parts of the world
> despite all that reform literature has told us over the last 30 years about
> the futility of attempting to reform schools when teachers are treated
> merely as passive implementors of ideas conceived elsewhere (e.g.
> Fullan 1991; McLaughlin, 1987).

Journals are one of the major vehicles for disseminating change in the

educational field. Like all industries they thrive on changing trends because

they must keep the readership entertained and knowledgeable. Journals and

the publishing industry are constantly hungry for the next big idea.

Researchers, anxious to build their reputations and further their own

agendas, are usually ready to supply articles and books promoting new ideas

in education. Academics and researchers, by definition, are required to

generate ideas and publish them if they are to survive in their own business.

Sometimes unwittingly academics become a vital part of the snake oil staff

development industry. Once this occurs they are unlikely to raise serious

doubts about the way their ideas may be disseminated, understood, and

implemented in classrooms and schools.

Cooperative learning, particularly the Johnson and Johnson variety,

provides a good example. The Johnsons tried to retain control of their

product, but nevertheless, what started as a valuable approach in education is

now marketed to such an extent that it is becoming limiting and rigid,

actually turning students' intrinsic desires to work together into an artificial,

carefully controlled manipulation which means that cooperative learning is

in danger of becoming another technically rational change in classrooms.

Those who critique snake oil staff development, and Ken Zeichner is a good example, may sound too radical for the mainstream and as a result their critical work is not as widely read as those who are prepared to step into the mainstream business. Critical educators often play the role of party poopers, blowing whistles just when everyone is having fun, reminding us that there are issues of much greater importance than the latest trend or personal academic reputations at stake in the education business.

Michael Apple calls the preface to his new book "cranky" (Apple, 1996, xviii). Tom Popkewitz also sounds quite cranky when he argues for autonomy and humility as necessary conditions for the engagement of intellectuals in public debates. He states, "A predominant battle of intellectuals is to maintain (or create) autonomy to challenge the regimes of truth and world-making images, including those of the intellectual" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 242). It seems that a certain crankiness is an inevitable outcome of many years of battling to encourage people to develop a more critical perspective and think before they are swept away by reform.

Educators and Snake Oil Staff Development

Educators working in schools are frequently the recipients - some might say victims - of snake oil staff development. They are rarely the generators of educational knowledge and new ideas, though it seems reasonable to assume that they are just as intellectually capable, discriminating, and probably more practically skilled than those who write about education as their main business. Teachers just don't have access to the same kind of academic capital or the freedom to research, write, and publish

as do academics. Though more individuals working in schools with students are now publishing in journals, they do not have the same credibility in an industry which places knowledge from the academy at the top of the pyramid. Teachers who manage to publish in journals are often furthering the agenda of a researcher who has kindly taken them under the paternal or maternal protection offered by a particular bandwagon. Teachers continue to represent the silenced and silent majority in many educational reforms. Their confinement in schools guarantees that they are unlikely to gain the knowledge required to ensure that their voices are heard in the academic discourse communities where many trends and movements start. Individuals who complete their apprenticeships in university contexts, with academics who promote their students' work, can sometimes have their voices heard but by then these individuals often join the ranks of those who work in the academy and may no longer represent teachers' voices. This is a very serious problem and one that needs to be addressed with any efforts to enable teachers to gain more power within the larger educational sphere. Teachers are perceived as apolitical and Maud Barlow and Heather-Jane Robertson address that perception when they speak directly to teachers in Class Warfare:

> You need to push the edges of your competency and test your political power in the interests of your students....Take some risks on behalf of your students and in the name of your profession....If you believe, as we do, that public education is at risk, you must take a stand, however and wherever you can. This will be hard for you because you are a professional who has not regarded politics as germane to your work.
> (1994, pp. 237-238)

Given the changes in public education in Canada, documented and predicted by Barlow and Robertson, recognizing and refusing snake oil staff development seems like a relatively tame agenda for teachers. The way staff

development operates; however, is part and parcel of the same political process which legitimates the free market economy in education. Ensuring that teachers remain apolitical, passive recipients of reforms and educational ideas is essential in ensuring that they remain powerless in resisting the sweeping educational changes that are taking place across the country. Using everything from guilt to professionalism as a rationale, the individuals who market reform are skilled at appealing to the individuals who represent the purchasing power in the school system: administrators, consultants, and staff developers. In turn these individuals put pressure on teachers to adopt the latest reform. Innovation addiction (Aldeman & Walking Eagle, 1997, p. 100), is established. Teachers have very little time to think, organize their defenses, or actively resist. Cutting salaries and benefits puts teachers in a defensive position and draws attention away from ideology. In the end many educators just give up and feel helpless.

Researchers and academics who share their access to academic capital with teachers can promote a more critical understanding of hegemony which enables educators to understand their context in a different way. Until educators working in schools wake up and realize that they can easily become pawns in the educational business, the hegemony of staff development will continue to sustain the big business of professional education.

Skepticism as Survival in Professional Education

In the Fall of 1994 I wondered where I would find the serious literature. The kind of writing that asked important questions about teachers' struggles to understand their very difficult and demanding professional lives and reflected teachers' concerns rather than the agenda of restructuring and

educational reform. As I read through the articles in the Staff Development Journal I began to realize that underneath the jargon there were some very serious messages. I was pleased to read that Elmore and McLaughlin (1988), had discovered that, "reforms based on assumptions of uniformity in the educational system repeatedly failed" (Guskey, 1994, p. 43).

McLaughlin (1991), Sparks & Loucks-Horsely (1989), Hall & Loucks (1978), and Weatherly & Lipsky (1977), all seemed to agree that "professional development processes, regardless of their form ... must be not only relevant to teachers, but must directly address their needs and concerns" (Guskey, 1994, p. 44).

Michael Fullan, in an oblique critique of staff development, stated "It is still too divorced from the life of organizations, not yet 'organically connected' to everyday work. The relationship between staff development and the development of collaborative work cultures is still weak". He then goes on to ironically warn, "As long as we maintain our self-critical stance — and it would be ironic if staff developers fail to do so — we should be able to redefine our future" (1994, p. 6). Is he suggesting that staff developers are not sufficiently critical? Does he believe that the future is sometimes defined for staff developers and for teachers? Is Fullan one of the biggest names in the staff development business, defining our future for us as we gobble up his words? Are we all just waiting like sheep for the next hot topic to fall from his pen, or the pens of other big names? Are Fullan and his colleagues reflecting trends or suggesting trends? Fullan is now featured as one of those magical speakers, marketed as a guru in the educational knowledge industry. Having read Fullan's work for almost twenty years I wonder if he worries about this big business in which he is now a leading figure. Where does he, or any of the other big names in the staff development business, stand with

respect to the neo-conservative agenda of reform which espouses the privatization of education and justifies the marketing of professional education? Do the big names in the staff development business ever feel that they are sacrificing their academic integrity, or do they believe they are actually helping educators to become more critical and powerful in their resistance to the hegemony of staff development?

Cleo Cherryholmes (1995, p. 162), in discussing the paradoxes present in some of Fullan's writing about educational change states, "It is not clear where he stands on these matters". He also wonders if Fullan's "discussion of professionalism ignores the operation of power through professional structures and subjectivities" (1995, p. 161). Regardless of the answers to my questions, or to Cherryholmes' well founded concerns, I was glad to see Fullan demonstrating healthy, though guarded, skepticism towards the staff development industry. I am hopeful that he and other big names in the business can stand back from their own success to ensure that teachers in schools and classrooms are actually supported by their research and writing.

The most important support that an academic can offer educators involves raising questions and fostering skepticism. That is a specifically political process. I feel that until major figures in the teacher development field, individuals like Michael Fullan, Andy Hargreaves, Linda Darling-Hammond, and Ann Lieberman publicly declare that teacher development involves thinking and is a political process, then, in spite of their valuable work, they may be contributing to the dumbing down of teachers that maintains their role as consumers rather than as thoughtful critics in the staff development business.

Tom Guskey has cautioned that staff development approaches need to be "carefully, sensibly and thoughtfully applied in a particular setting" (1994,

p. 48). It is evident that many of the writers themselves have very serious reservations about the field and see the dangers inherent in trigger-happy solutions to the complex work of professional education.

In working my way through many of the texts in the staff development field I have slowly started to gain some insight into some of the major issues and themes in the literature as they impact on Pauqatigiit and our work in Nunavut. I have also started to realize more and more that this huge volume of writing represents a powerful hegemony within the world of professional education. It controls a multi-million dollar business, advocates certain approaches over others, and acts as the sponsor for particular researchers and their viewpoints. It helps to build, create, and sustain regimes of truth about how educators learn, change and understand their world.

The Journal of Staff Development is only one of many publications that supports thousands of individuals who hold positions as staff developers in school systems across North America.

In accepting an invitation to help the Nunavut Boards of Education to look at an initiative in staff development, I was stepping into a field I did not understand. As a school board administrator I had supported a variety of educational changes. The Baffin Divisional Board of Education had done and dropped Madeline Hunter. It led the field in inclusive education and integrated curriculum development. It adopted whole language and published Inuktitut books. The Board had ridden the educational leadership wave, promoted cooperative learning, started to use authentic assessment, and continues to pursue the implementation of culturally based learning and bilingual education. It is only in the last two years; however, since becoming involved in Pauqatigiit and finding time to read carefully, that I actually started to critically analyze the process of reform for myself. In trying to

identify and understand that part of the educational field labeled 'staff development' I discovered just how much rhetoric and superficiality is involved in promoting trends in education. I became more critically literate as I struggled to understand the research. My own learning and growing understanding made me wonder how other educators might be able to find the time to read and become critics rather than consumers of their own professional learning.

Staff developers, administrators, curriculum coordinators, and consultants play a very important role in this particular area of the educational knowledge industry. They are the people who often bridge the gap between the academy and the schools. They staff professional development schools, teacher centres, departments of education, and board offices. They are often the people who use their budgets to buy the products and hire the speakers that carry trends into the school systems. They attend conferences, conduct workshops, prepare newsletters, bring committees of educators together, and support teachers in schools. Many of these individuals are fine teachers, chosen to lead other teachers because they are excellent teachers themselves. I suspect that staff developers, for example, are often enthusiastic, intelligent people who are quite capable of successfully riding bandwagons. They are probably smart enough to realize that denouncing the very bandwagons that provide them with privileged positions within the system might involve cutting their own throats, doing themselves out of jobs, and taking away the very power they have carefully accumulated through many years in the knowledge industry. My cynicism is showing and I need to state that I am a staff developer myself and have been for years. I have supported and helped many, many teachers to face huge challenges in the classroom. I have helped them to understand whole

language, bilingual education, integrated curriculum, inclusive education, cooperative learning, and a host of other approaches. I have acted as a kind of broker between the world of the academy and the world of the school. I have accessed and accumulated academic knowledge as a doctoral student and used it to promote the things that I believe about education, but I have only recently realised the kind of privilege and power that this involves. I can now choose to use my knowledge to maintain and strengthen my position in the industry, or I can do something different. I can choose to carefully examine and critique the very industry that I am a part of. I can unmask some of its hegemony and discuss some of the themes in the professional education business from a more critical and skeptical perspective. This is the choice open to all the individuals who hold positions outside the classroom, particularly those granted the time to read, research, and publish.

Pauqatigiit has paved the way for the development of a healthy skepticism by declaring its commitment to upholding the teacher's perspective and its determination to ensure that professional education in Nunavut is actually managed and directed by educators. If the Pauqatigiit principles have any real meaning for me, as a coordinator and researcher, I am ethically obliged to try and look at the hegemony of staff development from a teacher's perspective. Ethical practice requires a skeptical, critical approach.

Chapter Five

Change and the Culture of Schools

"As an outsider you are pretty much on thin ice.
One should immerse themselves into the community
and familiarize themselves with the people,
and in return it will help them understand
why students behave the way they do."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

The Culture of Schools

This chapter considers the culture of schools both from a mainstream

perspective and from the perspective of culture as it is viewed in Inuuqatigiit

(GNWT, 1996). It adds another dimension to the argument that ethically

based professional education must not only consider and critique mainstream

conceptions of school culture but requires a critical understanding of a

culturally unique and fragile society.

Inuuqatigiit is a curriculum developed by Inuit educators to facilitate

more Inuit-based learning in schools. Inuuqatigiit suggests that both Inuit and

Qallunaat educators have an important role to play in developing a more

culturally relevant way of teaching and learning. Implementing Inuuqatigiit,

Piniaqtavut (BDBE, 1987), and Our Future is Now (BDBE, 1985/1996), all

documents which support Inuit education, require a thorough understanding

of the challenges involved in developing professional education to support a

system that is committed to maintaining Inuit culture and Inuktitut.

The persistent failure of educational change raises huge challenges for

Pauqatigiit and Inuuqatigiit, alerting educators working in Nunavut schools

to the immense difficulties involved in implementing such broad educational innovations. Contemplating the daunting nature of these challenges can easily paralyze any individual who understands what is actually involved in the work. Considering the research on the culture of schools, there is a temptation to simply throw up one's hands and suggest that doing nothing may be a more intelligent response than going forward to failure. Having ventured to start work on Pauqatigiit; however, it is untenable to suggest giving up before really trying.

Many educators in Nunavut are holding onto Inuuqatigiit as if were the last hope for change. Inuit educators, in particular, see Inuuqatigiit as uniquely theirs, the proof that an Inuit education is possible. We must and will go forward. This chapter tries to consider how an understanding of the culture of schools, combined with an understanding of Inuit culture and Inuuqatigiit, can be used to prevent us making serious mistakes as we move forward and implement a change such as Pauqatigiit, which aspires to remain firmly under the direction of educators.

Andy Hargreaves (1994), in his book entitled, Changing Teachers Changing Times, describes the confrontation between the forces of modernism and postmodernism taking place in schools as this millennium closes. He suggests that postmodernism is "characterized by accelerating change, intense compression of time and space, cultural diversity, technological complexity, national insecurity and scientific uncertainty." Hargreaves suggests that modernism is associated with a "monolithic school system that continues to pursue deeply anachronistic purposes within opaque and inflexible structures" (p. 3). While Hargreaves falls into the trap of creating an exaggerated opposition between modernism and postmodernism, his depiction does help us to understand some of the competing agendas that

are present in our schools today. The forces of modernism and postmodernism tend to represent opposing ideologies that struggle for representation in our schools.

Educators, while bombarded on the one hand by the pressures of seemingly relentless change and subjected to the competing agendas of bureaucrats, politicians, reformers, and parents, are to some extent insulated and protected from change by the modernist structures, history, rituals, and cultures of their schools. Schools, even in places like Nunavut, prove time and time again that they can resist change while marching inexorably forward carrying segregated grades, hierarchies of power, compartmentalization of subjects, isolation of teachers, and traditional, transmission-based pedagogy securely on their backs. A consideration of the culture of teaching can help us to understand this strange, invincible world of the school.

Throughout its history teaching involves "social patterns which prevail over a long period of time and encourage vested interests and resistance to change" (Lortie, 1975, p. 17). To be a teacher "is to work in a historically determined context that encourages individualism, isolation, a belief in one's own autonomy and the investment of personal resources" (Nias, 1985, p. 13). Resistance to change is deeply embedded in school life and does not need to express itself politically,

> Teachers will not and cannot be merely told what to do. Subject specialists have tried it. Their attempts and failures I know at first hand. Administrators have tried it. Legislators have tried it. Teachers are not; however, assembly line operators and will not so behave. Further, they have no need, except in rare instances, to fall back on defiance as a way of not heeding. There are thousands of ingenious ways in which commands on how and what to teach can, will and must be modified, or circumvented in the actual moments of teaching. (Schwab, 1983, p. 245)

Sarason writes about the "intractability of our schools with respect to

reform efforts" (1990, p. 2), and <u>In A Place Called School</u>, John Goodlad notes that, "Principals and teachers who do not want what others seek to impose upon them are often extraordinarily adept at nullifying, or defusing practices perceived to be in conflict with prevailing ways of doing things" (1984, p. 16).

In an interview for the Harvard Education Letter (July/August, 1996), later quoted in <u>The Developer</u> (December, 1996, p. 6), Ted Sizer, after devoting twelve years to school reform, expresses his frustration and disappointment with how few schools have been able to break through and make real change. He says, "I was aware that it would be hard, but I was not aware of how hard it would be, how weak the incentives would be, how fierce the opposition would be, often in the form of neglect".

Schools tend to encourage a "behavioural conformity"(Nias, 1985, p. 57), to the existing school culture in very subtle ways that can serve to effectively reject unwanted influences and socialize new educators very quickly and imperceptibly to acceptance of the status quo. Few reformers, curriculum experts, or staff developers have the time or commitment to work directly in classrooms with teachers to implement the kind of changes they recommend, which in essence reduces most of their efforts to "empty rhetoric" (Sarason, 1990, p. 3).

This is a world that manages to sidestep change in spite of the very best efforts of so many government edicts and thoughtful research reports from educational scholars. Some of the reasons for this intractability relate to the past, to a history linked with rationalism, religion, and morality; others relate to the nature of institutions and bureaucracies with their tendency to conservatism, inertia, and apathy; while others relate to the socialization of teachers and the kind of people they are, or are becoming.

The institutional aspects of schooling are well covered in the literature.

Consider the titles of the chapters and sections in Peter McLaren's (1989), book Life in Schools: Broken Dreams, False Promises and the Decline of Public Schooling; The Frontiers of Despair; The Invisible Epidemic. All raise very bleak pictures of our school system. The message carried by Postman and Weingartner (1969, xiii), who say that the institution of school is "inflicted on everybody" is also very depressing. Althusser, (1971, p. 156, quoted in May, 1994, p. 17), said that school is "an apprenticeship in a variety of know-how wrapped up in the massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class". Bowles and Gintis (1976), demonstrated that the schools reflect and maintain the rigid class structures in our society. This perpetuates the inequalities and desperate conditions of some schools in the United States that are documented by Jonathan Kozol (1991). Even John Goodlad (1984, p. 112), calls the classroom "a relatively constrained, confining environment", and in his conclusion to A Place Called School he states, "If a predominance of rote learning, memorization and paper-and-pencil activity is what people have in mind in getting schools back to basics, they should probably rest assured that this is where most classrooms are and always will be" (p. 358).

The influence of school rituals: rules; routines; bells; the monotony of schedules; the roll calls; the lining up of students; the taking turns — all exert a pervasive, controlling influence. Perhaps we can all recall "the denial of desire" (Jackson, 1968/1990, p. 15), involved in the waiting that takes place in classrooms. We can think about the rewards, the punishments, and the "old grind" (Jackson, 1968/1990, p. 4), which may establish a calm, orderly school but also dehumanizes and conditions both teachers and students, stripping them of spontaneity, enthusiasm, connection, and laughter.

Peter McLaren (1986, p. 4), says that a ritual is a "political event" and demonstrated that rituals can become "seedbeds for social change" (p. 12).

McLaren and others have documented the ability of students to resist and successfully undermine some of the oppressive aspects of school as an institution, unfortunately sometimes to their own detriment (Deyhle, 1995; McLaren, 1989; Willis, 1977). However, in spite of resistance theories, a rejection of determinism, and the politics of hope and possibility suggested by Henry Giroux (1986; 1997), the very way that an institution functions, the way school days tend to monotonously replicate themselves, provides security for children and prepares them for accepting the responsibilities of work as it also kills the spirit. Human beings need challenge, variety, excitement, and involvement, or they start to behave automatically and atomistically.

Teachers enter this dangerous institution of school, often filled with idealism and enthusiasm, to face the dilemma of using routines to maintain order and calm at the same time as they try to create rich and challenging days for themselves and the students. These are two sides to the schooling coin: one shiny and promising, the other dull and boring. Unfortunately and all too often, it is the dull and boring side that seems to turn up whenever the coin is tossed, if it is tossed at all. If a teacher's own experiences in school were boring and alienating, then, regardless of their best intentions and dreams, it is much easier to replicate the same patterns of teacher behavior experienced as a child. This is even more likely to happen when teachers must deal with large classes, poorly equipped schools, low salaries, and close surveillance from administration.

There are reasonable grounds for suggesting that school, in combination with what McLaren (1995), calls a predatory modern culture, starts to somatasize us, and damages our creativity and our ability to question, even as we walk into kindergarten. It is possible that school, more than any other institution, teaches compliance and a willingness to respond to the

rules of society and the routines of work. The following description of the
strength of the status-quo to resist change reinforces this possibility:

> To accomplish renewal, we need to understand what prevents it.
> When we talk about revitalizing a society, we tend to put exclusive
> emphasis on finding new ideas. But there is usually no shortage of new
> ideas; the problem is to get a hearing for them and that means
> breaking through the crusty rigidity and stubborn complacency of the
> *status quo*. The aging society develops elaborate defenses against new
> ideas - "mind-forged manacles," in William Blake's vivid phrase
> ... As a society becomes more concerned with precedent and custom, it
> comes to care more about how things are done and less about *whether*
> they are done. The man who wins acclaim is not the one who "gets
> things done" but the one who has an ingrained knowledge of the rules
> and accepted practices. Whether he accomplishes anything is less
> important than whether he conducts himself in an "appropriate"
> manner. The body of custom, convention and "reputable" standards
> exercises such an oppressive effect on creative minds that new
> developments in the field often originate outside the area of
> respectable practice. (John Gardner, quoted in Postman and
> Weingartner, 1969, p. 12, emphasis in text)

Reading such a quotation in a time of neo-conservative reform is chilling for
it sometimes seems that custom, convention, and standards rather than
values, ethics, and creativity are actually driving our school systems.

Individualism

The roots of North American education continue to be closely linked
to classical teaching whose aim was to "inculcate ... a commitment to the
religious, moral and social tenets of Christianity" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 33). The
Enlightenment "tied progress to reason" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 32), in a vision
of modernity that produced mass schooling. "American republicanism,
bourgeois ideologies, Protestantism and a meritocracy that combined
ascription with achievement" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 55), deeply affects the
consciousness of the individuals who choose the profession of teaching.

It is the "ideology of individualism" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 60), above all other influences, linked to the Protestant work ethic within the Western dominating ruling class, which permeates the school culture today and contributes to the "reliance upon self rather than others" (Lortie, 1997, p. 75). Nias claims that half the teachers she interviewed "saw themselves as individualists" (1985, p. 37). The search for "autonomy with minimal control from others" (Lortie, 1975, p. 201), and the "sense of autonomy in matters of curriculum and pedagogy ... closely related to ideological freedom" (Nias, 1985, p. 16), are themes which reoccur over and over again in the literature. Philip Jackson (1968/1990, pp. 129-143), identified autonomy and individuality as two of the four major themes emerging from his interviews of 50 exemplary teachers. Andy Hargreaves (1992, p. 232), calls individualism "the seedbed of pedagogical conservatism" and informs us that David Hargreaves feels that teaching is characterized by a "pervasive culture of individualism" (A. Hargreaves, 1992, p. 218). Though there are significant differences between autonomy and individualism that are addressed in later chapters of this dissertation, the "look-out-for-yourself" mentality of individualism does tend to maintain the egg carton structures in our schools. Educators themselves, responding to the culture of individualism, are often reluctant to make changes in this structure.

Referencing Lortie, 1975; Lacey, 1977; Woods 1981, 1984; Connell 1985 and others, Nias notes that these writers "all highlighted the continuing existence within the profession of individuals with strong dedication to religious, political, or humanitarian ideals" (1985, p. 16 and 17). While there are significant aspects of this kind of commitment that contribute to caring, responsibility, and altruism; the roots of Protestantism, liberalism, and humanism are all buried in the soil of individual liberty and freedom. The

literature indicates that teachers have readily absorbed the "universally reigning ideology" (May, 1994, p. 17), referred to by Althusser which shows itself in their desire to be self-reliant individuals who make decisions for themselves. This individualism enables educators to resist changes of all kinds including those suggested in departmental and board documents.

Rosenholtz (1989), feels that changing this culture of self-reliance is far from easy. While Giddens (1979), Giroux (1988), Corson (1993), and many others question the paralyzing effects of cultural reproduction and determinism, they also acknowledge their pervasive influence, which means that Rosenholtz's fears, based on real experience in many schools, carry considerable weight.

There appear to be tensions inherent in individualism in the literature. Hargreaves (1994, pp. 163-183), speaks of the difference between individualism and individuality, cautions us against autocratic cultures that sustain collaboratively developed visions which may exclude minority perspectives, and reminds us that respect for divergence of opinion means we must leave room for people to express differing views and find their own way in schools. While individualism suggests that teachers like to "go it alone" and protect their self interests, individuality may actually express the kind of freedom that is required for teachers to reach beyond themselves, exercise their autonomy, and gain the confidence to work with others in relationships of equality.

There is a considerable difference between teachers' idealistic desires to work with colleagues, create schools where meaning is constructed with students, make education exciting and special, and the persistent pull of western based rationality which warns all of us to distrust our feelings, rely only on ourselves, not to risk, to play it safe and keep our heads down in our

own classrooms. This may explain the struggles teachers encounter within themselves (Britzman, 1991), as they deal with the power of normalization (Foucault, 1980), which they find in schools. Berlak and Berlak (1981, 1983), outline sixteen dilemmas they feel represent "contradictions and commonalities in teachers' consciousness" (1983, p. 272). Such dilemmas, contradictions, tensions and dichotomies represent the dialectical struggles which bring hope to our schools. Exposing these unconscious struggles may enable educators to understand themselves and their colleagues and may justify spending time clarifying personal philosophy, beliefs and values as part of a teacher development process. None of these matters involve a simple resolution of binary oppositions. Collaboration can turn into contrived collegiality (Hargreaves, 1994). Empowerment can be used to limit freedom (Ceroni & Gaman, 1994). Professional education based on aspirations to liberate others can be coercive (Ellsworth, 1989; Lather, 1992). No road provides a straight path to enlightenment. Roads meander, curve, criss-cross and wander in the wrong direction. It is easy to get lost in going down attractive lanes that promise something unique in the name of freedom.

Surprisingly the Pauqatigiit survey results do not support the focus on individualism which is so striking in the literature. A total of 56% of Inuit teachers and 44% of Qallunaat teachers express wishes to team teach and work closely with their colleagues and when the "cumulative effect is measured ... 64% of respondents want to be supported by team teaching, or support from other teachers (70% of Inuit and 60% for Non Aboriginals)" (Guy, 1995, p. 5). The desire to share is a major theme in Pauqatigiit, contrasting significantly with the culture of teaching and social reproduction literature just discussed. In their responses to open-ended questions, educators in Nunavut actually substituted the word "share" for the word "support". One person states, "I am

much more comfortable dealing with problems with my co-workers who are willing to share past experiences with similar/same problems" (Nunavut Educator, 1994). Another educator commented that "Teachers should help each other to become stronger teachers" (Nunavut Educator, 1994). An Inuit teacher working at the high school level states, "It is so important for teachers to start working together. It would be great to have a sharing time not for competition" (Nunavut Educator, 1994).

These comments were repeated over and over again by educators and indicates that individualism may not be a prevailing orientation among Nunavut educators. This may not be surprising given the collective nature of Inuit society; however, this startling difference challenges Pauqatigiit to explore the meaning of these comments. In the mainstream literature sharing is usually called collaboration, but this does not seem to adequately reflect the desire for mutuality and equality which is called for in the Pauqatigiit surveys.

Cultural Reproduction

Before assuming that Nunavut educators may not fit into models that can seem so depressing, it is important to stay a little longer in the cage of cultural reproduction and explore its influences. Pierre Bourdieu introduces us to the concept of habitus, or "history turned into nature" (1977, p. 78). Bourdieu says that the "present amounts to little compared with the long past in the course of which we were formed and from which we result" (p. 79). He tells us that habitus within individuals and class habitus within certain groups in society unconsciously "produces individual and collective practices."

Few of us stop to wonder how we know our place and know how to act appropriately in most circumstances, but Bourdieu suggests it is the result of deeply engrained socialization. These behaviors do not need to be questioned when we remain within our own cultural group, or work as members of a dominant group, or culture with people who are considered not as well educated, primitive, different, or strange. Stressing the impact of history and habitus on the schools is important, not only because it shapes our consciousness in ways that we are only dimly aware of but because for educators in the north the religious and colonial influences, linked to individualism and rationalism, constitute very recent history in Nunavut, a history lived by many of us working within the school system today.

Until the early fifties, education in the Northwest Territories was provided by the missionary schools, both Catholic and Anglican, and it was not until 1956 that "all Mission school teachers became federal employees" (MacPherson 1991, p. 18). This means that until the late fifties explicitly religious and moral schooling was imposed on young Inuit, sometimes for a considerable period of time and often when they were vulnerable and removed from their families to attend residential schools. Many children in the Kitikmeot Region, for example, were taken away from their homes for up to six years with no summer holidays. Some of these children did not see their families until they had grown up, forgotten their Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun, and experienced not only a thorough socialization but sometimes abuse in the hands of their religious guardians. These barbaric practices affected many of our colleagues who now work as teachers, consultants, administrators, or Board members in the Nunavut school system.

Though the Federal and Territorial Governments did not espouse a

specifically religious agenda, the vast majority of individuals hired to teach or administer in the north since the fifties have been southern Canadians, socialized within families, schools, and communities which tend to stress the importance of the work ethic, belief in the individual attainment of success through one's own efforts, and the "importance of personal inner control and motivation" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 60). This legacy of modernity is engrained and may then be unconsciously replicated by educators working in the school system today. Bourdieu (1997, p. 82), quotes Durkheim (1938, p. 70), who says it is "yesterday's man [sic] who inevitably predominates in us" and goes on to say that the "habitus acquired in the family underlies the structuring of school experience (in particular the reception and assimilation of the specifically pedagogic message)" (1977, p. 87).

While I strongly agree with David Corson's reservations about the "bleak determinism" (1993, p. 16). which accompanies theories of social reproduction, the arguments presented by Bourdieu provide a powerful rationale for the "intractability" referred to by Sarason. These arguments may explain the predictable failure of educational reform efforts by supporting the ties to Christian values which cause educators to value individualism, control, and the work ethic, and consequently resist changes such as those involving collaboration, which challenge these fundamental values. It may also explain the difficulties sometimes encountered when Inuit and Qallunaat educators try to work closely together and find that differing work habits can become irritating. A very simple example relates to punctuality. Qallunaat educators are generally much more worried about being on time than their Inuit colleagues. They are more likely to work to deadlines. Inuit seem more concerned with reaching a common understanding than getting things done within a limited time frame. Different kinds of socialization

patterns may account for behaviors we sometimes label "cultural difference", as if they were genetically determined characteristics.

It is possible that some Inuit graduates of the northern school system are so well socialized from their years of exposure to missionaries and southern educators that they have internalized and now unconsciously replicate aspects of a southern habitus in just the same way as their southern colleagues. This could provide one account for the insistence on providing an education in English that used to be particularly strong in the Kitikmeot Region where Inuit were more directly affected by long term socialization with Qallunaat educators and a southern way of life.

It is also quite possible that the habitus of traditional Inuit life provides such a powerful socializing influence that the value system and cultural capital of Inuit educators radically differs from that of their Qallunaat colleagues. Some of the differences we see between Inuit and Qallunaat educators in the Pauqatigiit data may relate to very deep differences in cultural socialization and to values that are rooted in the pre-missionary consciousness of Inuit.

Answers to these possibilities are well beyond the scope of this dissertation, but Stairs and Wenzel (1992), allude to such possibilities when they speak of "a life that unifies the land, the animals and the community past and present" (p. 7). They suggest that Inuit identity is based on a world-image which involves a "person-community-environment construct" (p. 9). This concept of identity differs substantially from the more individualistic self-image of Western society, and suggests that the loss of this world-image within the school system may result in considerable dislocation of identity for Inuit students. The social consequences of such dislocation may impact directly on the schools, causing Qallunaat and Inuit educators to experience

stress, frustration, and confusion as they unconsciously continue to disrupt the traditional habitus of Inuit society at the same time as they try to retrieve the culture. The irony of having Qallunaat educators attempting to give back Inuit culture to Inuit students who have lost touch with their own society has a sadness and poignancy that eludes academic language.

Attempting to describe the complicated experience of reconnecting to a threatened culture is heartbreaking. Inuit students struggle with identity issues and Qallunaat educators suffer as they try to provide support. Having painfully lived this reality myself for several years I can say that the borders are very muddled, and it is only by reaching out to each other and working very hard to maintain reciprocity that is it possible to survive the experience with any dignity for the participants. I have heard Inuit students speak with great respect about Qallunaat who are more Inuit than they are themselves.

Inuit educators in the school system may be unconsciously reproducing southern values and ways of relating to people, the land, and animals. Simply being Inuit does not mean that you are carrying the deep values and traditions of your culture. Inuit educators frequently express desires to reconnect to more traditional ways and recover their cultural connections. An Inuit educator states, "I feel our elders are here today and gone tomorrow... They are the only ones who really know how to survive in our land... We have to go to them to learn and to know how to survive - even today... I am not opposed to southern ways but I feel that today is the time to start to know how to survive in our own land" (Nunavut Educator, 1994, underlining in original). Another educator suggests "We are losing our dialects, our culture, we only know very little about our own language, or dialect. I think teachers in Nunavut should be taught by elders so they can pass it on to the students before we lose it all" (Nunavut Educator, 1994).

Understanding the culture of schools in Nunavut means more than acknowledging cultural reproduction and socialization, concepts arising from a Eurocentric perspective. As I have already mentioned, concepts of self and individualism that are suggested as foundations for a southern society may differ in fundamental ways within traditional Inuit society. Rupert Ross' writing about aboriginal cultures supports this possibility (1992, 1996). David Corson discusses these issues in his work (1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b). Geertz's (1983), work in different cultures reveals a very different, more interactional, relational view of the self and indeed, over the last twenty years the concept of the individual self in Qallunaat society has been rigorously critiqued and alternative conceptions of a more interactive, communal, relational, socially linked self are suggested (Bruner, 1986, 1996; Harding, 1986; Mead, 1934; Noddings, 1984; Stairs & Wenzel, 1992). In the south, cultural values and mores are changing rapidly and socialization in the more flexible family structures of today may mean we need to carefully examine some of the so called "truths" we have come to accept in explaining the way school culture works.

It is absolutely essential, when acknowledging the influence of cultural reproduction or habitus, and discussing its possible impact on change in schools, that we realize, as David Corson says, the "dominant groups themselves are rarely homogenous; their values are in constant tensions of conflict and contradiction" (1993, p. 16). Schools in Nunavut include individuals from all across Canada and the world. Increasing numbers of Inuit educators, whose habitus may differ in significant ways from that of the Qallunaat, now work in the system. However, while educators from both groups express an urgent need to maintain Inuit culture, tradition, and language, they may not fully realize that the school, and their own behaviors,

support a western, eurocentric habitus which powerfully undermines their articulated dreams and desire to work together to achieve those dreams.

Continuity and Comfort

Pauqatigiit is situated in a contradictory, complex world which is greatly influenced by the established and changing values and attitudes of its educators. A willingness to change schools depends on how schools, culture, values and the self are understood by educators. The degree of openness to different possibilities, differing interpretations, and evolving truths appears to be a major factor in exploring the range of possible options within Nunavut schools.

Teachers who consciously decide to make changes together can defy the limitations imposed by cultural reproduction, socialization and the daily grind (Cummins, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lipka & McCarty, 1994; May, 1994; Tompkins, 1993). Rosenholtz (1989, p. 33), remind us; however, that teachers "tend to be wary of collective thinking and resolute about their individual preferences. Ironically it is these norms of self-reliance which tend to impede the struggle for teaching success". This wariness, based on individualism, appears to be one of the things that needs to be articulated, discussed, and addressed as educators are pushed more and more by competing agendas and find themselves under attack in the educational system. We need not forget that:

> [H]aving so often been hung out to dry and left to defend reforms
> without the means to make them workable, teachers are increasingly
> reluctant to support changes of any kind. They are also frustrated
> because of the inability — or unwillingness — of policy makers to
> understand that the complexities of educational change go far beyond
> ordering new textbooks. (Barlow and Robertson, 1994, p. 115)

Lieberman and Miller, in referring to the literature on school change, state, "One gets the view that teachers can be infinitely manipulated like puppets on a string (1992, p. 81). We can continue to hope that teachers will refuse to be led around by the nose and that their stubbornness can become a source of positive change, a form of active resistance as much as it is a reflection of social reproduction, or conservatism.

Andy Hargreaves and Michael Fullan have written extensively about the importance of school culture, warning those of us with reform agendas to ignore culture at our own peril. "The culture of teaching and the culture of schools loom increasingly as keys to teacher development" (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1992, p. 6). "Cultures of teaching help give meaning, support and identity to teachers and their work .... They provide a vital context for teacher development and for the ways teachers teach" (Hargreaves, 1994a, p. 165).

Hargreaves (1994a), suggests that the culture of teaching involves four major patterns of relationships and associations which he identifies as individualism, collaboration, contrived collegiality, and balkanization (p. 166-240). He provides a complex analysis of these forms of culture, suggesting that the wealth of literature about individualism has actually helped to foster stereotypical and negative views of teachers which imply that they are somehow at fault for the problems in the school system. His work helps us to understand that the issues around autonomy and individualism are far from simple.

It seems reasonable to suggest that teachers are, to some extent, influenced by cultural reproduction, and that changing deeply engrained patterns of behavior require teachers to critically examine their beliefs and their willingness to maintain and accept the status quo. This kind of critical reflection can shake educators to the core. This is as true for Qallunaat

educators working in a system which is struggling towards Inuit ownership as it is for Inuit educators committed to making culturally based changes in Nunavut schools. Issues of socialization, values, bias, paternalism, and cultural difference cut close to the bone. Few people, regardless of their awareness and desire for social justice, are willing to scrutinize and strip down the professional workplace and their identities to expose their own prejudice and stereotypes, especially when the daily and overwhelming challenges facing educators in Nunavut schools already threaten their equilibrium, humanity and peace of mind. Marris (1975, p. 9), tells us that people are "profoundly conservative". Adding to the violence and dislocation already experienced by educators in Nunavut is not acceptable when addressing issues of school culture, important as they are.

The very structures which produce the so called rigid cultures of teaching also provide continuity and meaning. They comfort and create warm nests for us to settle into. There are distinctly physical and psychological needs which are satisfied when educators sit together in their staffrooms, waiting for the bell they have heard for many years, sipping coffee and listening to the banter of their colleagues. We all need to belong, to be affirmed, and to feel supported and comfortable. Hargreaves, as he does so often, cautions us that to ignore aspects of desire in teacher development is to ignore human needs (1995, pp. 25-26). He writes of desire as a "creativity and spontaneity that connects teachers emotionally and sensually ... to their children, their colleagues and their work" (1995, p. 21). This desire is linked to the pleasure of belonging. It is also linked to comfort and peace of mind. Rocking the boat and calling for fundamental change in schools can threaten fragile aspects of comfort and belonging and endanger some of the fragile bonds of humanity that do exist in schools.

When we say that schools must change and that educators must confront injustice, inequality, southern dominance, their own prejudices, and deeply held cultural mores, we must realize that this involves considerable pain. Pain is always resisted, particularly when a person may not understand why it is necessary. Running over resistance and labeling it as dinosaur-like behavior or ignorance will merely create more resistance and reinforce existing barriers to change. Complicated ethics surround these issues and the process of negotiation needs to consider issues of power, knowledge and authority in some detail.

Reculturing Schools

The potential invasiveness of change from the outside, and the effectiveness of educator resistance to such change, is insufficiently recognized by those who propose reforms for schools. However, change which reflects the collectively identified agenda of teachers, as is suggested in Pauqatigiit, has the potential to become a story that works from within the existing culture (Barth, 1991), and carries with it the possibility for establishing an ethical foundation for the school system. As educators themselves work consciously, carefully, and slowly to establish their own professional learning as "*organically* part and parcel of the culture of school" (Fullan, 1995, p. 258, emphasis in text), there is the potential to bring about long-term change that ultimately benefits educators. As Fullan (1995, p. 260) reminds us, professional development involves "reculturing" not "restructuring" our schools. Reculturing is the process which is presently occurring in Nunavut schools as more Inuit educators are hired and culturally based learning, thinking, and ways of functioning are gradually incorporated into daily

activities. <u>Inuuqatigiit</u> (GNWT, 1996), is much more than a new Inuit-based curriculum. It involves reculturing schools as they struggle to become Inuit.

Understanding what reculturing might mean for Pauqatigiit, as part of <u>Inuuqatigiit</u>, requires that we not only support educators in Nunavut to implement their own agendas, their own way, without appropriation, we must also support ongoing culturally based changes in curriculum and program through <u>Inuuqatigiit</u>. In doing so we are challenging the system to reconsider the way business is conducted within the framework of a hierarchical, southern model. This process raises some serious ethical questions about who is making, or will make, decisions for whom in the Nunavut school system. It requires that we ask even more questions about how those decisions are being implemented in our schools. If Pauqatigiit becomes a different kind of change that stays true to its collectively established ethical principles, insists on educator ownership regardless of the time it takes, acknowledges the real challenges involved in change, and provides opportunities for critical reflection for all educators, then it has the potential to support the ongoing creation of an Inuit school system. In so doing it is also creating a school system in which ethically based practice becomes an accepted way to conduct daily business.

Chapter Six

Teaching and Learning in the Post-Colonial World of Nunavut

"the forces against which one is speaking
are at their worst when they are most benevolent"
(Spivak, 1990, p. 160)

Considering a Post-Colonial World

A consideration of the post-colonial context is important in this dissertation because it raises and discusses issues of inequality and relations of power as they impact on professional learning and therefore on teaching and learning in Nunavut schools. Cummins (1996), argues that unless collaborative, rather than coercive, relations of power characterize interactions in bilingual schools, minority students and by extension minority teachers, will encounter difficulties in achieving academic and professional success. Coercion, when it is exercised individually, collectively, consciously, or unconsciously, involves some form of unwanted and unethical control over other people. A post-colonial context, such as Nunavut, where one group holds more power than the other, contributes to coercive rather than collaborative relations of power which can limit and restrict communication and understanding between Inuit and Qallunaat educators. People living and working in colonial and post-colonial societies are often subtly drawn into the coercion of others, or the acceptance of coercion as a way of life. This occurs in the school system and in professional education just as it does in society in general.

This chapter discusses some of the factors that contribute to inequality

and coercive relations of power in the colonial and postcolonial world of Nunavut. It examines the complex interpersonal space occupied by Inuit and Qallunaat educators who are striving to communicate with each other against factors which are hegemonically embedded in themselves and in the society. The chapter argues that acknowledging differences, sharing pain and communicating honestly across racial boundaries requires courage but is one of the only ways to break down barriers that seem to inextricably lead us into relationships where inequality contributes to misunderstanding. This process is seen as part and parcel of ethically based communication.

Cummins' work has significant implications for professional education in Nunavut, both within formal professional learning contexts such as courses and workshops, as well as in school-based professional growth activities including team planning, team teaching, and curriculum and program development. These are the very kind of activities that are requested by 70% of the Inuit and 60% of the Qallunaat educators in Nunavut. Interactions between Inuit and Qallunaat in schools, both informal chatting and formal discussions of educational issues, are affected by relations of power and can result in shared decision-making, equality of voice, educator ownership of program and policy, or alienation, disillusionment, disempowerment, marginalization, and various forms of resistance. Given the expressed desire of Nunavut educators to work more closely together, an understanding of the nature of power relations as they are constructed within a colonial and post-colonial society may be important.

Cummins (1996, p. 164), states "When educators define their roles in terms of promoting social justice and equality of opportunity, then their interactions with culturally diverse students are more likely to embody a transformative potential that challenges coercive relations of power as they

are manifested in the school context". He goes on to say, "Teaching for empowerment, by definition, constitutes a challenge to the societal power structure. Interventions that fail to challenge the power structure simply erect a cosmetic facade that obscures the continuing reality of disempowerment" (p. 164). Cummins suggests that micro-interactions in schools tend to mirror the macro-interactions in society. In other words, if racism and discrimination are integral to a post-colonial society, then racism and discrimination will be present in micro-interactions in schools. If educators do not understand that issues of social justice and equality are vitally important in teaching Inuit students, or educating Inuit teachers, then they may continue to unconsciously replicate coercive relations of power in their relationships and contribute to ongoing failure as they teach.

Collaborative and Coercive Relations of Power

In the context of Nunavut, Inuit, though they are the majority, still do not hold the power in the society. The power structures, in government and private business, though they are changing, still reflect those of a colonial era. Most government bureaucracies and successful businesses are led by Qallunaat. Qallunaat are economically advantaged, holding most of the wealth in Nunavut communities (NIC, 1996). The economic disparity between Inuit, who are often unemployed, and Qallunaat who almost all work, is visibly evident within most communities, supported by obvious differences in the quality of homes, vehicles, and other signs of the economic prosperity. This is true for Qallunaat and the rapidly growing group of middle class Inuit.

Though Inuit hold more positions of authority within education than

in most other government agencies, Qallunaat still hold the majority of positions of leadership and power in the school system. Regardless of the fact that Inuit are on the threshold of self-government and are involved in negotiating their own future, powerful federal and territorial bureaucrats actually conduct a great deal of the business, do most of the writing, and are in positions of significant influence as Nunavut is created. The structures that are being created, though decentralized, still tend to reflect the bureaucratic hierarchies that are common in all governments across Canada. These are structures that can very easily become self-replicating, self-serving, and dehumanizing.

Though the numbers change each year, only three Inuit principals worked in thirty-eight Nunavut schools during the 1996/'97 school year, and few Inuit hold positions as assistant principals, or program support (resource) teachers. In spite of the great success of the community-based Nunavut Teacher Education Program in raising the number of Inuit teachers working in the school system, some graduates lack the experience and confidence they need to take on challenging positions of responsibility in what can be perceived as a climate of disempowerment. A lack of Inuit role models may delay this process even more. Recent research on Inuit women educational leaders in Nunavut (Lee, 1996), suggests that Inuit leaders face obstacles including institutionalized racism and sexism in their daily work. These barriers are often unconsciously maintained by both Qallunaat and Inuit.

As long as the school principal, the program support teacher, and senior teachers in a school are Qallunaat, Inuit educators, even when they are a majority, do not usually hold significant power. Decision-making rests largely with Qallunaat and, regardless of efforts to include Inuit, power relations do tend to reflect the structures in the dominant society. Qallunaat

school administrators trying to change these structures need to challenge
their own sometimes unconscious tendencies to replicate dominant relations
of power in their daily interactions. This can be a very complex challenge, one
that is not often discussed as part of professional development workshops for
school principals, program support teachers, or educators in the system.

There are many examples of Qallunaat principals or administrators,
who establish collaborative relations of power with Inuit educators.
Examining these successful cases may provide some important insight for the
future. It is also important to discuss ways that Inuit leaders can establish and
maintain collaborative relations of power as they move into positions as
principals. The southern hierarchy contributes to power-over others rather
than power-with others and Inuit may find themselves replicating coercive
power structures, even as they resent their own complicity in the process. The
Baffin Divisional Board of Education, in an Inuit-led initiative in educational
leadership, is raising a variety of questions about the hierarchical nature of
the southern models. Lee (1996, p. 94), discusses the concept of
Sivumuaqatigiinniq (leading together), a kind of shared leadership, which
emerged as a major theme in her research with three women who hold
positions of leadership in the school system. One of these leaders stated:

> Rather than, let's say, having a principal, one person leading the
> school, supposedly, have three, or four people leading the school as a
> team, as a committee, or however and someone to chair the group ....
> And so if we are going to run our schools in a more democratic, a more
> holistic, together way, then we have to have more than one person to
> lead the school. And we talked about traditionally, the way when Inuit
> lived in camps, that's how they operated. There was not really an
> identified leader in certain camps, but in some camps there were
> leaders identified, or people who were looked towards for direction,
> and certain people in the community dealt with certain issues.

Given Cummins' work and the results of Lee's research, it appears that

if Inuit educators are to experience success and professional growth in Nunavut schools, it is vitally important to identify, in practical ways, how collaborative relations of power can be established and maintained. This involves understanding and recognizing that hegemony and racism, inherited from a colonial history and permeating the contemporary society, can negatively affect the relationships between the two groups, erecting barriers, creating boundaries, and limiting the possibilities for working towards Inuit ownership and involvement in schools. If educators are to understand the factors that presently limit their success, then naming barriers and reaching out across borders is part of the process that is required within Pauqatigiit implementation.

The matter is quite complicated, however. Nunavut signifies the politically correct agenda of Inuit control and while many Qallunaat and Inuit publicly espouse and support this direction, their behavior, language, patterns of interactions and discourse, or private conversations may tell a different story. Racist attitudes are so hegemonically engrained that educators are sometimes unaware that their behavior and way of speaking to each other can be ethnicist, condescending, or even insulting. Working on the recognition of racist behavior, language, and non-verbal messages, involves a willingness to be embarrassed by your own racism. Realizing that you are capable of making serious cultural blunders involves an admission of failure for many Qallunaat who pride themselves on their ability to acculturate and relate positively to Inuit colleagues. It almost spoils what may seem like a perfect relationship to suggest that traces of racism are actually marring communication. Denial rises immediately when such possibilities are suggested. It may also embarrass Inuit to realize that some of their attitudes towards their Qallunaat colleagues are stereotypical and racist, contributing to

the creation of significant misunderstanding in schools.

The mission statements of the Nunavut Boards of Education and NTEP express commitment to Inuit-based education. The documents paint a vision of Inuit ownership of the school system, of schools and teacher education programs where Inuit culture and Inuktitut hold the central place, with English as a vitally important second language. Implementing these goals; however, requires that educators understand the implications for their relationships with each other and can see the difference between what Cummins (1996), describes as progressive and transformative pedagogy, or liberal and radical ideology. This is far from being a simple process.

Progressive pedagogy, based on a "liberal-democratic theory of schooling" (May, 1994, p. 11), is the prevailing philosophy which supports curricula and the directions established for Nunavut schools. Inuit culture is often celebrated by educators, and many schools are starting to reflect the world of the community and the rich history, mythology, and connection to the land that is a critical part of Inuit life. Teachers may foster interactive, collaborative inquiry and be intensely aware of the many obstacles students need to overcome if they are to succeed academically. Teachers working within a liberal democratic tradition can be very effective but they must challenge their students to succeed academically. Ladson-Billings (1992, p. 112), provides some insight into this when she says:

> [T]eachers' effective involvement with students, involving students in educational decision-making and making strategic decisions about what to eliminate and what to include in the curriculum are essential to successful teaching of minority students.... [W]hen comparing effective teachers of minority students with ineffective teachers they found that ineffective teachers, while compassionate, often see their students as victims and in inescapable situations. They treat their students as incapable of handling academically rigorous material. Effective teachers, on the other hand, acknowledge the state of

oppression in which their students exist but insist that the students must overcome these negative situations and present them with academically challenging tasks on a regular basis.

This finding is supported in the work of Cummins, 1996; Kleinfeld, 1972; Lipka & McCarty, 1994; May, 1992; Tompkins, 1993 and many others. A teacher working within a liberal democratic framework may understand the social context reasonably well, but may not spend much time analyzing the way democracy actually works against its own goals to further inequality in Nunavut. Teachers are sometimes overwhelmed by the challenges facing them in the classroom and believe that providing a safe and nurturing place for the students is the most important priority. Unfortunately this may also mean that the teacher unconsciously fails to offer a cognitively demanding academic program because of fears that it may provide more stress in the lives of the students, or simply because establishing such a program, given the wide range of academic levels, is beyond their ability at that time in their career.

Nieto (1992, p. 203), says that "school achievement can be understood and explained only as a multiplicity of sometimes competing and always changing factors: the school's tendency to replicate society and its inequities, cultural and language incompatibilities, the limiting and bureaucratic structures of schools and the political relationships of ethnic groups to society and the schools". There are many reasons one might suggest for the failure to challenge students; however, there is enough concern expressed around issues of academic standards in Nunavut schools to justify speculations relating to political ideology and wonder if raising questions about these issues may help educators to consider how their own ideology operates unconsciously within their classrooms. Sonia Nieto provides a clear, practically supported discussion of these issues in her book Affirming

Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education and Stephen May (1994), describes Richmond Road School which successfully implements collaborative, anti-racist pedagogy. Joanne Tompkins (in press) discusses positive changes which took place in a Baffin school, providing an example which is drawn from our own context.

Educators in Nunavut do not generally focus, in a critical sense, on the societal context as it influences students' lives, opportunities and worldview, and they do not often include critical, anti-racist literacy in their daily planning. The importance of critical literacy needs to be recognized, understood, and discussed before it can be included in a program. Cummins (1996, p. 156), refers to the work of Maria de la Luz Reyes which claims that without "explicit attention to the social realities of diversity, many whole-language classrooms will be just as monocultural and blind to students' cultural realities as more traditional classrooms."

The same thing applies within professional education. Until we can acknowledge and discuss the impact of the social context on our lives and can understand how the colonial history contributes to our attitudes, beliefs and interactions, then many of us, both Inuit and Qallunaat, continue wandering happily, or not so happily, through schools and community learning centres wondering why communication is sometimes strained between us, puzzling about why one group doesn't, or won't, participate fully in discussions and decision-making, or why the other group never seems to stop talking. In other words, stereotypes, prejudice, and bias blinker our judgment, build up barriers, and limit our ability to communicate and collaborate.

Critical Perspectives in Educator Development

David Corson (1993, p. 113), suggests that "in-service education of practitioners in the sociolinguistics of schooling would certainly be helpful in identifying undesirable prejudices and eliminating the practices that result from them". Inservice education can also bring people together to share successes, or learn together. Watahomigie and McCarty (1994), identify staff development as one of the key components in the successful implementation of bicultural/bilingual schooling in Peach Springs, Arizona and believe that the participation of both Hualapai and non-Hualapai in state wide institutes, "enhanced their professional knowledge base and encouraged them to use more appropriate pedagogies" (p. 37). Stephen May (1994, pp. 79-83), describes the intensive, ongoing staff development process instituted by Jim Laughton at the internationally acclaimed, multicultural Richmond Road School in Aukland, New Zealand. He tells us that, "Laughton *made* his teachers learn theory as the basis for their practice" (p. 80, emphasis in text). Wally Penetito, a Maori educationalist and close colleague of Laughton, quoted in May (p. 80, emphasis in text), informs us that Laughton believed teachers should not only be good practitioners but that the "whole definition of a *good* practitioner meant someone who knew what they were doing — understood their practice. And in order to understand your practice you have to be able to theorize about it".

The implication is that educators working successfully in a multicultural context need to theorize and to become critically reflective in order to be effective. It seems that a major purpose for professional education in a post-colonial context is to foster this kind of theorizing and pedagogical thoughtfulness. Unless educators start to think very deeply about the social

context and their roles in Nunavut schools it is unlikely that the taken-for-granted world will be seriously questioned. The next chapter entitled: Critical Reflection and Professional Learning discusses this topic in more detail.

The findings of Heimbecker (1994), and Ryan (1988), who both wrote about the difficulties involved in providing an education for Innu who lived in a community in Labrador provide further insight with respect to the post-colonial context. Connie Heimbecker (p. 17), discusses the clash between the "culture of the home" and the "culture of the school". She argues that the differences between these cultures can cause, "Severe cultural conflict, school failure and damage to self concept" (p. 18). She and Jim Ryan both refer to white, middle class educators who work in the school but seem to be unconscious of the ways that power, discipline, and the school culture work through them to alienate students, parents and Innu educators. The lack of Inuu control of education, the deep alienation of parents and students from the school, and the use of southern, traditional curriculum created little hope for short-term change. The situation was actively oppressive and the school and the teachers were placed in positions of domination. It was, at least several years ago when Ryan and Heimbecker worked in the school, a deeply colonial context in desperate need of radical change.

The situation in Nunavut where the Boards of Education rather than the territorial government control the schools, where Inuktitut is the language of instruction to Grade Three and beyond, and where Inuit teachers already constitute the majority in some elementary schools, seems almost like Nirvana when compared with the situation Heimbecker and Ryan describe in Labrador. Though remarkable progress is taking place; hegemony still operates to limit educator development (Lee, 1996; Tompkins, 1993). Outward appearances and the rhetoric of guiding documents may mask the

fact that the situation is still heavily influenced by colonial ideology. The ongoing struggles to increase the numbers of Inuit high school graduates, the debates around language of instruction, the challenges facing new NTEP graduates, the lack of Inuit leadership, all speak to the fact that many educators still do not understand that attitudes and patterns of interaction, albeit hegemonically influenced, actually contribute to the disempowerment experienced by Inuit students and educators.

Lipka and McCarty (1994, p. 279), in sharing successes experienced in aboriginal education in Red Rock, Arizona, and in Alaska, state that "educators and community members have experienced the debilitating effects of a post-colonial education system and yet have continued to struggle and persevere against the loss of language, culture and control over the educational system". The struggles are indeed debilitating (Ball, 1995; Tompkins, 1993; O'Donoghue, 1997). Many educators in Nunavut struggle to the point of exhaustion to address Inuktitut language loss, meet student needs and change the structures that impede progress. They usually struggle; however, without bringing issues of inequality, racism, or hegemony to the surface. Unconsciously conducted, the battle leaves people wondering why they are so tired. Their exhaustion in turn becomes a limiting factor in efforts to make change. Marris (1974), in discussing the tensions involved in interracial relationships, states, "Black rage and white guilt together project an image of conflict which expresses a mutual sense of betrayal" (p. 96). The longing for mutuality which is inherent in our efforts to create understanding between Inuit and Qallunaat is constantly undermined by our unacknowledged feelings. Feelings like anger, rage, guilt, betrayal, and sadness have no defined space for their expression. They are too overwhelming, too potentially hurtful to be expressed openly. We bottle

them up and betray ourselves because our sense of bewilderment and loss does not go away. When confusion and different perspectives are rarely articulated and there is no forum within which to debate these issues, these feelings lie under the surface, like tumors, creating more feelings of resentment, confusion, mental stress, disillusionment, and frustration.

This discussion of the effects of the colonial heritage in Nunavut does not suggest that we are failing in our mission, or that colonial attitudes will defeat our efforts; however, it reminds all of us that the colonial shadow we live under provides complicated and debilitating challenges for educators — challenges we sometimes fail to acknowledge in our daily work.

Cummins, Ogbu, Corson, Giroux, McLaren, Spivak, Skutnabb-Kangas, Nieto, May, Phillipson, Mullard and countless other internationally renowned scholars in the field of cultural studies and multicultural education inform us that racism, hegemony, and abuse of power must be explicitly acknowledged and addressed if we are to achieve the kind of goals outlined in documents such as Our Students Our Future (GNWT, 1991), Our Future is Now (1985, 1996), and Piniaqtavut (1989). Pauqatigiit, as an initiative in professional education, must come to terms with this challenge and decide how best to raise the issues with educators.

Resistance to Anti-Racist Education

Teacher educators, in various locations, working to build awareness of racism, injustice, and inequality in the system, frequently encounter resistance when they raise these issues with student teachers and find that challenging attitudes can cause controversy and stress, particularly for individuals from a white, middle class background (Alquist, 1992; Berlak,

1989; Ellsworth, 1989; Lather, 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 1988; Nieto, 1992). Ironically, it appears that this resistance may be linked to conceptions of liberal democracy which affirm individual rights and freedom. Alquist (1992), found that student teachers in her class believed that teachers should be neutral and objective and avoid taking sides in discussions of racism. The students found Alquist's efforts to raise their consciousness of inequality and injustice to be invasive and actively resisted her attempts to enlighten them. Can this hidden enemy be unmasked and discussed without causing a great deal of pain and struggle? Spivak (1990, p. 160), says that the classroom is the "real battleground." She is referring to the difficulties involved in helping students to recognize the enemy within and their own complicity in domination, while at the same time being able to help them move beyond guilt and blaming, or what she calls "breast beating." She acknowledges that violence is involved in this process, that students can be truly shaken, even dislocated, when they realize the true nature of the social context and the strength of their own hidden racism.

The same kind of reactions were noted by Lather (1992), who suggests that "an intendedly liberatory pedagogy might function as part of the technology of surveillance and normalization" (p. 139). Quoting Foucault, Lather chooses to warn us of the "violence of a position that sides against those who are happy in their ignorance, against the effective illusions by which humanity protects itself" (p. 141). Lather goes on to raise concerns about the way the "power-saturated discourses"(p. 142), of critical theory can serve to construct our consciousness and she suggests that we need classroom relations which "engender fresh confrontation with value and meaning" (p. 144).

Alquist concludes that she needed to use an approach that was "non-

impositional anti-racist teaching" (p. 103). She believes that, "most of us haven't had an education that was empowering, anti-racist, problem-posing, or liberatory" (p. 98). In other words, teaching in schools is limited to a transmission-based study of government and democracy which fails to invite students to share their own experiences, or become involved in issues of inequality or justice. As a result their views are apolitical, or as Alquist suggests, they, "reflected passivity, fatalism, denial and resistance" (p. 100). The anger and resistance that Alquist and others encounter need to be discussed when considering the implementation of Cummins' transformative pedagogy as part of Pauqatigiit.

The following personal story is shared as a fairly innocuous example of what can happen when you try to bring a mildly critical perspective to a discussion of financial inequality. In the Spring of 1996, I was discussing with a large group of Inuit NTEP students the issue of financial inequality between Inuit and Qallunaat teachers working in the school system, and pointing out that each credit course completed would eventually lead to a significant increase in salaries and therefore greater financial equality with Qallunaat teachers. The students seemed unconcerned with the fact that Qallunaat earned more than they did. Comments ranged from: "Why are Qallunaat always so interested in money?" to, " Why is this important? We earn less because we have less education — that's fair." I suggested they were in danger of being in la la land. This raised a laugh and many responded that they liked la la land and would stay there while they were students and face the financial realities when they started teaching. I laughed too, at my own rather ineffectual, naïve efforts to raise political consciousness in the face of different cultural values, but also at how much attitudes are uncritically accepted even by those affected the most. Student and teacher resistance to a more critical

perspective needs to be carefully considered in Pauqatigiit.

Naïve, clumsy, and insensitive implementation of anti-racist, professional education is certain to encounter considerable opposition and may not achieve its purpose. The use of the academic vocabulary of critical pedagogy such as oppression, racism, hegemony and dominance can rapidly alienate educators because it is sounds so radical, frightening, theoretical, and ideological. Elizabeth Fortes, a colleague who works from a Freirian perspective, calls such terms "big words" and uses them carefully (personal communication, January 28, 1997). The language of academic discourse may enable critical theorists to reflect on issues but it is not the language used by educators in schools.

Difficulties with adapting the language and concepts within critical pedagogy to meet the needs of educators in schools may indicate that a facilitator has not dealt with some of the issues in her own life, is overwhelmed, or seduced by critical theory, or may not understand it well enough to make decisions about how to use it effectively. These comments in no way reflect on those educators, including myself, who openly share their own experiences with student resistance. Our honesty and analysis help all of us to consider the issues more deeply and identify the violence and arrogance inherent in some of the grand discourses in the critical tradition (Ellsworth, 1989).

The Colonial Context of Nunavut

It is sometimes hard to imagine that Nunavut can still be called colonial in the nineties. Identity politics permeate the mainstream press. Issues of difference are popular topics for talk shows beamed into living

rooms all over Nunavut. What makes Nunavut colonial and helps to maintain difference as a barrier in the lives of so many people? Memmi (1967, p. 5), in describing white people who live in the colonies, tells us that, "in organizing their daily habits in the colonial community, they imported and imposed the way of life of their own country, where they regularly spend their vacations, from which they draw their administrative, political and cultural inspiration and on which their eyes are constantly fixed". Surely Nunavut in the nineties is a far cry from Africa in the fifties? This is modern Canada after all.

Taking a close look at the social activities of Qallunaat in many Nunavut communities will provide evidence that many of us tend to socialize with each other, rather than with Inuit. Conversation sometimes tends to explore vacation possibilities, or life in the south. Does this not reflect the fact that our families are in the south, we are lonely and find it comforting to discuss vacations at home with our families? It may; however, also indicate a sense of displacement, a discomfort with being in a place you would rather not be. Even the dichotomy of "going out" as opposed to "staying in" for the holidays denotes a feeling of confinement. To presume that this is evidence of colonialism; however, seems a bit far-fetched.

Only twenty years ago; however, Hugh Brody (1975/1991, p. 96), suggested that, "White presence in the north falls into the category of colonialism", a category which he tells us, "regards the native as being without a society, savage, wild and heathen". Inuit could be considered savages by southerners for they "live on raw meat, always live with great simplicity and are highly mobile.... an embodiment of nature, as a part of the land, beyond the reach of culture". While there are few Qallunaat who believe that Inuit are savage, the vestiges and residue of these images live on

as stereotypes in our minds.

Brody also speaks of the romantic preoccupation of Qallunaat with the "more exotic aspects of Inuit life" (p. 92). He mentions notions of Inuit as "tough, smiling, naïve, ultimately irrational" (p. 92). It seems that while our eyes are cast south, we also feel drawn to these exotic aboriginals, viewing them as attractively different. This romantic view extends to Qallunaat themselves who sometimes like to think that they live on the margins at the edge of the world, in a harsh climate, in a very unique and special environment. Indeed they do, but when a Qallunaq pictures herself as courageous and adventurous, engaged in a kind of heroic enterprise, there is a decidedly colonial flavor involved. This is the kind of benevolent, romantic colonialism which is sometimes referred to in the north as a "tourist mentality." Underneath the romantic veneer and obsessive interest lies a colonial attitude that regards Inuit as noble, positively primitive, spiritually enlightened, and ultimately better than Qallunaat. They are not regarded as equal in their difference, but are elevated to a superior position and treated with a careful reverence that is objectifying and disrespectful.

Teachers filled with benevolence and committed helping Inuit gain an education, can often be tinged with a form of maternalism or paternalism which conveys pity for a people who are the victims of our colonizing. In its extreme form this position can easily become guilty handwringing, an almost groveling position of abject apology for the sins committed by Qallunaat in the past. Sometimes it involves a rejection of Qallunaat culture as tainted. Guilt does not set the stage for collaborative relationships in schools and it often fosters more guilt, depression, and paralysis.

Is it possible to get away from a colonial attitude? Are we Qallunaat damned if we care and damned if we don't? Surely we are not all

missionaries, adventurers, or romantics? Indeed for many southern

educators the reality is far more prosaic. We "go to the colony because jobs are

guaranteed, wages high, careers more rapid and business more profitable"

(Memmi, 1967, p. 20). We are there to save our money, to do a good job

within the confines of the status quo, and eventually go south to our

southern lives. So, are we missionaries, romantics, or money grabbers? Of

course not. As John Amogoalik writes, when referring to the Qallunaat who

represent 15% of the population within Nunavut,

> There are other reasons why this minority is important. Most of them
> are long term and committed citizens of Nunavut. Many of them were
> born here and a large number have spent most of their lives here.
> Many will live out their lives in what they consider to be their home.
> Unlike many parts of Canada, the non-Inuit population of Nunavut
> get along relatively well with the aboriginal population. They have
> always supported Inuit land claims and supported the final agreement.
> They have a significant force in the efforts to create Nunavut. Like all
> of us, they want Nunavut to be a success. They are our friends and
> partners. Many of them are our Ningnauks and Okuaks. Their
> children are our Ingutuks. If Nunavut is to reflect the Inuit character,
> this minority should always feel welcome and needed. (Nunatsiaq
> News, February, 14, 1997)

Amagoalik breaks down barriers in his writing and reaches past

colonial stereotypes to walk across borders to the Qallunaat in Nunavut. He

acknowledges the bridges built by Qallunaat. Though his position may be

politically motivated, it has the ring of a genuine invitation which comes

from his own experience of positive relationships with Qallunaat.

The stereotypical images of both Inuit and Qallunaat that I have raised

in this section of the dissertation are not pleasant and can in fact further the

sense of difference and alienation that is part of colonial history. It is far too

easy; however, to pretend that everything is wonderful and rosy, that Inuit

and Qallunaat are good friends, and adopt a critically unconscious perspective

which will continue to reflect dominant attitudes within the society. As Phillipson (1988), reminds us, "colonialism has been superseded by more sophisticated forms of exploitation .... the 'higher and better' view of the West is now less represented by the gun and the Bible than by technology and the textbook" (p. 341). "Colonization has gone transnational and corporist" (McLaren, 1996). The kind of colonialism we see in Nunavut is now layered with an imperialist market take over of our consciousness which is even more insidious. Qallunaat are colonizers but are actively colonized themselves. Inuit are multiply colonized.

The Southern Canadian educators who work in Nunavut unconsciously carry negative stereotypes shaped from an early age by parents, the media, southern culture, education, and the lack of exposure to difference. They also carry the domination of consumerism into the north and while they may bring some reality to the soap opera images of Qallunaat, they also further the kind of global colonization referred to by Phillipson and McLaren.

Most Qallunaat are quite unconscious that their presence in the north involves a "cultural invasion" (Freire, 1970, pp. 150-167), which succeeds when "those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority" (p. 151). Few Qallunaat understand that their very hard work might be considered a "double illegitimacy" (Memmi, 1967, p. 9), which takes away the place of Inuit and substitutes a Western European way of life and consciousness. When such matters are discussed Qallunaat usually feel attacked, become defensive and respond by stating that we are promoting Inuit education, helping Inuit take over their own society, helping them to create Nunavut and build a strong, modern, northern society. We Qallunaat declare that the society is ours as well as theirs, that we are raising our children in Nunavut, we own houses in Nunavut, pay our taxes and in fact "belong." Frequently we declare

that Inuit are just Canadians like the rest of us and that Nunavut is just another part of Canada. In these "truths" lie the seeds of colonial domination and our refusal to "strip white supremacy of its legitimacy and authority" (Mercer, 1992, quoted in Giroux, 1997, p. 235).

Unfortunately, what is not recognized in these rationalizations is that all too often it is the children of Qallunaat in Nunavut who acquire middle class, cultural, and academic capital from their parents, who then go on to succeed in university in larger numbers than their Inuit friends and who in turn are more likely to assume positions of power in the system when they return with their credentials in hand, wearing their northern upbringing as a badge of belonging. Though these young people may marry or live with Inuit and have Inuit children, the status-quo remains intact and unexamined for at least another generation. A generation later neo-colonialism has successfully replicated the same structures of domination that presently perpetuate class and economic differences in the south and those with privilege, though they are now Inuit, unconsciously perpetuate inequality and attribute their success to Western European values: hard work and progressivism related to individual achievement. "The story has shifted under neo-colonialism ... to an encounter with the indigenous elite, who are in fact caught up in the suppression of the subaltern" states Gayatri Spivak (1990, p. 157).

The heritage of southern privilege, which is unconsciously passed on from Qallunaat parents to their children, provides some Nunavut students with clear advantages within the society. The advantages include access to cultural and linguistic capital which enables them to succeed. This is an unacknowledged, secret heritage, one that is not spoken about openly. This inexorable application of cultural reproduction describes a reality we do not want to accept. It is a reality we want to change and therein lies hope.

"Disutopias are as useful as Utopias - they are useful to think with" states Robert Young (1995, p. 274). They may also be useful in helping people recognize and perhaps fight against the kind of neo-colonial dominance alluded to by Spivak.

Inuit themselves argue vehemently and correctly that Nunavut is public government, that everyone deserves equal representation. They say this means Qallunaat as much as Inuit. What is not stated or understood is that equality is not so easily created, and that the same inequality that causes huge failure for minority students in the United States (Cummins, 1996; Fine, 1989; Oakes, 1985), is also present in Nunavut. Within Nunavut, Inuit voices, representing the 85% majority are not the ones most frequently raised in protest, or the ones most loudly demanding their rights. In a public government, without the kind of affirmative action recommended by NIC (1996) and the GNWT, positions of power in the Nunavut government would continue to be given to Qallunaat because until Inuit are fully colonized they can never be "ready" for a society which is based on southern, Eurocentric norms.

Amagoalik's nightmare, not articulated in his article in the Nunatsiaq News, is likely to involve a large influx of Qallunaat managers to run the Nunavut government, because, unfortunately, even with a huge effort to train Inuit, "they" are just not ready to assume the leadership roles, — at least not yet. My irony may be misplaced cynicism. Time will tell.

My purpose in revisiting colonialism is to use it to look at the post-colonial world of teaching and learning where we sometimes pretend that it is a relic of the past and neatly sweep it under the carpet to make the "bad days" go away. Edward Said (1993, p. 5), reminds us that "European imperialism still casts a considerable shadow over our own time."

Colonialism casts its long shadow over Nunavut. A shadow filled with "spiritual subjugation" (Ngugi, 1981/1989, p. 4), depriving both Inuit and Qallunaat of "coherence and all tranquillity" (Memmi, 1967, p. 20).

It is the spiritual and mental aspects of colonialism that have the most relevance in an initiative like Pauqatigiit. Colonialism is the "control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world" (Ngugi, 1981/1989, p. 16). "Economic and political control can never be complete, or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others" (Ngugi, 1981/1989, p. 16). Ngugi believes that this is accomplished largely through a European educational system delivered in English and centered around texts which associate civilization with an Anglo, upper middle class world. This does not differ in any radical way from providing an education in English to Inuit students using southern Canadian texts and the Alberta or Western Canadian Protocol curriculum. They are all developed from a Western-European perspective.

It is only in the last twenty years that the educational system in Nunavut has started the complicated struggle to free itself from these bonds and consider alternatives to this monocultural curriculum. The consequences of a Eurocentric, colonial education are very well documented and Ngugi's words remind us that it can

> annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. (1981/1989, p. 3)

Inuit start to view their language and traditions as limitations that prevent them from achieving success in the Qallunaq world, and Qallunaat

unconsciously judge Inuit negatively, as uneducated or unenlightened, from their perspective. The problem is well expressed by Mohanty (1984, p. 352), when she refers to the "underlying anthropomorphism and ethnocentrism which constitutes a hegemonic humanistic problematic that repeatedly confirms and legitimates (Western) Man's centrality". This centrality is fully internalized when "the dominated start singing its virtues" (Ngugi, 1981/1989, p. 20), and the colonized starts to deny their own identity. As the Inuit writer Minnie Aodla Freeman says, "I began to think there was something wrong with my language" (1988, p. 239). When this happens there is a great danger that both Inuit and Qallunaat will endorse and actively support the status quo which is based on southern norms. In order to change this situation, awaken critical consciousness and break down barriers, real issues of inequality, dehumanization, discontinuity, cultural grief, and violence in the lives of those who suffer colonization need to be raised and discussed as part of any professional education experience. They need to be built into learning experiences and into discussions at the school level in ways that do not alienate and raise defenses, but rather build empathy, mutual understanding, communication, and collective commitment to social justice.

Difference and Identity

Before closing this chapter, issues relating to the use of categories, hierarchies, and binary oppositions require some attention. All categories leak (Minh-ha, 1987, p. 94), and oppositions and hierarchies create barriers. There

are no people who are pure Inummariit [3], or totally racist, oppressive Qallunaat, yet such stereotypes and the hierarchy from the purest Inuk to the person who is considered virtually a Qallunaq, or "city Inuk" seem to be constantly raised in conversations one hears in Nunavut. Qallunaat speak of other Qallunaat as being racist, as if they were themselves the epitome of anti-racist thought and behavior. The stereotypes of "oppressed" and "oppressor" do not exist, though parts of them can be found in all of us. Difference and individual as well as collective identities, must be explored, respected, and given the space that is needed for self and group expression, for recognition of all voices as equal participants in the educational process (Taylor, 1994). Edward Said states, "all cultures are involved in one another, none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated and unmonolithic" (1993, p. xxv). "The way identities are enunciated is always ambivalent and they have no primordial origins that 'fix' them.... they do not guarantee one's politics" states Peter McLaren (1995, p. 106).

Hierarchies of oppression, privilege and enlightenment maintain coercive relations of power, manipulate others, or instill paralyzing guilt, anger, and resistance. The categories of Inuit and Qallunaat and the use of language which surrounds these monoliths, set up oppositional relationships that can create misunderstandings, stereotypes, and dominance. The terms essentialize their subjects in ways that confine and limit identities. It is perhaps the hierarchy of enlightenment, above all others; however, that is the most dangerous. This occurs when the "agents of empowerment assume themselves to be already empowered" (Gore, 1992, p. 61). Once a person considers themselves enlightened they may consider others to be

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[3] Inuit who have achieved wisdom and freedom through their struggles to overcome physical, emotional, and spiritual barriers (Minor, 1992, p. 104).

unenlightened and the possibilities for communication may be threatened. While a full exploration of relativism, ethnicism, and ethics are not possible in this dissertation, the debate around recognition which involved Taylor, Habermas, Appiah, Gutmann, and others provides an interesting discussion of some of the issues (Gutmann, 1994). Discussions of complex positions, multiple, shifting identities, and discourse-constructed role definitions, can enable both Inuit and Qallunaat to move through a variety of evolving positions and identities while naming limitations, labels, and categories.

This anti-essentialist position is discussed by Anthony Appiah (1994), when he speaks of collective identities that "provide what we might call scripts: narratives that people can use in shaping their life plans and in telling their life stories" (p. 160). People use different scripts as they create, negotiate, and reshape their identities. He distinguishes personal dimensions of identity from collective ones, arguing that even positively rewritten new scripts can become tyrannical if they are confining and used to categorize. "[T]aking control of narratives of the self" (McLaren, 1995, p. 108), enables individuals to step beyond socially or commercially constructed fixed identities into spaces where dialogue with others is possible and one's own identity is continually reconstructed.

Amy Gutmann (1994, p. 6 - 7), placing herself very close to a universalist position, suggests that universal identity based on the common good precedes but still honors the notion of individual and collective difference. This is not the kind of whitewashing suggested by concepts of the melting pot, or the homogenized approach to difference discussed by West (1990), or the "universalism that paradoxically permits diversity [but] masks ethnocentric norms" (Bhabha, quoted in McLaren, 1995, p. 231). It may be closer to the kind of "totality" referred to by McLaren (p. 215-223). This is "not

the 'harmonious whole' of canonic classicism, but rather the 'difficult whole' of a pluralized and multi-dimensional world" (Murphy, quoted in McLaren p. 217). This is a global understanding that is "*relational and transdisciplinary*" (Zavarzadeh and Morton, quoted in McLaren p. 218, emphasis in text). It involves the kind of "theoretical pluralism" suggested by Corson (1997, p. 174), when he discusses the work of Bhaskar, Durkheim, Habermas, Bourdieu and Wittgenstein.

Trinh Minh-ha speaks of the "intercultural acceptance of risks, unexpected detours and complexities of relation between break and closure"(1989, p. 232), which is reminiscent of the kind of space in which "the remaking of the social and the reinvention of the self must be understood as dialectically synchronous .... mutually informing and constitutive processes" (McLaren, 1995, p. 220). In exploring what are often called gaps, fissures, silences, or borders we are involved in a complex process of rewriting, renegotiating our relationships with ourselves and with our colleagues. It is an exciting, counter-hegemonic space filled with power and possibility though always flirting with relativism.

This is the kind of space that I feel we need to explore within Pauqatigiit. We need to fight for time to think and talk and break down the barriers and pain created by colonial history, unconscious acceptance of the status quo, and the plethora of stereotypes held by both Inuit and Qallunaat. We must make space for personal and collective recovery and rediscovery. Inuit need space and time as they struggle with the question of identity. Qallunaat educators need time to understand their very complex, inherently dominating, but potentially valuable location within Nunavut. Stepping into these spaces means leaving behind the bludgeon-like vocabulary of critical discourse and allowing the language and voices of those involved in the

discussions to define their own reality.

Bhaskar, Freire, and Bakhtin come to mind immediately. Bhaskar, because he helps us to see that "the world cannot be rationally changed unless it is adequately interpreted" (Corson, 1993, p. 20). Freire, because his pedagogy rejects "borrowed solutions" and focuses on "a critical analysis of the context itself" (1973/1992, p. 13). Using the language of the people involved in any situation, Freirian pedagogy generates "critical optimism" (p. 13) from within a specific context. Bakhtin helps us to fully understand how language as an instrument of power, and politics is constrained but endlessly creative, capable of generating what Henry Giroux calls a "language of possibility" (1992, p. 211-212).

This leads us to find ways to sidestep the totalizing discourse of racism and confront issues of domination from within the context of relationships in Nunavut schools. Rather than using the language of anti-racist education, the educational discourse of difference, or the debates from a politics of representation, we need to open up the possibilities for communication about relationships, using the language and words of those relationships, as they are used by us everyday in schools. This process has already started in Nunavut and needs to continue. It is, however, always delicate, usually painful and often very slow. No magic wands can be waved to remedy issues that so deeply involve the consciousness of individuals. There is no avoiding pain, but we can describe and understand our pain and confusion rather than continue to be consumed by it.

At present few opportunities are provided to enable educators to engage in this process. Pauqatigiit may be able to create this space, though each educator must decide the extent of their participation. I believe that without the opportunity to engage in discussions about the post-colonial context,

without providing an opportunity for Inuit and Qallunaat to reach out to each other as real people working together in schools, we will continue to wander in our color-blind world wondering why things are not getting any better.

Conclusion

In this chapter I outlined the effects of the colonial shadow on the consciousness of both Inuit and Qallunaat living in communities and working in schools in Nunavut. This shadow creates barriers between people and, coupled with the unconscious acceptance of liberal democratic norms, serves to perpetuate existing relationships in which Qallunaat continue to hold the majority of power in most educational contexts. The work of Cummins and others calls for an acknowledgment of the effects of coercive relations of power as part of the process of building collaboration in which power can be shared in the school system.

Resistance to forms of liberatory pedagogy which can become invasive and dominating were discussed, raising questions about the kind of approaches that need to considered within the Pauqatigiit initiative. The work of Giroux, McLaren, Spivak, and others who write in the critical, post-structuralist tradition, while they must be subjected to skeptical reading and can become grand narratives, provide valuable insights. It is educators themselves, however, who need to raise their own questions and stories in a non-intrusive starting place as part of the process of addressing institutionalized racism and other inequalities in the system.

Bhaskar and Freire provide critically pragmatic perspectives which focus on the real experience and language of participants, as well as practical

approaches that address issues of power and control within relationships. Professional education needs a secure position within the real context of the school, the classroom, and the lives of educators, while simultaneously reaching towards a deeply personal and collective commitment to collaboration and equality.

To live and work in a postcolonial context is dehumanizing, not just for Inuit but for all human beings who encounter such painful, daily evidence of the effects of domination. In order to retain humanity and refuse the violence involved in dominating others, both Inuit and Qallunaat need to share their experiences, share their scripts, and speak about their own identities and their struggles to make sense of their lives. This involves taking the risk of stepping beyond the safety of rationality (Giroux, 1992, p. 137).

An understanding of post-colonial influences provides an important foundation for the development of ethically based professional education. In particular, Foucauldian ethics provides one way for us to address the pain of this location by focusing on a care of self as situated in a dangerous world. Foucault's ethics are explored in Part Three of this dissertation. Remaining chapters in Part Two discuss critical reflection, ownership, ethics, and agency as they move us closer to the negotiation of shared meaning and the establishment of ethically based practice within Pauqatigiit and our professional lives.

Chapter Seven

Critical Reflection and Professional Learning

"If you don't understand why you do
things you will never do them well."
(Nunavut Educator, 1994)

Introduction

This chapter argues that critically reflective practice, particularly
Freirian problem-posing, contributes to the kind of ethically based
professional practice that is suggested in this dissertation. The chapter
explores and critiques several existing models of reflection, finding that most
of them fail to examine the political aspects of schooling, and in so doing fail
to consider what ethically based professional practice means for educators. All
forms of reflection have benefits for educators but this chapter suggests that,
given the context of Nunavut, some kinds of reflection are more relevant
than others.

Considering Reflection in Professional Learning

"In the past two decades the terms 'teacher research' and 'reflective
practice' have become slogans for educational reform all over the world" state
Jennifer Gore and Ken Zeichner (1995, p. 205). In this chapter several aspects
of reflective practice are considered as they impact on educator development
in Nunavut. This includes action research and other approaches which
promote thinking about teaching.

Jennifer Gore (1992, p. 54), quotes Foucault when she discusses what it means to be thoughtful about our work as educators: "thought is freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches oneself from it, establishes it as an object and reflects on it as a problem." While this seems to objectify thought in a rather rational way which does not fit other models of reflection in action (Schön, 1989), it may be useful when trying to think very carefully about the purpose of reflection in the lives of Nunavut educators. The word "freedom" in the quotation has special significance because it identifies the intellectual, linguistic, and physical space that is needed in order to raise questions, pose problems, speak openly, think clearly and reflect deeply. Busy, stressed educators taking time at the end of an exhausting school day to discuss difficult problems may not be free to be thoughtful about their work. Educators who carry huge family responsibilities may not be capable of focusing their thoughts easily. Freedom will have a special meaning and be accessed in different ways by each person in the system. The conditions necessary to foster and promote reflection must be considered very carefully within Pauqatigiit. Creating space means much more than just setting up a time for a staff meeting.

Identifying the positive aspects of reflection as well as some of the pitfalls demonstrates the contribution of problem-posing and critical reflection to a deeper understanding of teaching, learning, and social context, and establishes them as ethical practices worth considering for an educational system interested in building a sound ethical foundation.

Harnett and Carr (1995, p. 40), in discussing the effects of Thatcherism on education, remind us that in recent years teachers' power and professionalism have constantly been attacked:

> Above all it was teachers' autonomy that had to be abolished. Accordingly, they have now been told what to teach, how to teach it, and how to assess it to see if it has been taught successfully. They are managed by senior management teams and controlled by the bureaucrats. They are to be appraised and, if found wanting they are to be sacked.

As this statement demonstrates, education is a political process and politicians seek to control it. Teachers who think, reflect, critique, and speak with conviction about their work and their role in society pose a threat to those who wish to control schools. Teachers work directly with the students who represent the future of any nation, and they have the ability to encourage young people to become problem solvers, creative agents of their own destiny, and critical citizens. Teachers who think and reflect usually teach students to think and reflect, rather that accept passive, maintenance roles in society. When critical thinkers roll out of a nation's schools society is in a position to critique and change itself. Changes which result in critical thinking may alter the power of those who tend to promote the following reforms: back to the basics, testing to sort out students and assign them to different roles in society from an early age, curricula which clearly define content across a nation and support English as the major language of instruction, financial cutbacks which eliminate so-called frills like music, art, drama, and kindergarten, and higher levels of teacher accountability and administrative control in order to police the classroom. The ability to understand the political implications and underlying agendas of these reforms, the confidence to clearly express what is happening to education, and a commitment to collectively defined ethical practice all start with critical thinking.

The same political pressures experienced elsewhere in North America

affect schools in Nunavut, and educators there are even more vulnerable than teachers in the south. This vulnerability is related to the lack of time which is available to think and reflect as well as to the age, gender, and level of experience of Nunavut educators. The lack of time relates to the greatly increased preparation load in Nunavut when educators prepare culturally and linguistically appropriate teaching resources. In addition, family responsibilities for Nunavut educators exceed those of colleagues in many other educational jurisdictions. Educators are young and may consequently lack the confidence or experience to speak out forcefully and clearly within their schools and communities. They may feel that they lack the formal educational background to become involved in debates and discussions about education. Nunavut educators are often insecure in their roles and desperately ask for more education. Even experienced Qallunaat educators may feel their voices must be checked in order to make space for Inuit colleagues to speak, and this sometimes means that important educational issues are not raised with politicians and the media.

Professional education can provide some tools to critique and change education and society, or it can remain at a technical level which helps educators to quietly do their jobs, reproduce the system, and respond to the changing political winds. Critical reflection, provided it is not simply cosmetic, can help schools become places where educators and students reflect and solve problems together.

The chapter is organized under the following headings: The Interpretive, Discursive Turn and Constructivism, Reflective Practice, Teachers as Researchers, Teachers as Transformative Intellectuals, Problem-based Professional Learning, Personal Practical Knowledge and Inuit Educational Epistemology. Establishing sections in this way does not imply

neat and tidy categories to use in sorting out the literature on teacher thinking. These broad headings overlap and intersect, and in the lives of a busy teacher may seem like a confusing, discordant jumble of competing practices. Establishing neat sections which address teacher reflection may also create the illusion that it is a simple matter of taking these important ideas and implementing them in Nunavut. This is certainly not the case. The consideration of reflective practice, or any other educational innovation, involves "breaking it open" (Spivak, 1990, p. 72), to reshape it for our own context. This sounds like a post-structuralist, trendy way to view educational discourse, but it is an essential process when trying to think against the grain of reforms that represent potentially disabling, dominant discourses for Nunavut educators.

Reflective practice, like all other mainstream approaches, represents a Eurocentric, Western, patriarchal way of presenting information. The discourse of reflection espouses diversity, multiple perspectives, negotiated meaning, and teacher empowerment, and yet it has the potential to become a powerful vehicle for domination and the maintenance of southern ways of thinking in Nunavut.

This means that contrary to its expressed intent, much of the writing about constructivism, reflection, teachers' knowledge, or teachers as intellectuals must be viewed as a hegemonic discourse. This hegemony is harder to identify than snake oil versions of staff development. It moves quietly from behind teacher empowerment banners waved by both critical and liberal educators. Its subtle colors are seductive and appealing because they are aimed specifically at teachers who desperately need time to think.

Neglected, ignored, sometimes dismissed and often victimized, teachers may believe that the discourse of teacher empowerment through

reflection can enable them to gain more control. At long last they are considered the most important change agents in schools. Unfortunately it is not quite so simple, and those who presently hold authoritative power in schools do not relinquish it very easily (Ceroni & Garman, 1994; Garman, 1995; Gore & Zeichner, 1995). In taking up Foucault's challenge to look at reflective practice as a problem, the following discussion of this powerful movement in the teacher development field can provide some valuable insights for Pauqatigiit.

The Interpretive, Discursive Turn and Constructivism

Cultural psychology and constructivism represent what Bruner calls the "interpretive turn" (1995, p. 90), in the field of psychology and education. This is a turn away from positivist thinking to embrace a more narrative, interactional perspective. A great deal of work in cultural psychology is conceptually integrated, occurring across several disciplines including anthropology, sociology, philosophy, psychology, and cultural studies. The interpretive field is full of a competing vocabulary that can be confusing for teachers. These terms include: cultural psychology, socio-cultural psychology, social-constructionism, interactionism, social-interactionism, situated learning, and references to ecological perspectives as well as constructivism. The interpretive turn within research encompasses the field of qualitative research, ethnography, critical ethnography, action research, narrative inquiry, and participant observation.

Discursive psychology "has its roots in Vygotsky's and Bruner's psychologies wedded to discursive insights from anthropology, linguistics and especially physicalist/materialist studies of how the brain develops and

changes as a result of exposure to different discourses" (Corson, personal communication, October 24, 1997). Wittgenstein's influence, particularly his ideas with respect to language games, act as a seminal influence in discursive approaches (Corson, 1997a).

These approaches in sociocultural, cultural, and discursive psychology denote a turning away from considering the mind in isolation as a rational, controlling mechanism, or a complex black box involved in cognitive processing, to the recognition of humans as interconnected, meaning-making, discourse-producing individuals. People, including students in schools, are seen as active, inquiring agents constantly interacting with their environment and culture, connected to their worlds and continuously creating new understandings and new meanings. Lumping terms together leads to reductionism, contributing to the impression that all the approaches are the same, which is far from the truth. Each approach across a variety of disciplines contributes to the overall interdisciplinary effort to reconceptualize the way we, as learners and agents, are situated in the world.

The work in psychology draws largely on Vygotsky, Luria, Piaget, Bruner and Gardner. The following quotation, taken from the forward of Lave and Wenger's (1991), book on situated learning, summarizes in rather general and Vygotskian terms, the direction of these efforts:

> In this volume, Lave and Wenger undertake a radical and important rethinking and reformulation of our conception of learning. By placing emphasis on the whole person and by viewing agent, activity, and world as mutually constitutive, they give us the opportunity to escape from the tyranny of the assumption that learning is the reception of factual knowledge, or information. The authors argue that most accounts of learning have ignored its quintessentially social character. To take the crucial step away from a solely epistemological account of the person, they propose that learning is a process of participation in communities of practice, participation that is at first legitimately peripheral but that increases gradually in engagement and complexity.

A consideration of the interpretive/discursive turn is important in this section of the dissertation because it affects our whole approach to thinking, reconceptualizing educators as embedded in webs of cultural relationships and discourse patterns that are central in understanding our lives and our work. Because constructivism presently constitutes a dominant influence in curriculum development as well as many of the approaches in professional education, it is necessary to consider it in more depth.

Constructivism "describes knowledge as temporary, developmental, nonobjective, internally constructed and socially and culturally mediated" says Catherine Twomey Fosnot (1996, ix). Later she quotes from Doll (1989), who calls constructivism "a post-structuralist psychological theory" (Twomey Fosnot, 1996, p. 30). Constructivism has appropriated post-structural concepts, as well as the work of Vygotsky (1986/1989, 1978), the later writings of Piaget (1932, 1957, 1972), the cultural psychology of Jerome Bruner (1960/1977, 1986, 1996), and the theories of Howard Gardner (1983, 1993), to create a "composite of constantly shifting and evolving ideas" (p. 28). Constructivists have drawn many ideas together and created a powerful discourse which "locates learning in co-participation in cultural practices" (Cobb 1996, p. 37).

Constructivism has successfully captured and captivated the mainstream educational field, as the interpretive turn has also turned the research field away from positivism, through what are sometimes called "paradigm wars' (Gage, 1989), to more qualitative, cultural and ecological approaches. The discourse of constructivism revolves around heady concepts such as negotiating meaning, creating communities of mutual learners, and constructing collective identity. These are words and concepts that impact on classrooms and teachers all over the globe. They are also words that are rapidly appropriated as mainstream linguistic capital even though they are

not very well understood.

Bruner (1996, p. 25), calls thinking "cultural conversation". He suggests that thought "may be little more than a way of talking and conversing about something we cannot observe" (p. 108). He believes that reflection is "thinking about thinking" (p. 88). Dialogue with others is fundamental, "we are the intersubjective species par excellence" (p. 20). Our learning, thinking, reflecting takes place with others, "[a]nd it is through this dialogic, discursive process that we come to know the Other and his points of view, his stories" (p. 93).

Michael Cole (1985, p. 148), tells us that in Vygotsky's sociocultural approach "the individual and social were conceived of as mutually constitutive elements of a single, interacting system". As Clifford Geertz (1973, p. 5), says, "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun". These webs are spun "against a background of human activity governed by informal conventions, or rules, especially rules to do with the way in which words and other symbols are used within the structures of a language" (Corson 1995a, p. x). This holistic, connected vision, though often poorly understood and interpreted, has radically changed the way we think about teaching, learning, and researching with both children and adult learners.

To consider educator development as extended, ongoing cultural conversation with peers and colleagues, as something creatively constructed together, as a taken-as-shared meaning that emerges from reflection with others, as a weaving of professional lives, is a far cry from the one-shot-workshop, individualized thinking, skills-based approaches that characterize so many of our expensive staff development efforts in education.

Sociocultural and discursive psychology and constructivism and its

historical antecedents reconceptualize education and with it educator development. They provide part of the "theoretical base and coherent focus" that is missing from teacher development (Fullan, 1995, p. 253). Peter Grimmett speaks of the struggle for authenticity which preoccupies teachers in their highly contested classroom spaces. Bombarded by competing agendas, priorities, and a range of stresses, Grimmett feels that educator development needs to create "structures that provide teachers with support, stability and affirmation while simultaneously encouraging intellectual challenge and a tolerance for ambiguity" (1995, p. 20). The approaches he suggests are based on constructivist principles, "Teachers are learners too. The principles of learning therefore apply to them as much as they do to students" (p. 123).

Constructivism is not really new, but the label and the marketing of its texts means it is trendy and very much in vogue within mainstream education. Maxine Greene (1996, p. 121), points out that "a whole variety of streams have fed into what is now called constructivism .... Existentialism, phenomenology, interpretivism, experientialism, certain modes of idealism: These have been the sources of constructivist thinking." Greene closes her discussion of constructivism on a cautionary note when she states, "this chapter has strained toward something beyond a mechanized systemic approach" (p. 139).

Is Greene suggesting that constructivism, the psychology which celebrates "the generation of possibilities in a spiraling dynamic dance" (Twomey Fosnot, 1996, p. 29), might become a mechanized approach? There is no doubt that constructivism and social-constructivism are starting to constitute a dominant discourse within education at this time. Dominance and dogma often go hand in hand. Grimmett speaks of the possibility that "discussions could devolve into ideologically-based dogmatic disputes,

thereby destroying meaningful dialogue" (1995, 114). As more and more educational systems adopt popularized constructivist approaches there is always a danger that, like so many movements in the past, they will become yet another prescription, spoiled as they are implemented by educators responding to various kinds of pressures to conform but without the time to adequately understand what the interpretive turn actually means for them.

There are other dangers inherent in a constructivist, or any other, named approach to teacher development. Garman (1995, p. 24), informs us that "our professional lives depend on understanding how the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by what Foucault calls the 'societies of discourse', a group of individuals held together by structured knowledge in their field". As constructivists, cultural psychologists, critical theorists, or post-structural feminists band together, share their common understandings, write their texts, teach their courses and support their disciples, they establish their "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p. 133). Foucault suggests that this kind of truth is produced and sustained by power structures in the society. The more powerful a society of discourse, the more their regime of truth is sustained, the more their views influence, at least superficially, the social institutions such as schools. This is not necessarily a problem, for as Foucault has suggested, power is not in itself repressive; however, once a discourse becomes dogmatic it can start to become repressive. This is a danger inherent in uncritically adopting any single approach. David Corson, in his recent article on applied linguistics (1997a), describes how a theory can become an orthodoxy when it fails to consider outside influences. He refers to "fundamentalist and 'grand' theories in linguistics that seem intolerant of other theories" (p. 174). By the time some educational theories reach the classroom they may have become dogmatic.

Movements like constructivism also involve the privileging of yet another Western dominant discourse that is applied in the case of Nunavut, in a cultural context that is not Western. This sad but seemingly inevitable irony occurs when a discourse which professes to be "socially and culturally mediated", actually acts as an oppressive force within a given social context. Greene (1996, p. 126), says that learning is "fundamentally dialogical .... [and] involves multiple modes of sense-making". She quotes Clifford Geertz who calls multiplicity "the hallmark of modern consciousness" (p. 126). The powerful dialogue of constructivism may not be implemented dialogically. It is likely to be hemonically impositional as it is adopted as the way to teach in schools across North America.

New theories are supported by a huge array of texts and discourses that already define what they mean and how they can be used in many different situations. Most of these situations are based in Western contexts and the discourse itself is written and spoken within the boundaries and limitations of a given discourse community. It is inherently biased, inherently political. It carries its own message, often that it is the new, politically correct, in vogue, current, latest thing. It involves a consumerism of discourse and competition for academic power using the currency of new theories, often gathered together under a label such as constructivism, or sometimes even those of post-structural feminism or critical pedagogy (Lather, 1992; Gore, 1993).

Constructivism is a convenient label, used to marshal the forces of those who belong to a large and growing discourse community. Such labels need to be treated skeptically. The power and seduction of each new discourse impacts on our professional lives for we feel compelled to be up to date, particularly in places like Nunavut where there is already a sense of marginalization and 'missing the boat'. No one working with the range of

challenges in the educational system in Nunavut has the time to research emerging theories and discourse within the educational field, let alone critically evaluate their applicability and share them with Nunavut educators in a way that moves past rhetoric. This increases our vulnerability and leaves us open to seduction by the "latest model".

Given these significant reservations, constructivism offers a view of learning that has applicability within Nunavut. There is no question that it mirrors approaches developed by Inuit educators who worked at arms length from this dominant discourse (BDBE, 1989; Department of Education, 1996). Indeed, it is the connection to Inuit ways of relating, above any others; not the mountain of research findings and academic texts in cultural psychology, which justifies the critical application of the theories that are gathered together under what is loosely termed a "constructivist approach" to educator development (Grimmett, 1995).

Reflective Practice

Reflection, reflective practice, and reflective practitioner are all familiar terms within educational literature. John Dewey proposed a theory of reflective thinking in 1909 and since that time his influence within reflective practice has been "momentous" (Ross & Hannay, 1986, p. 9). Zeichner (1996, p. 200), refers to the "explosion of interest in the idea of teachers as reflective practitioners." Coupled with research on teachers' knowledge and various forms of action research, the emphasis on reflective practice (Schön, 1983; 1987; 1991), constitutes "a kind of revolution" (Schön, 1991, p. 5), in terms of an epistemology of practice in which "knowing and doing are inseparable" (Schön, 1983, p. 165). The discourse on reflection is sustained and

strengthened by the interpretive and discursive turn.

Schön completed his doctoral dissertation on Dewey's concept of reflective thinking and "builds on and extends Dewey's foundational properties of reflection" (Grimmett, 1988, p. 13), in a way that reconceptualizes professional thinking. Reflection-in-action, the thinking on your feet, the spontaneous (Weiss & Louden, 1988), decisions we make as we teach and interact give special significance to the context and the split-second, real action that takes place in any classroom. "The reflection that Schön focuses on takes place in the crucible of action. and it is his marked emphasis on the action setting that sets Schön's work apart" (Grimmett, 1988, p. 13).

Schön rejects technical rationality and like Dewey is interested in dialogic, the conversation which takes place around problems that are "puzzling, troubling and uncertain" (Schön, 1983, p. 40). This conversation or discourse, while it is taking place in the here and now, includes reflection on the past as well as possibilities for the future. It is a risky business because it is steeped in doubt and involves a degree of cognitive dissonance that is often uncomfortable.

In accepting the reality of the teacher/practitioner's experience, the teacher's way of expressing the problem and the teacher's ability to reflect on her feet and then reflect on her action, Schön's theories are reminiscent of Roy Bhaskar's critical realism (1989), which focuses on reclaiming reality by interpreting "the reasons and the accounts that people use, or offer" (Corson, 1977a, p. 169). Reflection is an interpretive process, seeking understanding and searching for meaning. It is a "thoughtfulness about action .... a process in which teachers structure and restructure their personal practical knowledge" (Grimmett, 1988, p. 12).

Dewey and Schön's work on reflection has led to a very wide range of

approaches which are summarized in Weiss & Louden (1989), but extend through:

- the perspective transformation of Mezirow (1981);

- the reflective teaching of Zeichner and Liston (1987);

- the deliberative rationality of Van Mannen (1977);

- the critical inquiry of Berlak and Berlak (1981);

- the humanistic, reflective learning of Boyd and Fales (1981);

- the action research of Carr and Kemmis (1986);

- the narrative approaches of Connolly and Clandinin (1988);

- the work on personal practical knowledge completed by Elbaz (1988), and Beattie (1991); and

- the celebration of teachers' lives, experience, voice, biography and autobiography, discussed by Louden (1989), Goodson (1992a, 1992b), Hargreaves and Fullan (1992), Raymond, Butt and Townsend (1992), and Huberman (1993), as well as the autobiographical and life study approaches involved in the critically focused kind of reflection proposed by Zeichner and Liston (1987).

The emphasis on reflective practice from the teacher's perspective has also led to an explosion in the field of teacher as researcher. After so many years of educational research directed at student learning and behaviour, this extended focus on the teacher as a thoughtful, reflecting, critical person is refreshing and appealing.

In reading through the literature, however, it is evident that reflective practice is sometimes used prescriptively (Weiss & Louden, 1989), viewed as a panacea (Ross & Hannay, 1986), and seen as one of the real answers to educational change (Kemmis, 1987).

Zeichner and Tabachnick (1991), identified four different approaches to

reflective practice: academic, social efficiency, developmentalist, and social-reconstructivist. Each approach reflects different orientations to reflection from the technical to the emancipatory. The importance of reflective practice in teachers' work is well supported in the literature; however, it is evidently not a simple matter of just sitting down and reflecting. As Zeichner says, "Reflective practice and the teacher as researcher movement can create the illusion of teacher development" (Gore & Zeichner, 1995, p. 204). Teacher as researcher, claim Gore and Zeichner, actually originates outside the school and serves to "maintain teachers' subservient position to those outside the classroom" (p. 204). Regrettably, little action research by teachers is actually published and we must ask, "for whom is action research conducted?" (Gore & Zeichner, 1995, p. 209).

It seems like the ultimate manipulation when something which espouses empowerment or enlightenment for teachers is revealed as yet another initiative which once again privileges the knowledge of academic researchers. Linda Darling-Hammond, in her inaugural address to AERA (1996), praises the "rolled-up-sleeves work" of a named, long list of researchers who are "*doing* policy, school reform and teaching as well as looking at it" (p. 15, emphasis in text). Involvement in schools, classrooms, and with teachers is becoming a laudable, though politically correct, academic agenda. The agenda of all researchers and individuals placed outside the classroom needs to be critically interrogated, even more so as they come closer to the classroom and claim to be supporting teachers' understanding of their professional lives.

Teachers are often the first people to raise suspicions about those who do not share their own reality. Instead of regarding this suspicion as being reactionary, which it sometimes is, maybe it should be viewed as evidence of

critical reflection, as a catalyst from which to examine different agendas. Critically reflective educators can ask questions about reflective practice itself and determine if a researcher's "empowerment" agenda is simply a more sophisticated appropriation of the classroom by academic researchers hungry to pursue more politically acceptable practice.

Ceroni and Garman (1994), and Garman (1995), locate the start of the teacher empowerment rhetoric in the call for teacher autonomy in the Carnegie report (1986). This report was followed by 16 other highly visible, politically motivated reform documents filled with contradictory notions of teacher accountability and teacher professionalization. The restructuring movement, with reflective practice as one of its tenets, is now used as a call to arms by neo-conservative, back to the basics reformers: liberal/progressives and radical educators. "It seems that everyone, regardless of ideological, orientation, has jumped on the bandwagon at this point and has committed his, or her energies to furthering some version of reflective teaching practice" states Ken Zeichner (1996, p. 201).

Though differing political agendas inform the appropriation of the professional lives of teachers, many reformers are moving closer and closer to the classroom and into the daily working lives and minds of educators, increasing the necessity to provide opportunities for critical reflection. "Teachers, perhaps by choice, tend to be politically naïve," states Garman (1995, p. 24). Consequently, they may accept initiatives which sound empowering and teacher driven more easily than transparent "top-down" reform. This overgeneralization casts teachers into the role of passive recipients of politically motivated agendas which seems excessive; however, Garman is not the only person who believes that educators need to become more aware of politics (Fullan, 1997; Hargreaves, 1993).

Zeichner (1996, p. 207), points out that "all teachers are reflective in some sense". All teachers think, though they may lack the time, the space, or access to a range of viewpoints on a given topic, in order to reflect deeply. It seems that one of the first things that needs to happen within our schools involves fighting for the space to think, reflect, write about, and discuss the issues that educators face in their daily professional lives. This kind of processing within a discursive space enables educators to learn how to play a variety of language games and gain the academic capital that can increase the ability to thoroughly critique theories and approaches. While a narrow, technically rational, personally focused kind of reflection may limit educators' thoughtfulness, critically reflective practice, which focuses on both the personal and social context, remains one of the most powerful tools that educators can use to interpret their own reality.

Teachers as Researchers

Teachers in Nunavut classrooms, like many educators in the world, often consider the world of research and the academy as the proverbial ivory tower, a place where knowledge is theoretical, abstract, complicated, and irrelevant. The university is a place, far away in the south, that produces volumes of rational discourse, written in English, using a vocabulary that can be inaccessible and alienating (Blessé, 1997). In Nunavut, research is all too often something "done" to people by Qallunaat researchers who never stay long in any community. Minnie Aodla Freeman, in discussing the contribution scientists have made to Inuit, states, "only a few have made some southerners understand Inuit culture" (1988, p. 241). She speaks about the "many Inuit natural scientists who acquired their knowledge from their

own surroundings" (p. 241), and wonders if any of these individuals are still around.

In discussing the teacher-as-researcher movement as it might apply in Nunavut, it is important to remember that in spite of its potential to enable educators to look at their own practice, it is still a discourse created within a Western, Eurocentric framework. Teacher researchers in Nunavut may operate quite differently from teacher researchers in other parts of Canada. It seems reasonable to expect that in the same way that Inuit educators have created Inuuqatigiit (1996), as a reflection of Inuit beliefs, values, and worldview, so will they shape classroom based research in ways that may be different.

At present there are few avenues to help make research real for Nunavut educators. Few educational researchers work directly with schools in the "rolled-up-sleeves" approach described by Darling Hammond (1996). Those who manage to make it as far as a Nunavut community often collect information from educators and then write up the results in a way that is totally inaccessible to the educators themselves. The writings of Ball (1995), Lee (1996), and Tompkins (1993), who actually work in Nunavut, represent a very different kind of research which is based in the reality of their own lives as educators. Given the tiny number of educators from Nunavut who actually publish their writing, it is more often established researchers from the south who publish their work about Nunavut in journals or books (Dorais, 1987, 1989; Stairs & Wenzel, 1992). While this work is immensely valuable, it is obviously important to create the space and time that is required for more Nunavut educators to research problems themselves within the educational system in Nunavut. Linda Darling-Hammond (1995), tells us that "engaging faculties in inquiry about their own practice is the most

promising approach for stimulating deep and lasting change" (Darling-Hammond & Ancess, 1994; Lieberman & Miller, 1990; Little, 1993, p. 158).

There are very few educators presently involved in conducting research within their own classrooms, though a curriculum coordinator at the Department of Education in Yellowknife started a teacher-as-researcher project across the NWT in 1995, and the Baffin Divisional Board of Education has made grants available to teachers interested in pursuing action research topics in classrooms and schools. NTEP students have completed some interesting action research projects, and publishing this work would help to further the dialogue related to educational research in Nunavut. Students like Salomie Awa-Cousins (1996), have already shared some of their research with the wider community, and other NTEP students are pursuing some very interesting questions and presenting papers at conferences.

The teacher-as-researcher movement started in England in the sixties. John Elliot (1991), shares the story of his own involvement with this movement and, in his view, it began with teachers who wanted to change the secondary modern curriculum in England. He recalls that "the activity of curriculum theorizing was something I initially encountered amongst teachers in a school" (p. 5). Theory was derived from practice and from a struggle to change curriculum practices. Elliot describes how staffroom dialogue involved "critique in free and open discourse" (p. 6). An openness to diverse views ensured that "we never became a self-contained and exclusive club, or an isolated rebel clique, so we never established an impermeable dogmatism" (p. 6).

Elliot may be looking back with rose colored glasses; however, he makes some very important points about the control of curriculum, policy, and reflective practice which stresses the importance of teacher autonomy in

matters relating to teaching. "Pedagogy is reflective" states Elliot (p. 10), and argues that conceiving of teaching as a craft culture "does not entail reflective practice." Reflective professional culture generates analytic frameworks which anticipate problems and develop particular strategies based on educational values. Elliot claims that academics have hijacked teachers' theories and that "teacher educators have appropriated them from practice" (p. 13). Elliot's accusations are shared primarily because Pauqatigiit is interested in establishing reflective practice and classroom-based research as something that is controlled primarily by educators. Fears of appropriation of Pauqatigiit by administrators or teacher educators are issues discussed openly during committee meetings.

Elliot, 1991; Garman, 1995; Goodson, 1995; Gore, 1992; Zeichner and Gore, 1995 all express fears with respect to teacher ownership of the teacher researcher movement. Their work alerts us to hidden agendas and the dangers involved in appropriation of the teacher's world. Awareness of this danger; however, should not prevent Pauqatigiit from considering the very powerful possibilities inherent in the teacher as researcher movement. Grimmett (1995), provides an example of the positive results of teacher research groups in British Columbia which might be useful to Pauqatigiit.

Describing the teacher research groups established by the British Columbia Ministry of Education between 1990 and 1993 as part of the implementation of the new Primary Program, Peter Grimmett (1995), sees teacher research as "'systematic, intentional inquiry by teachers' into their craft" (p. 115). He cites a wide range of useful references, including reviews of teacher research. Grimmett informs us that the British Columbia research focus groups "constructed diverse and critical conclusions and recommendations about the programme's implementation" (p. 116), and that

change "did not come easily" (p. 116). Referencing Fenstermacher (1992), he sees teacher research as furthering an educative rather than a systemic agenda. An educative agenda is one "intended to enlighten and emancipate the mind of the student" (Fenstermacher, quoted in Grimmett, 1995, p. 128). A systemic agenda pursues the distribution of educational services through policy. Grimmett states, "I would argue that the advent of teacher research heralds an opportunity for the balance in policy-making to be shifted back towards the educative agenda of schooling" (p. 117). He makes valuable suggestions for policies which might prevent teacher research from becoming "ideologically-based dogmatic disputes" (p. 117). Grimmett tells us that teachers are not required to "demonstrate fidelity to a blueprint for programme implementation but rather are invited to examine their practice in the light of the evidence and the fundamental values supporting a change" (p. 124). An enabling environment provides room for "doubt, questioning and dissent" (p. 124).

This approach seems to merit consideration as educator interpretations and understandings grow directly from the context, and the possible ideological dogma of imposed program implementation is raised in discussion. In drawing attention to nonrational models and suggesting that a protective culture can nurture ideas, Grimmett demonstrates a more sensitive, if slightly paternalistic, approach to the world of the classroom than is usually the case in the teacher development literature. It should be noted, however, that the changes in British Columbia still constitute a top-down approach which started at the Ministry level, and that researchers like Grimmett occupy a place of privilege as a university based researcher writing about the process. This position of privilege is not raised or questioned by Grimmett himself.

Ken Zeichner (1996), informs us that the "generation of new knowledge about teaching is not the exclusive property of colleges, universities and research and development centres"(p. 199). Zeichner believes that teacher researchers have the potential to challenge the hegemony of professional, educational research, though in a book chapter co-authored with Jennifer Gore in 1995 and quoted above, he points out that few teachers are actually published or referenced in a great deal of the writing about the topic of reflective practice (p. 203). Gore (1992), warns against the aggrandizement of teachers' knowledge within critical pedagogy and critical feminism which can "attribute extraordinary abilities to the teacher and holds a view of agency which risks ignoring the contexts of teachers' work" (p. 57). In addition, Zeichner and Gore (1995, p. 204), refer to the "glorification of anything a teacher does, or says" and point out that reflection without commitment to democratic goals may actually sustain practices that are harmful to students.

It is evident that Zeichner and Gore support the development of critically informed reflective research by educators at the same time as they reject romanticization of teachers' knowledge. Romanticization results when teachers' views are uncritically displayed by others, usually academic researchers, as if they were inherently wise. Once again this amounts to an appropriation of teachers' knowledge by university researchers. Popkewitz adds his voice to those raised in criticism of research practices that "reposition the work of teachers in a manner that denies their practical knowledge and reformulates it into a rational, instrumental knowledge that is, organized by experts" (1991, p. 230). The section on teachers' knowledge addresses this problem in more detail.

Zeichner and Liston (1991), argue that educators need to be aware of the

different traditions which operate within educational discourse and be prepared to "come to terms with their own beliefs and practices within the contexts of these distinct traditions" (p. 53). They argue that teachers need to define their values and beliefs and articulate their emerging philosophies throughout their careers. Zeichner and Liston question both Schön's model of reflection and Fenstermacher's practical argument model. Arguing from a social-reconstructivist perspective, which considers minority education in some detail, Zeichner and Liston's perspective has great importance for an initiative like Pauqatigiit. They support the synthetic and dialectical approaches advocated by Apple (1986), Levin (1985), and Carnoy and Levin (1985), and draw on the work of Lightfoot (1978), Giddens (1979), and Cuban (1984), to develop a concept of situated practice which includes both an individualist framework which bestows agency and a structuralist framework which introduces the realities of social context.

While collaborative research remains problematic and difficult to achieve, it is the kind of model that is worth exploring in Nunavut with one significant difference. In Nunavut the community must also be involved in the research in some way that is genuinely dialectical. Parents, community members, and elders can not be left out of the discourse around education. The literature on reflective practice does not seem to include many references to parents-as-researchers or elders-as-researchers. Perhaps this is one of the crucial differences we need to consider in our small, knowledge-hungry communities in Nunavut.

Teachers as Transformative Intellectuals

Henry Giroux's book Teachers as Intellectuals (1988), argues that

through politically reflective practice teachers can counteract the forces of reproduction and transform both themselves, their students, and society. The claims are broad and sweeping, encased in rhetoric and somewhat lacking in what he claims is generally missing in radical educational theory: "viable hope for developing a progressive, political educational strategy" (xxxi). Attacking the language of Marxist critique, Giroux focuses on the need to generate a language of hope and possibility. He also raises the importance of using liberating memory, educators' voices, and subjectivity within critical educational discourse. Giroux explores Gramsci's dialectical pedagogy as a basis for integrating discipline and imagination and the personal and the political within transformative practice. Giroux helps us to consider how educational ideologies can be identified and dismantled and the relationships in the classroom reconstituted to enable communication to occur. Always in danger of alienating the reader, Giroux's valuable insights are sometimes dismissed because of his high flying prose and voluminous writing; however, I believe he adds a great deal to the consideration of critically reflective practice.

The use of liberating memory within Pauqatigiit can serve to connect Inuit and Qallunaat educators in their efforts to understand the purposes of education in Nunavut. Giroux says, "The notion of liberating memory does more than recover dangerous instances of the past, it also focuses on the subject of suffering and the reality of those treated as 'the other'" (xxxiv). Liberating memory also releases voices to speak and share their realities. This has occurred time and time again in Inuuqatigiit workshops across Nunavut when Inuit educators break their silence to speak and share their pain.

Giroux also calls on Freire's assertion that all men and women are intellectuals and that theory and practice are dialectically related. In

considering critical reflection and the role of critical discourse within practice, Freirian pedagogy emerges over and over again as crucially important. A belief in the ability of all educators to theorize, critically examine and analyze both their own values and beliefs and those placed in front of them for consideration is fundamental in Pauqatigiit. This analysis does not need to become the esoteric, highly intellectualized discourse of the academy. For a start, a great deal of the discourse needs to take place in Inuktitut. The awakening of critical consciousness, which is romanticized in liberatory theorizing, takes place as questions are raised and the taken-for-granted world is challenged. As Giroux correctly claims, critical consciousness is born through dreams and articulated hopes for the future. As Nunavut educators engage in articulating their dreams they are questioning the structures, institutions, language, and ideas that presently constitute northern education. This is a critically reflective, positively focused practice and it is already taking place in Nunavut communities.

This section on teachers as transformative or critical intellectuals is included in the chapter on reflective practice, not because it is time to return to rhetoric, but because what appears in Giroux's writing to be highly theoretical, is actually very practical and useful in pursuing our interest in critical reflection in Nunavut schools.

Popkewitz (1991), speaks of the necessity of stripping intellectual epistemological privilege and becoming part of public debates within communities in a humble, skeptical way. Humility requires that while some of us may engage in more theoretical discourse in English, we are all equally engaged in the process of trying to make sense of a very complex world. This gives us no privilege other than that of confusion and the raising of more questions. Foucault (1980, p. 126), speaks of the "'specific' intellectual as

opposed to the 'universal' intellectual" and talks about the possibility of "lateral connections across different forms of knowledge" (p. 127). This establishes, as Bruner says, a conversation. This is a conversation that we can have in Inuktitut and English and bilingually together.

The word intellectual is an unfortunate choice in my opinion. I prefer the term "thoughtful educator." Maybe that seems like a liberal, sanitized version of transformative intellectual but it seems less pretentious to me. All of us have a lot of thinking to do, whether we hail from the academy, the school board offices, or the classrooms. I do know that those of us teaching children from 8:45 - 3:30 each day have precious little time to think about either our professional or our personal lives and that we all need to fight hard to create the time to enable teachers to think and reflect.

Problem-Based Professional Learning

"Problem-posing is a group process
that draws on personal experience to create
social connectedness and mutual responsibility"
(Wallerstein, 1988, p. 35)

Wallerstein is describing the approach to critical thinking and action which is central in Freirian pedagogy. In problem-posing listening, dialogue and action form the basis of a methodology which is rooted in the language and experience of participants in any learning process. Problem-posing differs from problem solving in that it signifies probing critical inquiry that does not use a linear model but is, rather, a process for raising questions with learners.

Listening, in the Freirian sense, is not a one-way process between a facilitator and a group of learners. It involves everyone listening to each other and sharing aspects of their lives verbally and by bringing objects,

photographs, or special documents to the learning context. It involves a process of transformation for both teacher and learners; it means being a "Subject *with* other Subjects" (Freire, 1992, p. 135, emphasis in text).

"Dialogue is the loving encounter of people" (Freire, 1992, p. 115), and as such it is intrinsically equitable and fair. The relationship is horizontal and power is shared in the creative dialogue which takes place in what Freire calls cultural circles. Problems are posed within the cultural circles and form the basis for dialogue. In order for dialogue to take place the following conditions or attitudes, need to be present in both teacher/facilitator and student/learner:

- love which is courageous, dialogical and committed not sentimental, manipulative, or dominating;

- humility which acknowledges mortality and one's own ignorance; it is not proud, pure, self-sufficient, or defensive;

- faith which is a profound, critical belief in the ability to create and be fully human, it is not naïve and acknowledges that power can limit, and impair agency but also realizes that through struggle comes transformation;

- mutual trust which is established through dialogue and proof that words are supported by actions that lead to equality and close partnership;

- hope which incessantly pursues the humanity denied by injustice, refuses to stop fighting and also refuses despair and hopelessness;

- critical thinking which involves perceiving and demythologizing reality in a way which actually transforms that reality.

Freire suggests that critical thinking leads people to say "'I wonder' instead of merely, 'I do'" (1992, p. 36). This involves shaking off the restrictions of "the debased, clearly dehumanized, fantasized consciousness

characteristic of massification" (p. 20). Massification dulls the possibility of critical thinking through manipulation which ensures that people do not think. In a modern technological society, even in so called remote places like Nunavut, institutions, the media, and the marketplace ensure that our needs are met and our critical consciousness dulled so it is not necessary to think. This is what Chomsky and Herman (1988), refer to as manufactured consent.

In education, for example, the provision of teacher-proof curriculum, strict, rule-based discipline, and the exclusion from school of students who do not behave, or refuse to conform, can help to ensure that it is not necessary for educators to think very deeply about the purpose of education or their own roles. When most decisions in schools are made at the administrative levels and when consultation with educators is minimal then thinking and reflection is not required. When educators are regarded simply as workers who keep students busy and transmit knowledge, skills, and attitudes primarily through transmission, then little thinking and less dialogue are required. Students emerging from this kind of education do not know how to think critically, are often alienated, disinterested in learning and are possibly more easily manipulated by the state, or by multinational corporations whose only interest is profit. The cycle is complete; massification is successful, consciousness is submerged, and the subject is dehumanized.

Freirian analysis helps us to understand that education is in fact the practice of freedom and that critical thinking involves the transformation of our society. Freire's work has the utmost importance in Nunavut, a society only just emerging from colonialism and suffering from learned helplessness and dependency which leaves people stripped of their traditional cultural autonomy and pride.

Freire tells us that resistance to critical thinking is part of the process of

emerging from semi-intransitive, naïve consciousness. This resistance is not overcome by rhetoric, persuasion, coercion, or any other kind of manipulation. He says that "while no one liberates himself by his own efforts alone, neither is he liberated by others" (Freire, 1969/1992, p. 53). Libertarian propaganda is not liberating. Freire (p. 55) argues that, "The struggle begins with men's recognition that they have been destroyed" and progresses through a humanizing pedagogy in which people teach each other. Without a humanizing pedagogy; however, change will not occur.

Pauqatigiit espouses educator control of their own learning. If this learning is to involve dialogue which leads to critical thinking and problem-posing then it is necessary to think about a Freirian approach very carefully. There are few examples of Freirian pedagogy being utilized within the teacher development literature. Jesse Goodman's account of collaborative work in Harmony school (1995, pp. 65-79), uses approaches that are dialogical and humble. Sultana (1995, pp. 131-145), uses Freirian pedagogy with student teachers, and Zeichner and Gore (1995, pp. 203-214), when they refer to the need for "greater humility and tentativeness about our accomplishments, ongoing reflexivity about ways to alter what we do and a more local focus for our actions" (p. 211), open the doors for the application of Freirian pedagogy within the myriad of more teacher-centered/teacher-empowered approaches that are now advocated so strongly.

Freirian approaches are used extensively and successfully in adult education, but the separation of fields means there is little examination of these approaches by teacher educators working in staff development across North America. It is my view that these possibilities warrant serious exploration with educators in Nunavut.

In limiting the discussion of problem-based professional learning

primarily to Freire, the approaches advocated by Dewey (1916/1966), which in turn led to inquiry learning and many other problem centered approaches, are not rejected. Ironically they do, however, tend to reflect a more technically rational approach which is quite linear and step-by-step and at this time do not seem as important to explore within Pauqatigiit. Staying true to Dewey's, original conception of problems which originate with learners differs from the more artificial approaches which spring from his work. Supporting reflection which is intentional involves risk and suspense and generates the "joy of intellectual constructiveness" (Dewey, 1916/1960, p. 187), which means we can stay close to Dewey's vision of problem-based learning.

Teacher Narratives and Personal Practical Knowledge

Personal practical knowledge, teacher narratives, biography, autobiography and studies of teachers' lives and careers represents a huge volume of important writing within the teacher education and staff development field. In many ways the work in this area can be considered pioneering because it insists that teachers' understanding is fundamental in the world of education. It seems strange that it is even necessary to state this, but, as Ivor Goodson says, teachers are "an occupational group that have been historically marginalized" (1992a, p. 15). He believes that work on teachers' lives, the sponsoring of teachers' voices "works against the grain of power/knowledge as held and produced by politicians and administrators" (p. 11).

Connelly and Clandinin suggest that teachers' "way of being in the classroom is storied" (1995, p. 12). They describe the stories as "secret ones" (p. 13) and state that, "in the end teaching is a secret enterprise" (p. 13). Teachers

need these secret places where they feel safe, can take risks, and be comfortable with their students. The secret places have another side of course. Lieberman and Miller (1992), talk about the rules teachers live by which urge them to "Be practical. Be private" (p. 7). Private space can be abused, but is still vitally important.

Combining the influence of personal biography with the desire for autonomy noted by Nias (1989), the picture of autonomous persons whose personal history is their major influence and who teach in secret, "safe" places called classrooms starts to emerge. There are reasonable grounds to suggest that all changes will be perceived from the standpoint of the teacher's personal lives, their biographies, and from their histories, habitus and heritage.

Teachers' biographies are their stories and through the sharing of biographical experiences their voices can be heard. Teachers are "grounded in their backgrounds, their biographies" (Hargreaves, 1994a, ix). Knowles (1992, pp. 102 - 106), references Barone (1987), Eddy (1969), Woods (1986) and Britzman (1985), all of whom consider biography to be a vital element in becoming a teacher. Deborah Britzman has suggested that teachers' conceptions of the roles of students and teachers are firmly rooted in their own lives to such an extent that she feels student teachers display an over dependence on what she calls an "institutional biography" (1991, p. 238). Lortie also notes that teachers "emerge from their induction experiences with a strong biographical orientation to pedagogical decision-making" (1975, p. 81).

We might conclude from the research that teachers tend to teach as they were raised rather that as they are educated. Lortie goes so far as to suggest that teachers are "self-made" (p. 80), and suggests that "training in

pedagogy does not seem to fundamentally alter earlier ideas about teaching" (p. 79). Munro (quoted in Knowles, 1992 , p. 105), supports Lortie's statement when he says, "what the trainees bring with them into training may well have more significant impact on their teaching behavior than the training experience itself."

Goodson (1992a), points out that work in personal knowledge and teachers' lives involves revealing "the deeply intimate and personal aspects of identity" (p. 15), which could be "misused by those who "employ, manage, control and direct teachers" (p. 15). Goodson fails to include university-based researchers in his list, but his warning is warranted. Before exploring teachers' personal knowledge in greater detail it may be helpful to use Goodson's concern to consider other dangers inherent in the approach.

Tom and Valli, in their critique of interpretivism (1990, p. 386), point out that there is a danger that the focus on the personal and practical suffers from "new paradigm optimism". They mean that initial enthusiasm leads to inflated claims for the importance of a new way of looking at teaching. Andy Hargreaves (1994a), always the skeptical voice, also warns that the celebration of the teacher's perspective can be "self-indulgent ... politically naïve .... narcissistically grandiose" (p. 73-74, emphasis in text). It is Foucault, however, who sounds the most chilling warning about approaches which focus on the personal. Gore and Zeichner (1995, p. 208), refer to Foucault's use of "technologies of the self" that are part of the "modern disciplinary society." In a disciplinary society confessional strategies such as journalizing, autobiography, and narratives involve sharing personal aspects of self which become instruments of "self-regulation and self-surveillance" (Gore and Zeichner, 1995, p. 208). When educators share their more personal experiences with colleagues they are subjected to social surveillance in the

form of approval and disapproval that in turn influence perceptions of the self as part of a normalizing process. Foucault suggests that in modern society people are socialized to police themselves. Confession becomes a form of control.

Exposing personal aspects of your identity can also leave a teacher vulnerable to abuse, including ridicule, that can damage self-esteem in ways that defeat the espoused purposes of more personal approaches. The cynical and rational voices of teachers are heard just as often as the idealistic and emotional. Disbelieving voices are adept at demolishing the sincerity of 'confessional' approaches and derailing attempts to bring a more personal focus into teacher development. In Nunavut those who stress more personal approaches have been labeled everything from bubbleheads to Pollyannas. While some bubbleheads are hard-headed enough to stand firmly and talk with the cynics, many are not. It is much more judicious to share the personal aspects of teaching only in very safe spaces. Connolly and Clandinin (1995), stress the importance of sharing these secret, practical stories, stating that "the possibilities for reflective awakenings and transformations are limited when one is alone" (p. 13).

Our entire way of being and relating differs when we engage in discourse with self or others we trust. Language can remain personal, subjective, warm, and open. The discourse patterns change as we engage in professional conversations with those we trust less. The language becomes more rational, theoretical, controlled. In this way teachers protect themselves and put on their professional faces so they can be safe. Teachers should share their stories only when they trust. Once trust is broken and violated it is virtually impossible to rebuild it. This is the terrain we walk into when we start discussing teachers' personal practical knowledge and the approaches

that support its exploration. Risky stuff indeed. No wonder Goodson speaks of "extraordinary care [and] ethical procedures" (1992a, p. 15), or Hargreaves discusses "ethical discourse [and] ethical principles" (1994a, p. 259). In asking educators to engage in this kind of practice we are admitting that professional learning is a deeply personal experience and professing our collective ability to meet the ethical responsibilities inherent in such risk. We are also assuming that it is possible to create the kind of space and dialogue that can address the issues of race, class, power, gender, and sexual orientation that are frequently shared when we tell our stories (Lewis & Simon, 1986; Omer, 1992; Luke, 1992). We are setting up relationships that involve some very serious responsibilities around trustworthiness, reciprocity, and equality. We need to know that participants in this process understand what is involved.

Trust is one of the most fragile and vulnerable elements in any relationship and more personally based approaches in professional education are built on trust. Hargreaves (1993, p. 253), speaks of the "reconstruction of personal trust" and warns us that "it can also reintroduce problems of paternalism and dependency" (p. 253). With these words ringing out a warning, it is still vitally important to explore the whole area of personal knowledge for it provides the basis for more critical reflection and transformation.

The focus on self and personal meaning within this particular strand of teacher development reveals its links to phenomenology, existentialism, and interactionism. Connolly and Clandinin, whose work on teachers' practical knowledge is now very well established, review the literature on studies of the personal conducted during the seventies and eighties (1988, pp. 14-19). They believe that many of the studies situate teachers in the present and feel that we need to be cautious about studies that are "cut off ... from the past and

from the future" (p. 19). They define personal practical knowledge as "a particular way of reconstructing the past and the intentions for the future to deal with the exigencies of a present situation" (p. 25). Connolly and Clandinin are interested in "understanding teaching acts in terms of personalized concrete accounts of people knowing" (1986, p. 16).

In advocating the development of a personal philosophy and personal curriculum, Connolly and Clandinin assert that knowing yourself is the basis for understanding the curriculum of the students. The telling and retelling of professional stories is a reflective process which articulates personal practical knowledge. The use of journals, biography, autobiography, picturing, document analysis, storytelling, letter writing, dialogue, interviews, and participant observations are narrative tools that can be utilized in the development of a personal philosophy.

"Elbaz's (1983), work marked the turning point in the research on teacher thinking" states Mary Beattie (1991, p. 88). She credits Elbaz with describing teachers' personal practical knowledge "in its own terms rather than in terms derived from theory" (p. 88). Elbaz, like several others working on personal practical knowledge, based her work on that of Dewey (1938), Polanyi (1958), Shutz and Luckmann (1973), Maslow (1962), and Kelly (1955), but she "showed that teachers hold and use their knowledge in distinctive ways" (Beattie, 1991, p. 90), and "put forward a view of the teacher as an autonomous agent in the curriculum process" (Beattie, p. 91). Autonomy is one of the key factors in agency and is identified as a critical component in Pauqatigiit though it suggests that a collective sense of autonomy needs to support and provide a balance to individual autonomy.

A major criticism of the personal knowledge 'industry', comes from Denzin (1991, quoted in Goodson, 1992a, p. 9), who scathingly deconstructs

biography and autobiography when he says, "in a pornography of excess which leaves no secret uncovered, the biographical text, in a single, swift stroke, erases the boundaries between the public and the private while it ceremonializes that which it has just exposed." He goes on to say that our focus on the personal, seen by Lasch (1977), as the liberal antidote to the alienation experienced in capitalism, "diverts attention away from the social structures that have done the oppression" (Denzin, quoted in Goodson, 1992, p. 9). This is always a danger with the approaches advocated by Connolly, Clandinin, Elbaz, and Beattie, that rarely address issues of social justice and sometimes tend to focus on narrow aspects of teachers' personal lives.

There is also a more important consideration which is related to teachers' identity and their own understanding of location. Denzin may be forgetting that issues of social injustice are experienced and lived by many teachers. Teachers are not all members of the privileged white middle class. In Nunavut many Inuit teachers, for example, have directly experienced debasing personal abuses associated with colonialism. They have been denied aspects of their humanity in the same institutions they are now working in (Lee, 1996). Racist practices continue and lead to exclusion which denigrates identity.

The stories of women educators in Nunavut, or elsewhere, also involve experiences of exclusion, domination, and abuse that expose inequality, unfairness, and sexism in their lives. The personal is always political for those of us who are women and find that gender is a limiting factor in our lives. The personal is always going to be political when some of our closest women friends and colleagues are abused in ways that adversely affect their whole lives, and when so many of us remain doubly positioned with the right to work in the public sphere while assuming the full

responsibilities for home and children (Luke, 1992). Most educators in Nunavut are women and share the legacy of a gendered identity. A criticism of the "personal is political" slogan in mainstream feminist consciousness-raising argues that it remained color blind (hooks, 1988), unaware of the issues of injustice experienced by women of color. In Nunavut, the telling of stories can be a meeting place between Inuit and their Qallunaat colleagues, enabling us to address colorblindness at the same time as we focus on issues of racism, sexism, patriarchy, and power within education. The stories shared in this context always have political implications. The problem is surviving the sharing of constant, debilitating pain that is the result of oppressive social structures and attendant hegemony. Denzin may have lost touch with the kind of world some of us inhabit in our teaching, and I suspect the same experiences are shared by educators teaching in aboriginal contexts, or inner city locations, all across North America (Fine, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994; McCarty, 1994; Nieto, 1992; Dehyle, 1995). Our stories of pain unite us. We must continue to tell our stories and to understand them as political experiences.

Peter McLaren says that "Translating an experience into a story is perhaps the most fundamental act of human understanding" (1995, p. 92). Narrative provides us with the ability to theorize because "theories have a story to tell about social life" (McLaren, 1995, p. 93). We need much more storying of theory and theorizing of our stories. Teachers are the ones who need to be telling and sharing their painful stories and doing their own theorizing. Researchers and academics may be able to help, provided they are not the kind of "defanged intellectuals" referred to by Edward Said (1993, p. 303). The savage inequalities that stream from the stories shared by Nunavut educators are a far cry from the narcissistic aggrandizement that is so feared by

Hargreaves (1994a).

Mary Beattie, like many practicing teachers, "was strongly attracted to the spirit of this research because it adopted a teacher practitioner perspective which acknowledged the teacher as a knowing, experienced professional" (p. 71). Beattie found the emphasis on personal practical knowledge spoke to her own experience, affirming her personal and professional identity, bringing them together to provide a much deeper understanding of her teaching. While Beattie does not address political aspects of personal practical knowledge, she still speaks powerfully to the reality of teachers' lives. This is why the work in personal practical knowledge is so vital and needs to be considered within Pauqatigiit. It starts with teachers' own experience and interpretation of that experience. It is a pragmatic, realist approach which starts with teachers' reflective interpretation and can lead to critical thinking, particularly when stories and narratives are shared with colleagues. Maxine Greene (1995, p. 20) writes of, "A reflective grasp of our life stories and of our ongoing quests, that reaches beyond where we have been, depends on our ability to remember things past. It is against the backdrop of those remembered things and the funded meanings to which they give rise, that we grasp and understand what is now going on around us."

Inuit Educational Epistemology

A dissertation which relates to professional education draws largely from academic references within the educational field and as such it is inherently biased. While the case may have been stated over and over again in this dissertation, the majority of academic writing, regardless of its efforts to write, or teach "against the grain" (Simon, 1992), suffers from linguisism

(Mullard, 1988) and derives from a Western perspective, using words from a Graeco-Latin lexicon (Corson, 1993, quoted in Cummins, 1996, p. 95).

Efforts to work outside this dominant discourse bring to mind some feminist writing and Audre Lorde's now well known declaration, "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (1984). Lorde calls for the creation of new voices and perspectives, for a different way to represent the experiences of women, but Gayatri Spivak also says that, "our only power ... [is] the power of the hegemonic, western-educated liberalism that inhabits us" (1990, p. 71).

What does this say about the efforts of Inuit educators working to create an educational system that reflects their world view, their voices, history, and epistemology when they were educated up to the degree level in a school system which represents the dominant discourse, or what Phillipson (1988, p. 341), refers to as the "international linguistic hegemony of English." Inuit share their language and a radically different history, based on different values and ways of relating to the world. Their oral history and the harsh but connected life on the land provide a powerful legacy for Inuit educators. The following narrative piece speaks to this difference:

> Inuksiaq was very protective of the environment around him: the great beautiful land which his people rightfully owned and the delicate animals that he loved with all his heart and who had become his friends. He was old enough to have learned the many habits of the vast Inuit lands and to respect those habits whenever possible .... The world of the settlers was destroying the Inuit bit by bit with their new beliefs and moral values ... But Inuksiaq's family and a handful of Inuit had sense enough to look away from this colourful world and turn to the Inuit values which were once again priceless to them. These values were based on living in harmony with nature, producing nothing but peace within their souls. (Ipeelie, 1988, p. 249)

Inuksiaq goes on to have a conversation with his friend Tuktuaapik, the caribou. They talk about the destruction of the land through mining.

Tuktuaapik, the optimist, says "We will survive through the suffering we are about to experience. Just you wait and see" (p. 252). Inuksiaq is not so sure and cries out, "Damn those invaders! ... Damn it, don't they see that we want to live too!" (p. 252). Alootook Ipeelie's writing powerfully illustrates the sense of desecration that is felt when land is destroyed, but the land is a metaphor for the mind and spirit, and he also speaks of the destruction of culture, heritage, and identity which takes place within a school system that is based on a southern Canadian way of understanding the world. John Amagoalik has said, "The Inuit now realize that their culture and language cannot be protected for them by others .... The Inuit realize that the protection, preservation and development of their culture is their responsibility and theirs alone" (NWT Land Claims Commission, 1978, p. 4).

Over the last twenty years Inuit educators and parents in Nunavut have worked towards the creation of a school system which reflects their values and way of learning, thinking, and understanding. It is an effort which works against the grain and whenever possible uses Inuit tools. These tools include Inuktitut, elders as a source of inspiration and knowledge, and the educators themselves as younger Inuit reaching back into their past as well as stretching forward into a modern Inuit society. Many of these younger Inuit struggle to make sense of this transitional space and make "footprints" in what is a new cultural space (Fortes, personal communication, March 2, 1997). This involves a slow and often arduous struggle. However, as more and more Inuit educators become involved in the process, progress is evident.

Some of these efforts may suffer from "the assertive early stages in the nativist identity" (Said, 1993, p. 229), and may sometimes be labeled as self-indulgent, angry, or narrow. Said reminds us that "moving beyond nativism does not mean abandoning nationality, but it does mean thinking of local

identity as not exhaustive" (p. 229). Inuit educators in Nunavut need the

space to work out issues of identity but this must take place on their own

terms and in their own way.

Inuuqatigiit: Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective (GNWT, 1996)

represents the efforts of Inuit educators to create a curriculum that "focuses

on the enhancement and enrichment of the language and culture of Inuit

students" (p. 3).

> The foundation for Inuuqatigiit comes from Inuit philosophy. The
> name of the curriculum, Inuuqatigiit, means Inuit to Inuit, people to
> people, living together, or family to family. It implies togetherness and
> family unity between people. This is the foundation of the curriculum:
> a unity of Inuit philosophy for the benefit of the children, teachers,
> schools and communities. (p. 3)

The philosophy is inclusive in that Qallunaat educators working in

schools are encouraged to implement Inuuqatigiit and promote Inuit values

and culture even as they teach in English and help students acquire the skills

necessary to live and work in the contemporary society. Aspects of Inuit

ontology and epistemology are not readily accessible to Qallunaat. Qallunaat

educators cannot experience the world as Inuit do. Neither can Qallunaat

educators, regardless of their valiant efforts, really walk a mile in their

colleagues' kamiks and understand what it is to know and understand from

an Inuit perspective. It is too easy to minimize the difficulties of

understanding different worldviews (Corson, 1995b, 1997b). However, Inuit

experience and identity is neither fixed nor inaccessible. They are shared

through dialogue and experiences with Qallunaat colleagues, just as

Qallunaat can share their experiences and stories of identity with Inuit

colleagues. We can cultivate what Jim Cummins (1996), calls an intercultural

orientation, which fosters understanding. We can develop empathy, but

above all we can create the space that enables all of us as colleagues to

articulate, express, and record our experiences and our understandings. Inuit can talk to Qallunaat about how they would like space to be created and discuss ways for Qallunaat educators to support the development of an Inuit school system. The creation of open dialogue, and the building of understanding is fundamental in Pauqatigiit and can be an antidote to the kind of ethnicism discussed by Mullard (1985, 1988), and Skutnabb-Kangas (1988).

The Subtle Domination of Reflective Practice

Constructivism, reflective practice, teachers as researchers and critical intellectuals, problem-based learning, and narrative approaches all tell us a little bit more about the development of personal understanding and teacher's knowledge and provide helpful approaches that can be considered in Pauqatigiit. These theories and strategies must be discussed carefully, however. They constitute a powerful hegemony which can easily dominate in discussions of professional learning. They sound attractive and appealing to teachers and certainly require serious consideration.

What seems to be certain in all the discussion of reflective practice is that the experiences of educators need to be a starting point for Pauqatigiit and that narrative accounts of experience can yield powerful accounts of reality (Bhaskar, 1989). John Amagoalik says "the presence of our ancestors within ourselves is very strong" (1977, p. 164), and Betsy Annahatak says that while students "wait to be taught ... elders are also waiting to be watched as models" (1994, p. 17). Stories and narrative experiences of students, elders, and educators have immense power, potential and importance within educator development in Nunavut. "All of Inuit history, knowledge, values and

beliefs were passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth" (Inuuqatigiit, 1996, p. 19). It is through stories, as well as experience that is storied, that Inuit continue to share this rich oral culture which involves connection to tradition and maintains vital links to the land, the animals, and life. Stories are told to explain the way people behave and to shape behavior. Sharing stories orally may be a more Inuit way of capturing experience and needs to become a much greater part of professional education.

There also needs to be ongoing discussion about the different ways that Inuit and Qallunaat educators view the world. Such discussions alert Qallunaat educators to subtle cultural differences and help them to avoid the dangers of ethnicism. Geertz (1983, p. 59), says that the view of the person as independent, "bounded" is "a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures". In Inuuqatigiit it states, "Inuit see life as an unbroken cycle in which everyone and everything has a role" (GNWT, p. 31).

Interdependence, sharing, respect, equality, patience, and cooperation all supported harmony within the traditional society. Independence and non-interference are also key values in traditional Inuit life, though they differ conceptually from Western individualism and privacy. Independence in an Inuit sense is related to "innovation, resourcefulness and perseverance", which ultimately increased "the chance of survival for the individual and the group" (Pauktuutiit, p. 15). Increasing individual wealth or attaining power for self was not part of Inuit independence. Non-interference is related to the value of equality. Inuit do not tell each other what to do and "feel a certain degree of discomfort when exercising authority over other Inuit" (Pauktuutit, p. 17). Non-interference involves a tolerance and a consideration of others based on the belief that everyone has a role and a contribution to make. It

creates space for everyone to be involved. This differs radically from the ethos of privacy in Western society which involves keeping distance, knowledge, and information from others. This is not the Inuit way in Nunavut communities where people are always welcome in each others homes, doors are not locked, and children wander from house to house in the communities. In the traditional way, which is changing, everyone exercised a gentle, disciplining, caring effect on children. There was a consistency in the way children were treated which brought continuity into the traditional society, a continuity that younger Inuit now search for in their lives.

Before closing this section it is important to stress the enormous changes in Inuit traditional life and culture which mean that the values and beliefs described in this section are evolving, changing and even being discarded by some Inuit. The seduction of popular culture, the power of television, the dominance of English, and the wealth and comfort associated with the Qallunaat way of life, all guarantee the rapid erosion of cultural values. The work of Louis Jacques Dorais (1987, 1989, 1992) in language, and of Martha Crago and her associates (1988, 1992, 1991, 1993), who look at the evolving interaction patterns between caregivers, teachers, and children can tell us a great deal about the way things are changing and may be helpful in addressing cultural and linguistic losses. These are indeed deep cultural and linguistic losses, wounds that will be felt for generations.

The healing of these wounds is part of what could be called a pedagogy of possibility and hope in Nunavut. In acknowledging pain and the need to recover, Inuit are reaching towards a new future and towards a school system which is part of the collective recovery of their people. It is vitally important that Inuit educators are given the kind of space and time to recover and find the collective strength to build an Inuit school system. The implementation

of <u>Inuuqatigiit</u> must involve this kind of process so that the passion, commitment, excitement, and dedication that accompanied its development can be maintained. Creating the space for the collective and individual articulation of values, beliefs, and stories becomes a critically important priority within Pauqatigiit.

Conclusion

This dissertation suggests that Foucauldian ethics based on a care of self can provide a strong foundation for the development of practices that can enable educators to be more aware, critical, and careful in their professional lives. Care of self involves reflecting and knowing the self as it is connected with history and society. The kinds of reflective approaches reviewed in this chapter can be very useful in this process. They can provide powerful ways of implementing more ethically based practices in professional education in Nunavut.

Chapter Eight

Power, Ownership and Control in Professional Education

"It is not a matter of emancipating truth
from every system of power (which would be a chimera,
for truth is already power) but of detaching the power of truth
from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and
cultural, within which it operates at the present time."
(Foucault, 1972/1980, p. 113)

<u>Introduction</u>

In this chapter relations of power are examined as they operate institutionally within professional education in Nunavut. In Pauqatigiit the desire to establish practices of freedom translates into the slogan "educator ownership of educator development" (Nunavut Boards of Education, 1995b, p. 6). Establishing educator ownership of professional education, however, is not a simple matter of empowering teachers, establishing professional development committees in schools, and having all agencies represented on the Pauqatigiit Committee. It involves a much more complicated process of understanding how power and discourses associated with power affect educator ownership of any initiative within the school system. It involves realizing that power affects our relationships with ourselves and with our colleagues, and that working towards consensus and teacher empowerment can actually become a regulating device that has the potential to work against educator ownership in schools.

The analysis of power relations in this chapter suggests that relationships that promote practices of freedom that are inherently ethical are

always dialectical and constantly examine their own discourse. These dialectical relationships are characterized by an equality and reciprocity that is very difficult to establish, particularly when such relationships may not serve the interests of those who presently hold institutionally legitimated positions of power within the educational hierarchy. In other words, existing power relationships may adversely affect educator ownership and the implementation of ethically based professional education in Nunavut schools.

Power, Truth and Freedom

Foucault suggests that one can "never be 'outside' power" (1972/1980, p. 141). Power is present in all our relationships with others. It is present in every interaction which takes place in our lives and is controlled in discourse which centres around versions of what is accepted as the truth. In discourse we make judgments about statements we accept as true or false, but this is highly influenced by the social, economic, and cultural hegemony that Foucault refers to in the quote which introduces this chapter. This hegemony operates invisibly to influence the way relations of power affect our daily interactions with students, parents, administrators, and colleagues. Foucault refers to this constant understanding and negotiation of power as the "politics of truth" (1972/1980, p. 132). He claims that a battle about the "status of truth and the economic and political role it plays .... is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it" (1972/1980, pp. 132-133).

Foucault does not envisage power as a monolithic, juridical, totalizing, all-encompassing force, though he feels that most orientations to power are conceived of in this way. He believes there "are no relations of power without

resistances" (1972/1980, p. 142), and that power is available to be used within networks established by the institutions in our society, including the family and school. As we resist dominant forms of power we modify games of truth, establish forms of consensus, change the rules, and establish "practices of the self, that will allow us to play these games of power with as little domination as possible" (1994/1997, pp. 297-298). Foucault links games of truth and power to freedom and ethics. Relations of power can establish practices which "bring out the freedom of the subject and its relationship to others —which constitutes the very stuff [matière] of ethics" (1994/1997, p. 300). If we accept Foucault's conception of power, then freedom from domination in our relationship to ourselves and others becomes a major ethical focus for our lives and a central concern in our efforts to learn, change, and teach.

Foucault feels that when power, in the authoritative or dominant sense, is viewed as the basis of our political institutions, the subject becomes one that is controlled by the law, by government, and by the institutional constraints imposed to maintain order. This is supported by Noam Chomsky's work on power as it operates within contemporary society and government (1997). Most existing institutions and the relationships within them operate to control or regulate behavior according to accepted games of truth and power. In Western cultures these games of truth and power are inextricably linked to capitalism and the operation of economic rationalism (Chomsky, 1997, pp. 70-93).

Education, as one of the major institutions in our society, accepts games of truth, power, and discourse established by the status quo within its hierarchical bureaucracies and as a result is often more interested in issues of control than issues of freedom. Relationships within educational institutions and hierarchies tend to become those in which domination in order to

control, rather than dialogue in order to promote minimum domination, occupies a great deal of time and effort. As David Corson (1995a, p. 10), points out, relationships of domination work effectively through the generation of consent and the use of self-disciplining techniques that are remarkably subtle and effective. Force or overt domination tends to generate active resistance, whereas discipline that is hegemonically controlling operates invisibly to create orderly conduct, the acceptance of rules, self-monitoring of behavior, and the appearance of calm. In professional education our acceptance of, or consent to, the rules established by the academy, the staff development agencies, school boards, and ministries of education control the way we learn. In professional education relations of power maintain elaborate games of truth that are sustained by establishing all kinds of formal qualifications that are required in order to be considered a competent professional. Educators are consequently tied into career long cycles of professional learning that may not actually serve their identified interests and needs, or address the realities they face in classrooms.

On the other hand, because educators can pursue their own freedom within any institutional context, they can effectively use a variety of learning experiences for their own benefit, often adapting ideas and concepts to suit their own purposes. There are many ways to resist and avoid hegemony within professional education, particularly once it is understood. Educators who understand how power operates within professional education are in a far better position to make decisions for themselves, and educator ownership of professional education can become more that a slogan.

Foucault suggests that in order to be free to know ourselves and establish relations of power that are characterized by a minimum of domination, we need to uncover hegemony and understand how the social

order we take for granted is operating so that we accept and perpetuate its truth. In professional education we need to look beneath the surface of workshops, courses and forms of professional learning to discover whose interests are really being served and find ways to ensure that we, as educators, understand what is happening when we participate as learners in any situation. Inevitably this involves uncovering power relations in a "penetrative perception of the present" (Foucault, 1972/1980, p. 62). Our freedom as educators is secured as we ensure that professional learning experiences actually meet our needs.

Relations of Power

Jim Cummins (1996), suggests that relations of power are of fundamental importance within minority educational contexts such as Nunavut, where one group holds more institutional power than another. His Intervention for Collaborative Empowerment Framework (1996, p. 138), stresses the importance of interactions between educators and students in promoting academic success and personal autonomy. In Cummins' framework, coercive relations of power in schools are seen to contribute to ambivalent or insecure identities for minority students, which leads to various forms of resistance and academic failure. Collaborative relations of power, however, tend to promote more positive outcomes for students. A considerable amount of research is cited to support his position (1996, pp. 97-113).

Adding Foucauldian analyses of power to the Cummins framework, we see that collaborative relations of power are based on the belief that power is available to be used positively and ethically in our daily interactions in

order to promote practices of freedom, while coercive relations of power are present within institutional structures which tend to promote control and governance through rules, policies, procedures, and rituals. In this chapter, dominant, passive, and collaborative relations of power, and resistance to domination are considered as they operate within schools and professional education in Nunavut. Dominant relations of power are seen as maintaining the status quo and limiting educators' professional growth, while establishing collaborative relations of power promotes positive change as well as changing the way power operates within an educational hierarchy.

Institutional Power in the Educational System in Nunavut

Chapter Four of this dissertation examined the post-colonial world of education in Nunavut in some detail. That world is based on colonial structures which promote the intellectual, cultural, linguistic, and spiritual domination of Inuit in the institutions they encounter in their daily lives in Nunavut. Bureaucracies legitimize the use of hierarchical authority and power to bring order and well-being to the lives of Nunavut residents. While the authority exercised within hierarchical bureaucracy is often characterized as benign or benevolent by those who try to work within its structures, it is inherently paternalistic, because, in spite of legislated policies on traditional knowledge, dominant values and historical patterns of behavior assume that the worldview and way of life of one cultural group is good for another cultural group.

Aspects of this struggle are illustrated in a Globe and Mail article (August 16, 1997, p. D1), which tells the story of a government bureaucrat in the NWT who openly criticizes policies which relate to the incorporation of

traditional knowledge into policy making. The article demonstrates that individuals working within government institutions may not be aware that their attitudes are paternalistic and that their thinking and the policies they are developing reflect Eurocentric values that are often diametrically opposed to aboriginal ways of being in the world. In this case it is the government itself that is trying to change, while the hegemonic attitudes are carried by the employee.

Situations within education that are potentially coercive include: delivering programs and services in English with inadequate or non-existent translation, the use of policies and paperwork that require individuals to be processed, documented, informed and questioned in ways they may find offensive and alienating; schools, or board of education offices that are depersonalized and southern in appearance; and the presence of Qallunaat in most positions of power. Most Nunavut schools and board offices are actively promoting more Inuit ways of doing business and usually ensure that documents are translated and that schools reflect aspects of the culture. These gestures help to break down the presence of dominant or coercive relations of power. However, as long as the people promoting these practices are Qallunaat, they may have a very limited effect.

Though Qallunaat constitute a 15% minority in Nunavut they presently hold most of the positions of power within government institutions and are given the responsibility to exercise authority and establish rules, policies and procedures that guide the lives of the 85% majority Inuit population. In the school system for example, Inuit hold a total of 16% of the leadership positions while Qallunaat hold 84%. This virtually reverses the demographics in Nunavut, giving Qallunaat school administrators a great deal of administrative power within the educational

system. Numerically this means that approximately 18 Inuit voices speak out from positions of leadership while 89 Qallunaat voices express their views from positions of leadership in the system. This places a large burden on the 18 Inuit educational leaders who are frequently called upon to represent an Inuit voice and perspective in educational matters. It also means that the Qallunaat in positions of authority are required to represent the perspectives of both Inuit and Qallunaat educators in their work. While Qallunaat educational leaders may share their understanding of the perspective or opinions expressed by Inuit staff members in their schools, there are some problems in interpretation and representation when the members of a majority cultural group speak for the members of a minority group. Increasingly minority perspectives need to be represented by individuals from that particular group, and it is becoming increasingly difficult and suspect to try and represent others in many contexts. The need to have Inuit voices represent the concerns of Inuit is becoming a pressing concern. It is no longer acceptable to have Qallunaat administrators speak for the Inuit members of their staff.

Ethical discourse and practice within Nunavut requires that the concepts of consent and consensus are examined very carefully. It is quite possible that ethical discourse requires the establishment of different forms of discussion, representation, and agreement than the existing practices which presently prevail and tend to privilege Qallunaat voices. For example, meetings conducted according to the rules of discourse that are taken for granted in the south may tend to silence Inuit participants. David Corson (1993), in discussing aspects of these issues states, "we need decision-making that sincerely responds to the evidence of the cultural structures that non-dominant groups value" (p. 45).

Individuals accepting teaching positions or positions of authority in the Nunavut educational system can choose to use their institutional power coercively, passively, or collaboratively. This is true for all interactions with students and colleagues, be they Inuit or Qallunaat. Choices with respect to the use of power are governed by a multitude of factors but ultimately they come down to an awareness of interactions between people in specific contexts. These interactions are influenced by the intersections of race/ethnicity, class/socio-economic level, gender/sexuality, age/elder status (Fine, Weis & Powell, 1997, p. 254), as well as one's position in the educational hierarchy. They pivot around conceptions of respect as central in building ethical relationships which acknowledge difference at the same time as they build equality.

Applying Cummins' framework to relations of power between educators would mean that coercive relations of power present in interactions could result in the development of ambivalent or insecure identity, while collaborative relations of power could contribute to the development of a strong sense of identity and feelings of empowerment. These possibilities are explored in this chapter under the following headings: Dominant, or Coercive Relations of Power; Passive and Non-Reciprocal Relations of Power; Reciprocal, Collaborative, Negotiated Relations of Power; and Resistance to Power and Practices of Freedom within Relations of Power in Professional Education. The work of Roberts and Blase (1995, pp. 55-70), Waite (1995, pp. 71-86), and Corson (1995a, pp. 87-110), provide insight into micropolitical aspects of discourse patterns. Charles Taylor's (1996), work on the politics of recognition provides the basis for a consideration of reciprocity in relationships. [B]ell Hook's (1988), writing on self-transformation within relations of domination, as well as Michel Foucault's ethics (1997, pp. 281-301),

provide a grounding for this discussion. The recent work of Giroux (1997),

Fine, Weis and Powell (1997), and others working on conceptions of

difference inform and strengthen my understanding of ethnicity, difference,

and community within the educational context in Nunavut.

Everyday interactions in Nunavut schools are exceedingly complex and

I am not aware of any research conducted on the discourse which takes place

between Inuit and Qallunaat educators, or between facilitators of professional

education sessions and participants in workshops and courses; therefore,

comments with respect to patterns of interaction must rely on work

conducted in other contexts.

Discourse analysis is an area of great importance because

understanding relations of power as they are revealed in communicative

interactions is fundamental in enabling individuals to understand

themselves and achieve the freedom necessary for agency. Agency, which in

this case describes the ability to act in a critically aware manner that exercises

ethico-political judgment within a culturally diverse context, is essential in

enabling educators to take ownership within professional education.

Examining relations of power can be very useful in identifying

potential obstacles to progress. Fine, Weis, and Powell, after years of working

in multiracial educational settings, write about "bumping up against the

stubborn persistence with which the formal structures, ideologies, informal

practices of schooling and often community life, resist inclusion (1997, p. 249).

Often the obstacles are unconscious, unexamined, and taken for granted

because they are deeply personal and relate to the way Inuit and Qallunaat

interact with each other in schools and within professional education. They

are frequently obstacles that relate to differences that are misunderstood,

taken for granted, or given no space for expression.

The categories of Inuit and Qallunaat, while they are vitally necessary in defining important cultural differences, can also build barriers to communication and understanding between the two groups in the school system. Few individuals in Nunavut seem to want to discuss issues of power openly. The word power evokes distaste. In Inuktitut the word for power translates as strength and some individuals have suggested that it should be used in preference to the word power. The word power is saturated in negative connotations from the past and its meaning might be renegotiated within an Inuit conception of the term.

Dominant or Coercive Relations of Power. Dominant or coercive relations of power bring to mind conceptions of force or power-over others that is oppressive. In the context of schools, or professional education in Nunavut; however, dominant, or coercive relations of power can operate so invisibly that people may not be aware that their interactions are actually reflecting dominance that is pervasively present in the society.

Acceptance of the authority of Qallunaat has a long history in Nunavut. In the past Qallunaat often told Inuit what to do in a variety of situations, and patterns of dominant and passive interactions were established. When someone believes that they know what is best for another adult it is very easy to treat that person in a way that is condescending. No matter how carefully individuals might try to conceal their real feelings, the power relations in interactions easily become dominating because the recipient is accepting a passive or acquiescent role. Even persuasion which involves the presentation of reasons relating to the benefits of one particular way over another may not provide a context within which negotiation can take place. Questions and choices may be very limited. Agreement or silent complicity is quickly taken as acceptance and neither party involved in the

interaction may realize that patterns of domination now characterize the relationship.

An example of coercive relations of power operating within professional education in Nunavut involves bringing educators from the communities to attend NTEP courses in Iqaluit without providing a negotiated process which might enable them to make choices about their own learning. In the past educators sometimes arrived in Iqaluit without even knowing which course they would be taking, or how that particular learning experience fitted into their teacher education program. Minimal discussion with the individuals affected sometimes led to a great deal of confusion and pain. Patterns of compliant obedience to authority established over a lifetime tend to establish learned helplessness. It is not easy to establish educator ownership in a context where these kind of historical patterns predominate.

Coercive relations of power can take place between Qallunaat just as easily as they do between Inuit and Qallunaat. They are also present in relationships between Inuit, particularly when differences in educational level and fluency in English provide an individual with more power in interactions. Condescension, impatience, and ignoring can signal the presence of coercion and provide interpersonal evidence that one person may feel superior. A patriarchal or matriarchal interaction often has a caring, kindly face. Condescension can be benevolent, overly indulgent, or fawning. Its presence usually means that the interaction is not characterized by reciprocity, equality, or negotiation.

Those who are interested in helping and supporting others can very easily slip into patriarchal or matriarchal roles that can be coercive. Sometimes Qallunaat who are the most anxious to avoid being racist and are deeply committed to supporting Inuit, project a kind of maternal or paternal

concern that can be suffocating for those who become the objects of such attention. The guilt or pity that drives these interactions means that it is difficult to establish relationships based on equality.

In order to minimize the possibility of perpetuating relations of domination and coercion we need to come to terms with our whiteness, or Inuitness, our southerness, or northerness, our privilege, or lack of it, our education, or lack of it, our gender, our class, our linguistic ability and inability, our economic advantage and disadvantage, our cultural socialization, our competence and commitment as educators, our position in the educational hierarchy, and our humor, or lack of it, as potential contributors to dominance, passivity, or assertiveness within our relationship to ourselves and with others. Each of these factors position us in power relations that can very easily become dominating or coercive. Though power-over others can be almost invisible and is usually denied, it can be recognized if we are conscious of our feelings and sensitive to the subtle signs of discomfort or uneasiness in our interactions.

[B]ell hooks (1988, p. 113), uses the term white supremacy, rather than racism when she talks about the way white people relate to black people and people of color. She says that white people "cannot recognize the ways their actions support and affirm the very structure of racist domination and oppression that they profess to wish to see eradicated." Henry Giroux refers to opening

> a theoretical space for teachers and students to articulate how their own racial identities have been shaped within a broader racist culture and what are the responsibilities they might assume for living in a present in which Whites are accorded privileges and opportunities (though in complex and different ways) largely at the expense of other racial groups. (1997, p. 314)

Qallunaat educators need to become involved in analyzing some of the

complex ways that their Whiteness can involve them in interactions that can be dominating. Qallunaat instructors and facilitators also need to consider how their ethnicity, gender, and class have socially both constructed their attitudes and the way they relate to their students. As Inuit gain more power within Nunavut and take over positions of authority, they will need to discuss the way in which their ethnicity, educational expertise, and hierarchical power can become a source of domination over both Inuit and Qallunaat colleagues. As long as these matters are never discussed, individuals will continue to engage in power and language games that can be immensely but unintentionally hurtful to their colleagues.

Hierarchies give people power-over others in ways that enable them to make decisions that can deeply affect personal aspects of educators' lives including identity, belief in self, economic survival, dignity, and integrity. For example, those who hold administrative power as principals or school board administrators make decisions about hiring, evaluating, supporting, or disciplining educators. An interaction between an administrator and an educator provides an opportunity to exercise power-over another human being. This power can become dominating simply by failing to listen respectfully, or by ignoring, or failing to be aware of the needs or interests of educators.

In most school systems educators need to ask for administrative support if they want to team teach with another educator. The same thing takes place when an educator wants to take some time away from a classroom to become involved in professional development. When someone must ask for permission or support they must first of all get through the interpersonal interaction involved in initiating the request. In the case of some Nunavut educators this may take a great deal of courage for it may involve sitting in an

office and facing a person who holds a position of authority. This can be a potentially humiliating experience. Your ability to express the idea may adversely affect the way it is understood or accepted, and if you are working in a second language there is a possibility that you may struggle to articulate ideas clearly.

The opportunities for an administrator to exercise control and therefore dominate the interaction are significant. Silence can be used to create discomfort and assert power. Taking a phone call in the middle of an interaction can become dominating because it may indicate that an educator's agenda is not really important. Once a request is made there is usually a period of waiting for approval or denial. This time can involve a few seconds, or days, weeks, or months while someone investigates, talks to others in the hierarchy or Education Council, consults with other educators and ensures that the right decision is made. An administrator can choose not to raise the matter again, or unintentionally forget, which means the educator is forced to ask about the progress taking place, once again positioning themselves in an interaction that is potentially coercive.

Administrators may not realize that educators can suffer a great deal of stress when they are involved in these kind of interactions with people who hold power-over them. Administrators who are described by educators as unapproachable may think that they are easy to talk to. They do not realize that the way they interact with their colleagues is causing such discomfort. Most administrators in Nunavut are Qallunaat males. Their power-over others is influenced and affected not only by their position in the hierarchy but also by their ethnicity and gender. Most educators are women. Women educators must ask male administrators for permission and approval in thousands of interactions throughout their careers. When even some of these

interactions are demeaning, awkward, or embarrassing, women educators may simply avoid the interactive context which in turn may prevent them from engaging in professional learning they might desire.

Inuit men and Inuit and Qallunaat women administrators have power-over others in many ways and face complex interactions in interpersonal relationships (Wodak, 1995). Assuming a position of responsibility in a hierarchy increases the necessity of considering power relations as they affect your interactions with others. Ethical professional practice and ethical discourse is not a major focus during administrators' inservice, or principals' training, and yet it seems obvious that it is a topic of the utmost importance.

Inuit educators are particularly vulnerable to possible dominance within relations of power that are deeply patriarchal. Sometimes Inuit will agree with those who hold positions of power in the hierarchy simply because their socialization tells them that those in authority should be respected and obeyed. When a Qallunaq principal suggests that a particular response is the best way to proceed they may not realize that their position alone can carry so much weight with some staff members that agreement is given without hesitation. The same thing can happen with any educator who is Qallunaq, has a lot of education, and speaks persuasively to an issue. While this attitude is much more prevalent among older Inuit, shyness and lack of experience may prevent younger Inuit educators from disagreeing with Qallunaat and representing their own views.

In Nunavut when individuals raise their voices slightly, speak quite aggressively, or make demands others rarely express their displeasure, or suggest that the behavior change. Inuit educators in particular tend to avoid and dislike verbal conflict. People who speak aggressively are traditionally

regarded as children and are to be ignored; however, this also means that dominating others is rewarded because people can easily get their own way by being loud or bossy.

Individuals who speak quickly in English when colleagues may not be able to follow the dialogue are establishing dominating power relations that do not consider discourse ethics. The use of English as the dominant language within professional education means that Inuit educators may often be placed in positions which are unethical because their ability to understand is adversely affected by their comprehension of the vocabulary, dialogue, and text. Providing opportunities for dialogue in Inuktitut may be inadequate, particularly if concepts are very difficult. Teaching vocabulary in English may also be insufficient because some concepts are embedded in exceedingly complex linguistic interrelationships that are based on different cultural values and require extensive discussion if they are to be understood. Cummins' work on common underlying proficiency (1996, pp. 109-116), and the gaps between conversational and academic proficiency (1989, pp. 21-32), apply to adult learners as well as to students in schools. The implications of Cummins' work for adult learners in Nunavut are rarely discussed in the kind of detail that would enable the facilitators of professional education experiences to consider the implications of his work.

Dominant or coercive relations of power are poorly understood, generally unacknowledged, and rarely discussed within professional education in Nunavut. They are directly linked to the colonial history and the presence of unconscious racism and hegemony in the educational system. This in turn makes the topic of power relations a sensitive one and causes educators to shy away from discussions that are potentially hurtful. Avoiding discussions of dominant power relations; however, ensures that hegemony

continues, a cycle of pain is maintained, and that educators continue to suffer the damaging and disabling effects of domination within interactions with colleagues. It is time that educators in Nunavut started discussing the kind of interactions, dialogue, and discourse that contributes to learning and teaching effectively. Nunavut educators need to start naming the violence which takes place when they feel dominated in interactions. Unless this happens and coercive relations of power are explicitly discussed, it is unlikely that dominance in interactions will change. The result is that the status quo is maintained, existing hierarchies and power relations within the education system remain intact and everyone wonders why changes that are so clearly desired never seem to take place.

Passive and Non-Reciprocal Relations of Power. Passive relations of power differ in significant ways from the collaborative, reciprocal relations of power that Jim Cummins believes lead to empowerment. Passive relationships of power are not identified by Cummins but they have particular importance when discussing patterns of interactions between Inuit and Qallunaat educators.

When an individual is passive their resistance is often expressed non-verbally, or by silence. Passivity can signify or indicate indifference, suppressed anger and rage, psychic numbing, depression, feelings of hopelessness, patterns of passivity developed from an early age, or experiences of abuse within relationships. Though passivity and silence can have powerful political purposes, none of these responses signifies the positive involvement of self in an interaction. None of the responses are likely to lead to positive or empowering outcomes for the educator who is involved.

Passivity shows itself in body language that is frequently discussed by

educators who teach adolescent students in Nunavut. Hats and jackets are worn in class, heads are down on the desks, students slouch rather than walk, and they hug the walls rather than use space in the centre of the hallways, eyes are cast down, students mutter responses, or remain silent when questioned.

Michelle Fine describes and analyses this kind of behavior in students when she discusses silencing (1989, p. 152-173). Magda Lewis in discussing the silencing of women suggests that "what is at issue is not women's silence, but men's appropriation of women's words for the purposes of advancing their own interests" (1993, p. 29). Silence and passivity enable others to fill the available space. It allows others to dominate space in their own interests and appropriate space that needs to be shared. Lewis also enables us to understand silence and passivity as a way of using power and resistance, and as a refusal to comply in a system which is alienating and disrespectful of our selves in a variety of ways.

Educators in Nunavut are not passive and silent in the way that students in schools are passive. They are sometimes silent because they cannot speak. The discourse may exclude them because it takes place in English, or uses words, concepts, or humor that are unfamiliar from another cultural location. In these instances discourse is controlled by Qallunaat. They set the rules. Sometimes silence is the only way to express resistance. It is the only way to preserve integrity and refuse to comply in relations characterized by disrespect and domination.

Classroom teachers may also find that silence and passivity are the best ways to express resistance against administrators who hold the power to evaluate their performance in the classroom. Others use passive techniques like avoidance very effectively. These include being ill when required to

attend meetings or using the illness of others as an excuse, forgetting to attend courses and workshops, using personal problems as excuses for absences, and avoiding any extra-curricular duties that might increase their vulnerability. Another passive technique that is common involves apologizing for speaking, or quickly denying something after it is spoken. Educators may say, "Just joking" when their comments actually have serious intent.

When passivity and silence remain untheorized then patterns of behavior may continue for years with the result that valuable insights are lost within educational learning experiences. Lewis stresses the importance of making sense of the "politics of silence" (1993, p. 40). The politics of silence within professional education in Nunavut calls for a close examination of the way educational discourse operates to exclude rather than include all learners. This kind of discourse can involve:

- the patter of what can be incomprehensible educational jargon;
- the wise nodding of those who understand the vocabulary;
- the adherence to linear models of learning;
- the exclusion of lived experience from professional learning;
- the pacing of courses and workshops;
- volumes of text that are thrown at students;
- the way more verbal colleagues take up available space and time; and
- the exclusive use of southern models of communication.

All these provide potential opportunities for disempowerment for a variety of learners.

Sometimes those excluded are Inuit, sometimes they are women, sometimes they are men. When exclusionary pedagogical practices prevail in professional education experiences then silence and passivity are likely

outcomes. Part of an evaluative process needs to involve an examination of the kind of discursive practices which took place in the classroom. The negotiation of meaning in most cultures takes place verbally. In the context of passive relations of power within professional education in Nunavut; however, we must also learn to read, theorize, and understand silence and its political power and meaning. Viewing the silence and passivity of Inuit as a problem that needs to be addressed fails to understand the deeper meaning that silence has in individual contexts and the way that silence might be theorized within Inuit culture.

Before leaving this discussion of passive relations of power it is important to mention that passivity can be used to dominate others. This sometimes occurs when an individual chooses to do nothing to remedy a negative situation when they have the power to make a positive change, or when an individual does not comply with a request. An example might involve an instructor agreeing to revise courses to use more inclusionary practices and completing outlines that support collaborative approaches, but continuing to teach in ways that are exclusionary. This example is used because it demonstrates that superficial changes can often mask non-compliance.

Failing to reciprocate can also be one of the most powerful ways to dominate others. Ignoring someone who speaks is perhaps one of the most disrespectful and potentially hurtful ways to exert dominance in a passive way. Children who ignore adults are adept at using power in this way. Failing to acknowledge another person is also potentially damaging. When someone greets a person and is not greeted in return it can be very disturbing. "Cutting a person dead" is an expression that has real meaning in social situations where ignoring can make an individual feel excluded and worthless. Totally

ignoring the comments of a person within a discussion can have a similar effect. Examples of these kinds of interactions are found in many professional education contexts. A person who finds they are often passive in interactions needs to consider the implications for their freedom. Maxine Greene has stated that a teacher who is not free cannot help students to be free. Freedom is a crucial element within professional learning. Minimum domination within relations of power increases the freedom available to educators. Passivity and silence, though they can be forms of resistance, may not contribute to building relationships that are characterized by minimum domination.

Reciprocal, Collaborative, Negotiated Relations of Power. Jim Cummins' (1996, p. 17), states that "the education of culturally diverse students requires a fundamental shift from coercive to collaborative relations of power." Cummins believes that this shift requires that students negotiate their identities within collaborative interactions with educators.

Collaborative interactions involves a reciprocity which denotes equality and respect and depends on maintaining a minimum of domination in power relations. Sonia Nieto suggests that affirmation, solidarity, and critique characterize a form of multicultural education which enables students to "work and struggle with one another, even if it is sometimes difficult and challenging" (1996, p. 355). By basing relationships on a solidarity that affirms respect she believes that "conflict is not avoided, but rather accepted as an inevitable part of learning" (p. 355). Charles Taylor suggests that the "making and sustaining of our identity ... remains dialogical throughout our lives (1994, p. 34). He believes that identity is negotiated "through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal with others" (p. 34).

A commitment to creating dialogical, reciprocal relations of power does

not signify a process of negotiating identities that is painless and peaceful. It requires the kind of wrestling over the truth that is referred to by Foucault. In the context of professional education this would mean that affirmation and solidarity provide a basis for critical dialogue which addresses issues like power, difference, identity, and voice. Critique is applied within one's own culture as well as to the culture of others.

Acknowledging the struggles involved in negotiating identities seems to idealize the process that is involved in establishing reciprocity between individuals. The reality is that respect is fragile and very difficult to build. Human beings disappoint each other and greed, jealousy, envy, and guilt can quickly interfere with efforts to collaborate. The sharing of limited resources can easily cause rifts to develop between educators. Personal problems, fatigue, and ill health contribute to frayed nerves that make communication difficult. All these things affect the ability to build collaborative relations of power.

Collaboration and reciprocity are built as much by doing things together as they are through dialogue. Solidarity grows out of shared experience and shared pain. Affirmation is more likely to occur as people travel together on the land, and respect grows as people share tasks equally. Preparing meals together, making traditional tools, painting murals, writing school programs, facilitating professional learning in teams, or team teaching are all likely to build understanding and create the conditions that can lead to collaborative relations of power.

Foucauldian ethics suggest that taking care of self is necessary if reciprocity is to occur. Reciprocity grows out of self-knowledge because it is only when we know ourselves that we can know others and consider their perspectives openly. People need to understand themselves well enough to

share without fear. Those accepting the responsibility of facilitating learning need to be very well grounded as people in order to foster reciprocity, collaboration, and equality.

These comments are intended to problematize conceptions of collaboration and negotiation that are suggested as keys to empowerment. Reciprocity is based on understanding the perspective of others in a way that honors subjectivity and difference, and also understands that relations of power affect the possibility of achieving equality in any relationship. Establishing collaborative relations of power requires that individuals involved in relationships are constantly working towards freedom for themselves. Michel Foucault states, "And it is the power over oneself that thus regulates one's power over others" (1997, p. 288).

Resistance within Relations of Power. Resistance to coercive or dominant relations of power is viewed within the literature as a critically important but exceedingly complex counter-hegemonic practice (Apple, 1992; Ellsworth, 1989; Lather, 1991;). Lather (1991, p. 76, drawing on Bernstein, 1977, p. 62), suggests that the standard approach to resistance views it as "those acts of challenge that agents intentionally direct against power relations operating widely in society." She suggests the concept is more complex. Efforts to enlighten, or liberate student teachers, for example may "perpetuate relations of domination at the micro level of resistance" (Lather, 1991, p. 125). Lather helps educators to see that we are engaged in webs of resistance and to acknowledge the "power-saturated discourses that monitor and normalize our sense of who we are and what is possible" (1991, p. 142).

Resistance to dominant power relations can take place consciously but can also be unconscious and may not be politically motivated. When people feel that they are being criticized, persuaded, cajoled, browbeaten, treated

condescendingly, or being required to change, they will start to use a wide variety of responses to resist. These responses may not be expressed verbally. A person may simply stop listening but say nothing. Daydreaming and doodling might be viewed as very effective passive forms of resistance. When you don't understand the dialogue taking place around you can choose to write your grocery list, plan classes for the next week, or complete a classroom budget. You may not be aware that you are actually resisting the particular message that is being conveyed in a workshop or course.

Educators are not exempt from sending notes to each other during inservice sessions and they can use body language just as effectively as their students to resist a particular facilitator. Loud sighing, raised eyebrows, frowning, sniggering, whispering, going to the bathroom, and rolling eyeballs may be associated with inappropriate behavior in a school classroom, but they also happen during professional learning experiences. Educators do not like to be told how to organize their classrooms, how to teach, how to think, and how to change. They will actively resist attempts to dictate change and this can be viewed as an active refusal to accept dominance.

Resistance can also work against educators just as it can against students. The "lads" in Paul Willis' Learning to Labour (1977), may have built their own creative culture of resistance but it denied them access to an education that might have changed their lives. Resistance can reinforce cultural practices that limit access to a wider world. This may be the case when educators reject professional learning that involves theory. Teachers are always looking for ideas that will work in the classroom. They often request hands-on, practical strategies that they can use with students. They may resist attempts to share a theoretical framework that might support particular strategies and as a result their understanding is limited. One of

Lather's graduate students, conscious of her own resistance to theory, developed a definition that refers to the "fear, dislike, hesitance most people have about turning their entire lives upside down and watching everything they have ever learned disintegrate into lies" (1991, p. 76). Few individuals are prepared to go through such a process, particularly when they are stretched to their personal limits in meeting the challenges in a Nunavut classroom.

These insights inform our understanding and appreciation of resistance as a force that can be as reactionary as it is potentially liberating. Ethical practice in professional education requires that adult learners and those who facilitate professional learning are aware of both the limitations and possibilities inherent in resistance to dominant power. Anyone involved in professional learning experiences at the school, university, or school board level engages in some form of resistance to dominant power. Sometimes the resistance is passive and at other times it is active, verbal, demanding, or even aggressive.

Facilitators may not realize that they are facing resistance because they are imposing their own agenda and worldview on students. The knowledge and expertise of any individual represents only one version of the truth and needs to be presented as such. Critique is a valuable form of resistance and a counter-hegemonic practice that needs to be directed outward at all forms of professional learning and also inward to ourselves and our complicity in furthering relations of power. Ethical resistance will seek practices that enable us to achieve greater freedom though this may involve the kind of pain described by Patti Lather's student.

Practices of Freedom within Professional Education

Foucault emphasizes the importance of maintaining practices of freedom in our lives (1997, pp. 282-284). Practices of freedom are inherently ethical because "ethics is the considered form that freedom takes when it is informed by reflection" (p. 284). Reflection and informed care of self enable us to establish practices of freedom that become a "way of being and of behaviour"(p. 286), and help us to develop a "certain way of acting" (p. 286). I believe that practices of freedom have great importance within the context of professional education in Nunavut. What do practices of freedom look like in professional education?

The principles outlined in Pauqatigiit centre around developing ownership of our professional learning. They call for direction of professional education by educators rather than by institutions and agencies that sometimes serve their own interests rather than those of educators. When we examine what this actually means I believe it has a great deal to do with freedom. This is not the kind of individualistic, self-centered freedom that is sometimes pursued by people who cast off responsibilities and run away to start a new life. Rather this is a freedom that is worked at within oneself and within one's own family, school and community. Foucault suggests that the "care of self also implies a relationship with the other .... a guide, a counselor, a friend, someone who will be truthful with you .... [and that] the problem of relationships with others is present throughout the development of care of self" (p. 287).

I am interpreting Foucault's writing about freedom, care of self, and relationship to the other in a way that provides a grounding for the development of a practical ethics that differs from the prescribed moral codes

that so often guide our lives. How do these practices of freedom differ in any significant way from the approaches within reflective/reflexive critical practice that are outlined in Chapter Seven? The significant difference centres around care of self.

Care of self enables educators to understand themselves in ways that involve daily interactions with self and those who are identified as friends and truth tellers. These interactions can involve daily chats, or journal writing in which the affairs and happenings of a person's life are shared, discussed, and reviewed either with yourself but better still with a close and trusted friend. Rather than carrying fear, animosity, confusion, and excitement around inside yourself, the relationship with a truth teller can enable individuals to share their interpretation of events and understand both the events and themselves in a different way. Foucault refers to friends as "masters" but that term has sexist and colonialist connotations that make it unacceptable.

In the Baffin the idea of having a Qauumaisaat, or guide, was implemented as a support for Inuit accepting leadership roles in the school system. The idea of establishing a buddy system for new teachers is also one that is frequently used. The process for selecting guides may not rest entirely in the hands of educators; however, which means that relationships may be contrived and open to dominant relations of power. It is vital that guides are individuals that educators trust. Time is also a vitally important component in taking care of self. Time needs to be available on a daily basis for journal writing, reflection, and discussions with your guide.

The assumption underlying this conception of professional learning is that an individual who understands herself and is engaged in practices of freedom that are inherently ethical will become a better educator. No specific

strategies for working with students are suggested and the practices of freedom involved in caring for self are matters that individuals decide with their identified guides. Surveillance is not part of this process and educators may or may not choose to become involved in this kind of professional learning experience. Mary Beattie's relationship with the teacher she worked with as part of her doctoral research is reminiscent of the kind of friendship that develops when very honest and reciprocal exchanges take place (Beattie, 1991). Foucault believes that the relationship with the guide can become one of the most stabilizing influences in any person's life. He also sees that relations of power between educators and their guides would be "mobile, they can be modified, they are not fixed once and for all" (Foucault, 1997, p. 292). Power is available to be shared and generated between educator and guide and the process is mutually beneficial.

Conclusion

In this chapter relations of power were examined to determine their influence within professional education. Coercive relations of power were discussed as potentially debilitating and inhibiting with respect to professional learning. Collaborative relations of power, particularly when they involve care of self and dialogue with a guide, are suggested as the kind of ethical practices that might enable Nunavut educators to find better ways to deal with the dominance that seems to be pervasive in a system in which cultural losses and colonial patterns of behavior contribute to pain.

I believe that care of self and an honest relationship with a guide or friend can be a powerful way to tackle the very debilitating personal problems that sometimes make it exceedingly difficult for educators to teach and

survive in Nunavut. I have listened to, supported, and cried with enough Nunavut educators, and with myself, to know that we must start any process of learning with ourselves. My awareness of the pain suffered by my colleagues, as well as my own experiences of coercive power within the educational system in Nunavut, has threatened my well being as an educator. The fact that I have been able to turn to my guides and friends to help me understand this pain and move on to a new stage in my life speaks to the strength of ethical practices that are rooted in a care of self.

Choosing to focus on caring for ourselves assumes we are whole. It helps us to understand that dominance and violence are historically and socially constructed and that the sources of pain can be named, recognized, and understood through self-knowledge. This year I have listened well to the voices of my friends and understood our shared stories in a different way. I think I have slowly started to use practices of freedom in my own life. Ultimately it is my own story and my own version of the truth that I can offer to other educators and to my friends and colleagues in Nunavut. It may enable some of them to consider professional education as a pursuit of freedom through a knowledge of self.

Chapter Nine

Post-Humanism and Ethical Practice:

Collective Autonomy and Professional Integrity

"The concept of valuing people is in some ways
a simple one yet the translation of that concept
into action has eluded many sincere attempts by
principals, parents and politicians"
(Tompkins, 1993, p. 119)

Introduction

This chapter argues that post-humanism offers a foundation for the development of ethical relationships within Nunavut. Ethical relationships provide individuals with the space and support that contributes to the growth of understanding and integrity. Post-humanism supports conceptions of the self as firmly enmeshed in webs of interactions that are sustained through care of self and critical awareness.

Educator Development and Human Relations

It seems reasonable to expect that the field of staff development would be interested in teachers as people. It is only very recently, however, that the literature has really acknowledged that teachers are central in school reform, and that their social and emotional well-being is critical in surviving the demands of teaching. Given the typical nature of educational reform efforts in North America, the pendulum has now swung around to focus on teachers with such intensity that several researchers have expressed concerns with respect to aggrandizing their status (Gore, 1992; Gore & Zeichner, 1995;

Hargreaves, 1995). It has not yet been stated clearly enough; however, that

what is lacking in teacher development is a focus on humanity and the

human condition, which is not the same as romanticizing educators'

professional lives, or adopting a fuzzy humanism that focuses on being nice

to everyone.

Jim Cummins' opening paragraphs in his book, Negotiating Identity:

Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society, contains the following

statement, outlined in bold, "**human relations are at the heart of schooling**"

(1996, p. 1). This chapter considers some of the issues involved in developing

ethically based professional education that places human relations at the

centre of our work in schools.

Post-Humanism

Jacques Lacan is usually credited with the insights that led to what is

now called post-humanism. Post-humanism inverts ego-centered psychology

and psychoanalysis suggesting that the self operates within networks of social,

cultural, and linguistic patterns that shape and construct subjectivity. Post-

humanism is at the heart of the kind of educator development suggested in

this dissertation. It is a political process which differs from humanism and

involves an ethically based commitment to the negotiated subjectivity of each

and every educator. It provides the grounding that nurtures the "fragile self"

(Hargreaves, 1994, p. 71). This is a self that is historically and socially

constructed, implicated, and shaped even in its resistance.

Post-humanism views the self as connected to and mirrored by others

because it is based on the interactive, communal nature of subjectivity.

McLaren says that post-humanism is founded on a post-structuralist

conception of human experience in which "experience and subjectivity do not collapse into the humanist notion of the integrated ego as the source of all actions and behavior" (1995, p. 42). Rather, the post-humanist subject "is constantly remade, reshaped as a mobilely situated set of relations in a fluid context .... amoeba-like struggling to win some space for itself in its local situation" (p. 42).

The previously unpublished writings of Eric Fromm (1962/1994), state that people would become insane if the self was considered isolated and separate. Fromm argues that the desire to overcome "separateness and find union .... [is] the strongest passion in man [sic]". He goes on to say that as people we have two choices: "to regress [or] develop our humanity". Fromm and other humanist philosophers, such as Martin Buber, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Martin Heidegger, and Jean-Paul Sartre writing from a phenomenological, existentialist perspective, contributed to the breaking apart of modernist essentialism though they generally write from an ego-centered location. For most writers in this tradition, existence precedes essence (Noddings, 1995), in the same way that ontology and epistemology merge for a critical realist like Roy Bhaskar, a critical pragmatist like Cleo Cherryholmes, or a post-structuralist like Foucault who suggests a "critical ontology of ourselves" (Dumm, 1996, p. 142), that "is seeking to give new impetus, as far and wide as possible, to the undefined work of freedom" (Foucault quoted in Dumm, p. 143).

Existential writings are precursors to postmodern, post-humanist, and post-structuralist thought linking us to a history that represents a struggle for freedom, autonomy, or "space", as Foucault and McLaren describe it. Freedom is rarely achieved without a struggle. It must be fought for in highly contested political spaces, where competing agendas and voices can use existing power

relations to achieve their own objectives. Post-humanism differs from a fuzzy-headed, liberal attitude that "legitimates a false and 'cheery' view of Western civilization" (Giroux, 1997, p. 125). It posits a fractured, ever-changing reality at the same time as it celebrates a clear-eyed, crap detecting refusal to succumb to despair. It involves an affirmation that is based on the belief that love and freedom are synonymous but always elusive.

Recent trends in staff development have seen the emergence of relationships and more teacher-centered approaches as central. This focus proves to be exceedingly dangerous with respect to the implementation of ethically based practices in professional education. In a recent article in the Staff Development Journal (Caffarella, 1996), the groundbreaking work on the centrality of relationship and the importance of identity and intimacy in the lives of women (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986; Gilligan 1982; Levinson, 1986), is reduced to a prescriptive list of dos and don'ts for staff development workshops. This list provides a nauseating reminder of the way a simplistic, mainstream orientation appropriates personal aspects of our professional identity and reduces them to a commodity — another product to be bought, sold, subjected to indignity, and possibly crushed. The words ethics, ethical practice, or critical reflection never appear in this shallow, reductionist article which suggests ways of opening up teachers to share private aspects of their identity. Denzin's warning, or as Goodson terms it, his "blitzkrieg", which suggests that "in making the sacred visible .... we have failed to articulate a politics that takes this position seriously" (Denzin, 1991, pp. 3-4, quoted in Goodson, 1992, p. 9) rings like an essentialist Truth when witnessing such an appropriation of the private in the name of professional growth. Foucault is certainly correct in warning us that everything is dangerous.

The Heart as the Latest Trend in Staff Development

The 1997 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, edited by Andy Hargreaves, is entitled <u>Rethinking Educational Change with Heart and Mind</u>. The heart is now mainstream, open to be used as a tool in staff development. This "new" emphasis on the heart, far from leading to a deeper kind of meaning for educators, is likely to be appropriated by those imbued with zeal and turned into yet another manipulative structure to be used as power-over, rather than power-for educators.

Maxine Greene speaks of the "experiences of absurdity we live through when our deepest existential questions are met with blank silences" (1995, p. 51). Silence, however, is preferable to the soap opera manipulation of subjectivity. Better to keep our deepest existential questions under wraps than expose them to public abuse. This does not mean that emotions are out of bounds in professional education. Nothing could be further from the truth. Human beings, including educators, are preoccupied with "morality, randomness, absences, and the emptiness of the sky" (Greene, 1995, p. 51). They are also preoccupied with their own questions, small truths, meanings, and humanity, and with their own safety as it intersects and is co-constructed in discourses with others.

This is far from the trivialized individualism, prescribed reflection, or possible appropriation discussed in Part Two of this dissertation. A great deal of the writing and thinking in teacher development, indeed in teacher education in general, sees the world "small" (Greene, 1995, p. 10). The "small" way of seeing professional learning treats educators as if they were semi-conscious and in need of life supports, including "empowerment", that are prescribed in carefully measured quantities to keep them alive and breathing.

Just as the person on life support is not fully alive, so are educators denied access to their own humanity in many staff development efforts. Humanity is reduced to a prescription. Individuals on life support machines are not aware of what is being pumped into their bodies, or what is provided to alleviate pain. In the same way educators are sometimes unconscious of the manipulation involved in approaches to staff development that focus on the heart.

Educator development, if it is to avoid the trap of emotionalism, requires a political awakening to recover our post-humanist subjectivity. It involves learning to love ourselves, our colleagues, and our students in a way that refuses to allow the self to be positioned as a victim. This involves recognizing how schooling and educator development can contribute to alienation and loss of self by maintaining structures and practices that are inherently demeaning and dehumanizing. It means we must refuse to sacrifice personal aspects of ourselves in the name of progress, research, or reform until we have weighed the costs and discussed the potential pitfalls and benefits openly with colleagues. A post-humanistic consciousness recognizes the agenda of the market hungry researcher or staff developer and refuses to participate in any games of truth that use subjectivity as the bait.

Fromm (1994), speaks of humanism as generating harmony and love. Peter McLaren speaks of "ethical intent commensurable with love" (1995, p. 226). Cummins says that collaborative relations of power involve "the kind of affirmation and power that is generated when two people love each other" (1996, p. 25). Freire sees love as central in liberation, and says that education is the pursuit of freedom and believes that people need to "struggle to regain their lost humanity" (1968/1970, p. 28). There is a great difference between love which is inherently careful and respectful and the contrived

sentimentality that can be involved in baring one's soul during some random professional learning experiences. The latter involves an unethical violation of self. [B]ell hooks (1989, quoted in McLaren, 1995, p. 172) states,

> We must distinguish between the bonds of care and commitment that develop in a dominant-submissive, subject-object encounter and that care and commitment which emerges in a context of non-domination, of reciprocity, of mutuality. It is this bonding that enables sustained love, that enables men and women to nurture one another, to grow fully and freely.

Educator development is a search for the autonomy and integrity which provides freedom, and this involves a political struggle to reconnect to self and therefore to humanity. "The act of becoming a subject is yet another way to speak of the process of self-recovery" states bell hooks (1988, p. 29). In discussing the way "forces of domination fragment, estrange and assault our innermost being" she recalls the words of a Buddhist monk, Thich Nhat Hanhn who spoke of enlightenment as "returning home .... of the way to get back .... described in terms of the recovery of oneself, of one's integrity" (hooks, 1988, p. 29).

In Nunavut, pain and daily losses strip us of humanity. Students and educators — children, young adults and adults — come to school in pain: hungry, disconnected, needy. Our educators suffer abuse, discrimination, and grief as a part of daily life. Suicide claims the lives of children, students, friends, and colleagues. The effort to teach and learn as human beings is sometimes too much and we experience alienation, exhaustion, and emotional collapse as we face these demands on a daily basis.

In the recently re-published Our Future is Now (BDBE, 1996) the first internal challenge to achieving the goals outlined in this document is expressed as the "social and emotional needs of many staff and students in communities which make it difficult for them to focus attention on teaching

and learning" (p. 4). Multiple losses lead to psychic numbing. A pervasive alienation from self, psychic numbing involves the loss of feeling, a lack of connection, a separation from reality. Marris (1974), reminds us that "we cannot then escape the inner conflicts of bereavement, unless we cultivate a deadening indifference" (p.103). Deadening indifference is sometimes the only way to cope with the cultural losses, the constant change, the deaths, and loss of self that are involved in forms of abuse and pervasive racism.

Our professional masks can become an inscrutable professional demeanor which hide strong emotions, indifference, and alienation. One of the main reasons that educators have difficulty reaching students, crossing borders, or negotiating collaborative relations of power, is because they are alienated from themselves, frightened of the risks involved in a post-humanist position, suspicious of innovations from the outside, and exhausted from caring so much. They lack the time that is necessary to take care of themselves and establish a theoretical grounding which can make sense of their world. McLaren (1996, p. 118), drawing on Henri Lefbvre and surfing one of his typically pre-orgasmic tidal waves against postmodern nihilism, states, "we are suffering from an alienation from alienation — that is from a lack of awareness that we exist in a state of alienation". McLaren needs to get off his surfboard and realize that most educators recognize in vague, uncomfortable, sometimes poorly articulated ways that they are alienated, but they have few opportunities to discuss this with colleagues, or to explore the reasons for their alienation, unlike some researchers who have the time to write about our alienation and our passions, but sometimes lack the shattering context of real experience in schools. Many of us recognize our alienation and are further alienated by the efforts to inform us of our alienation. Teachers who carry the burden of alienation must face the

emotional demands of classrooms on a daily basis. It is not surprising that people break down, turn negative, lapse into silence, burn out, or simply quit (Hargreaves, 1997).

It is unfortunate that it takes researchers like Fullan and Hargreaves to tell us that it is time to pay attention to the emotions of teaching, though it is certainly time that someone, preferably a teacher, shouted it from the rooftops. However, shouting about emotions fails to direct attention to the structures that contribute to educator burn-out and stress. Collapsing educational hierarchies as they presently exist, fighting to regain financial resources and making more time available to classroom educators, is likely to have much more impact on educator well-being than any confessional sessions initiated by staff developers.

The need for structural change is not even hinted at in the writings of either Michael Fullan or Andy Hargreaves in the 1997 ASCD Yearbook. Fullan and Hargreaves have taken one very important step in speaking of mind and heart and they do use the word ethics, but they use it without a political edge that could make a real difference for educators struggling in schools. Calling for "emotional maturity [and] cognitive intelligence" (1997, p. 220), that he believes "is crucial to effectiveness" (p. 220), Fullan places the burden for change right back onto educators in schools. What he is suggesting is potentially manipulative. The logic used in the argument seems to suggest that educational change failed because it was too rational. All we need to do is hook the emotional into current approaches and we can get educator development to work. Putting it another way — if we can't get them through the head, we'll get them through the heart. Pulling educators' emotional strings becomes the last hope of administrators who seem to be determined to take another kick at controlling educators in classrooms.

Hargreaves (1997, pp. 19-21), outlines four possible approaches that can be used in going "deeper and wider in educational change in terms of the relationship between schools and their surrounding communities" (p. 19). These are described as: market-based relationships, managerial relationships, personal relationships, and cultural relationships. He dismisses the first on the basis of inequity, the second on the basis of rationality, the third he supports because, for parents, it focuses on "the achievement and well-being of their own children". The last is described as cultural, being based on "principles of openness and collaboration developed collectively with groups of parents and others in the community as a whole", but the approach turns out to be Henry's (1994), feminist approach to working with the community. While Hargreaves acknowledges the dangers inherent in any approach that "marginalizes many social groups who are unable to exercise choices" (p. 21), he does not refer directly to the political foundations of the approaches that he describes, and fails to adequately stress the nature of power relations between parents and educators as a barrier in changing the way schools are controlled. Nevertheless, Hargreaves, in suggesting a more relationship-centered way of involving parents in the education of their children, opens the door for fundamental change. My concern with his suggestions centres on his failure to mention the macro-political context. I must presume this omission is deliberate considering his background in the sociology of education. Ethics demand that Hargreaves inform his readers that neoconservative forces are very likely to try and use relationship-centered education for their own purposes. In failing to alert us to this danger, he leaves us open to the wolves, something he would be very unlikely to do if he were the principal of a school and had the welfare of educators as his major priority. I am not denying that educators themselves can be immensely

conservative, self-interested, and manipulative. They are human and this is not an argument to cast educators in the role of pathetic victims. Educators have a responsibility to speak for themselves. When they are busy, stressed, underpaid, exhausted, and very close to retirement, it is sometimes difficult to find the energy to actively resist change.

Strong emotions are the political hope for the future. Educators can use strong emotions to change the educational system and demand that their realities are understood as a vital component in addressing the needs of students. That is when heart and mind are working together effectively. It is when educators have the time and space to think, write, and articulate their own realities with their colleagues that change is possible (Lieberman, 1997).

Britzman (1991, p. 239), believes that the normative discourse in schools works to construct teachers' professional identities but she also feels that though "powerfully convincing, [normative discourse] is not immutable". The self, as historically and socially constructed and negotiated, is situated in and influenced by a school culture which includes discourse with others. Britzman warns against "exaggerating personal autonomy" (p. 232), for it stands teachers alone as if self-made when they actually stand with others in their desire for integrity.

We are stepping well beyond the limitations of individualism in Pauqatigiit. Nunavut educators are crying out to share, to learn together, to engage in meaningful, close relationships with their peers and colleagues, to build harmony, and to work together in their teaching. It is imperative that this cry is acknowledged and honored as soon as possible, or educators will start to feel betrayed, to believe that their voices just cried into a wilderness, that no one heard them and that no one cares. As one Nunavut educator stated, "I'm happy to see a questionnaire like this. Now please use it and don't

just file it away after all this work. This can make our dept. stronger, better and more efficient" (Nunavut Educator, 1994).

The strong desire to share means that alienation is not as pervasive as people like Peter McLaren or Michael Fullan might believe. Hope is present and Nunavut educators, in spite of the demands they face, are constantly reaching out to make more sense of their teaching. Nunavut educators are deprived of many of the conditions which could help them to establish collective autonomy and take control of their professional lives. Segregated classrooms, rigid hierarchies, lack of time, liberal ideology, and the pervasive professional mask ensure that educators are all too often left to stand alone.

Educators are People

The teacher development literature in the past may not have emphasized that teachers are people, but in 1975 Lortie stated that in teaching, relationships are "invested with affect"(p. 61), and noted that 78.9% of the teachers he interviewed stated that students were their chief source of satisfaction. The work of Jennifer Nias' (1989), also stands out in this respect. Working from a symbolic-interactionist perspective she tells us that teachers think of themselves as "'caring' people (i.e. sometimes as loving and always as prepared to put the interests of children before their own)" (p. 204). Nias informs us that "no account of primary teachers' experience is complete if it does not make room for potentially dangerous emotions such as love, rage and jealousy, on the one hand and intermittent narcissism and outbreaks of possessive dependence on the other" (p, 203). She reminds us that teachers are required to "perform complex and demanding tasks under conditions which constantly underline their loneliness and individual accountability

and yet remind them that failure is a reflection upon their own worth as people" (p. 203).

The intensely human nature of teaching is constantly reinforced in Nias' work. Andy Hargreaves, who is deeply respectful of and influenced by Nias, has talked for years about the emotions involved in teaching (1994, pp. 141-159), and has stressed the need for educators to be politically involved in changes in their schools. He reminds us that feelings of "anxiety, frustration and guilt .... can be profound and deeply troubling" (p. 141-142). Hargreaves says that, "Elementary teachers frequently feel concern, affection, even love for their pupils"(p. 145). Hargreaves draws on Nias in discussing the "primacy of the care orientation" (p. 145), stating "The more important that care is to a teacher, the more emotionally devastating is the experience of failing to provide it [and] .... the more susceptible to depressive guilt one is likely to be" (p. 145). Hargreaves points out that caring can be self-destructive for teachers who fail to find a balance and may actually create chaotic, disrespectful classroom environments in their efforts to nurture children. His comments stress the need for emotional balance, care of self, and respect.

Hargreaves draws our attention to other aspects of teacher consciousness that are laden with feeling. Perfectionism is driven by "the pressures of the workspace; by singular models of expertise which preclude sharing and the inadequacies it might expose; and by the separation of personal troubles from professional performance for fear of betraying private shortcomings that might prejudice opportunities and rewards in the workspace" (p. 152). Here, yet again, the professional mask and the modernist school culture conspire to stress rationalism and eliminate the possibility of post-humanist practice. Professional cultures are safe cultures for they enable everyone to don their masks, take up their roles, and hide. Safety should not

have to be abandoned in the process of creating more caring school

communities.

Before leaving Hargreaves and the emotions of teaching I want to draw

attention to his essay entitled <u>Development and Desire</u> (1995, pp. 9-34). In the

conclusion of this piece of writing Hargreaves draws together technical

competence, moral purpose, political action, and emotional engagement to

suggest a more holistic integration of teacher development. The following

almost rhetorical section is quoted at length to illustrate his argument:

> If passion and desire are to be stimulated and supported among many
> teachers over long periods of time, they must be attended to in the
> ongoing conditions and cultures of teachers' working lives. Increasing
> competence and mastery both fuels and is fueled by teacher desire.
> Moral purpose gives a focus to desire, can channel it in worthwhile
> directions. Political action and awareness can help combat the
> conditions of isolation, poor leadership, imposed and escalating
> demands, narrow visions and disheartening working conditions that
> can otherwise dampen teachers' desire. Creating collaborative
> environments of continuous learning and working with "critical
> friends" can enhance this project of resistance and reconstruction even
> further.
> What we want for our children, we should also want for their
> teachers - that schools be places of learning for both of them and that
> such learning be suffused with excitement, engagement, passion,
> challenge, creativity and joy. (pp. 27-28)

Joy is indeed the outcome when educators are alive. To come

alive they do need to connect with others in a variety of locations and their

working conditions must be changed. This is a political process.

Post-humanism is grounded in ethical practice and culminates in

political action. Hargreaves starts to reach towards an integrated vision in this

passage but the same kind of fire and political edge is missing in his chapter

in the ASCD Yearbook. A commitment to critical, ethically based, political

practice which includes the kind of morality of responsibility referred to by

Carol Gilligan (1982/1993), and Nel Noddings (1984), truly combines the mind

and the heart and provides a coherent framework for professional education in a time of great change. It reflects the kind of "learned hope [that is] the signpost for this age" (Bloch, quoted by Welch, quoted in Giroux, 1988, p. 214). This is the kind of direction I am searching for throughout this dissertation, but it can only be found by educators themselves when they take control of their own professional lives and refuse the slick manipulation that continues to be part of the reformers' agenda.

Collective Autonomy and Professional Integrity

Autonomy emerges as a major theme in the professional education literature and I return to Johan Galtung's definition which is quoted in Cummins (1996, p. 240):

> Autonomy is here seen as power-over-oneself so as to be able to withstand what others might have of power-over-others. I use the distinction between ideological, remunerative and punitive power, depending on whether the influence is based on internal, positive external, or negative external sanctions. Autonomy then is the degree of 'inoculation' against these forms of power. These forms of power, exerted by means of ideas, carrots and sticks, can work only if the power receiver really receives the pressure, which presupposes a certain degree of submissiveness, dependency and fear, respectively. Their antidotes are self-respect, self-sufficiency and fearlessness ... 'self respect' can be defined as 'confidence in one's own ideas and ability to set one's own goals,' 'self-sufficiency' as the 'possibility of pursuing them with one's own means,' and 'fearlessness,' as 'the possibility of persisting despite threats of destruction ....
>
> The opposite [of autonomy] is penetration, meaning that the outside has penetrated into one's self to the extent of creating submissiveness to ideas, dependency on 'goods' from the outside and fear of the outside in terms of 'bads.' (1980, p. 58-59)

Galtung's definition of autonomy could be viewed as stressing self-reliance and the power of the individual, reflecting a modernist preoccupation with individuality. However, I feel it is intended to be more

collective than may appear on a first reading. There is no question that anyone choosing to stand alone in a Nunavut school would need to be extraordinarily strong and courageous to withstand the forces of normalization, coercive relations of power and postmodern alienation. Few individuals standing alone can successfully create the conditions which lead to professional autonomy. What needs to be clarified in Galtung's analysis is the role of collective autonomy in any pursuit of integrity.

This appears to be a contradiction in terms because autonomy so often denotes individuality. However, its meaning is distinctly political and is linked to personal freedom and self-government. Sharon Welch says that "It is oppressive to 'free' people if their own history and culture do not serve as the primary sources of the definition of their freedom" (in Giroux, 1988, p. 218). Collective autonomy is developed by educators themselves as they reach out to their colleagues.

Educators must define the kind of autonomy they desire through dialogue which involves all voices. In the Pauqatigiit survey educators have asked for the space to share. This is a cry for autonomy as well as plea for community. This is why collective autonomy is so important.

Collective autonomy occurs when groups of educators work together in their own self-defined ways. For Inuit educators this requires negotiation on their own terms. This usually means working in Inuktitut where the entire discourse can reflect patterns of relationships and interactions that are more comfortable, familiar, and creative for Inuit. A discursive process taking place in both Inuktitut and English reflects Habermas' conception of the ideal speech situation which is actually based on "a communicative reformulation of autonomy" (Ingram, 1990, p. 146). David Ingram tells us that "Habermas now claims that the justice, or equal rights, guaranteed to individuals in the

ideal speech situation, cannot be conceived without solidarity" (p. 149). He quotes Habermas,

> *Justice* concerns the equal freedoms of unique and self-determining individuals, while *solidarity* concerns the welfare of consociates who are intimately linked in an intersubjectively shared form of life - and thus also to the maintenance of the integrity of this form of life itself. Moral norms cannot protect one without the other: they cannot protect the equal rights and freedoms of the individual without protecting the welfare of one's fellow man and the community to which the individuals belong. (p. 149, emphasis in text)

As Ingram points out, individual rights without solidarity do not attend to common welfare; solidarity without individual rights can restrict the freedom to refuse participation. Individual autonomy limits freedom while collective autonomy seeks freedom for everyone. While Habermas, like Gutmann, operates from a universalist moral position, criticized by post-structuralists and feminists, he argues back that pluralistic moral positions can become relativist.

Benhabib, for example, argues from a feminist, standpoint perspective for the "distinctiveness of the other .... governed by the norm of *complementary reciprocity*" (quoted in Ingram, 1990, p. 208, emphasis in text). Benhabib contrasts complementary reciprocity with formal reciprocity. Formal reciprocity, she claims, is based on "what we have in common" (quoted in Ingram, 1990, p. 208), while complementary reciprocity focuses on the "individual being" (quoted in Ingram, 1990, p. 208).

Ingram (1990), outlines the tensions inherent in Habermas's discourse ethic which he claims is "unclear about its identity." He goes on to state:

> On the one hand, it is supposed to ground universal communication rights which transcend particular needs. These rights, which reflect the standpoint of the generalized other, are ostensibly immune from democratic discussion and recall. On the other hand, the discourse ethic is supposed to ground a democratic community in which persons care about whether their particular needs and interests are

compatible with the well-being of all. Rights should flow from communal interests, not vice versa. In this respect, the discourse ethic presupposes feelings of solidarity that reflect the standpoint of the concrete other. (Ingram, 1990, pp. 208 - 209)

Given the context of Nunavut and the potential invasiveness of rationalist, universalist moral arguments, I would have to say that, while the ideal speech situation alerts us to ethical issues inherent in Inuit/Qallunaat relations, the more open, reciprocal approach suggested by Benhabib seems to merit consideration by our educators. In practice this would mean that Pauqatigiit needs to develop a discourse ethic which is grounded in shared beliefs and values held by both Qallunaat and Inuit, but must also allow for considerable divergence of opinion considering the marked difference between the worldview of Inuit and the worldview of Qallunaat. It must always be possible for Inuit to form their own course of action or their own ethical practices, which at times might differ from the ethical practices defined by Qallunaat. Inuit might agree that consensus is required for a decision to be binding, whereas Qallunaat might agree on a simple majority. Therein lies the tension between the universal and the particular. This is something that I cannot hope to address adequately in this section of the dissertation.

McLaren (1995, p. 140-144), argues with me, that we must attend to the standpoint of the concrete as well as the generalized other and refers to Benhabib's more recent concept of "interactive universalism" (p. 140), which he feels speaks to a humanism "based on engagement, confrontation and dialogues and collective moral argumentation between and across borders" (p. 141).

McLaren wants it all. His provisional utopian vision of a post-nationalistic, universalist emancipatory, critically multicultural worldview seems to implode into post-structural babble; however, though much of his

rewriting of text can be frustrating, he speaks to our context in Nunavut in a way that is linguistically alienating but has tremendous practical value. A translation manual might be helpful for Nunavut educators.

Collective autonomy has special significance for educators in Nunavut because most of us are women. Our interpretation of autonomy is complicated, linked to webs of responsibility and care, and constructed outside the mainstream discourse, which is linked to the grand narratives of the Enlightenment positioning the self in individualistic terms. Nunavut educators often care for children, husbands, grandparents, friends, and relatives before they care for themselves. Students in my classes at NTEP were often physically and emotionally exhausted when they simultaneously cared for sick children, aging parents, partners struggling with alcohol problems, and relatives suffering a variety of emotional stresses. Gilligan, referencing Lovinger (1970), says that autonomy is "placed in the context of relationships ... as modulating an excessive sense of responsibility" (1982/1993, p. 21). This quotation highlights the importance of a concept of collective autonomy within teacher development but also within our lives. When responsibility is shared we are in a much better position to cope with and survive the multitude of daily challenges that seem to be part of our lives as busy educators.

Within the myths associated with female goodness, selflessness is contrasted with selfishness. The tendency of women to act selflessly is reinforced by Christian and particularly Catholic morality which stresses the importance of giving to others. It is reinforced by traditional roles in Inuit and Qallunaat society. Giving, caring, responsibility, and selflessness are the threads woven into a tight web in womens' consciousness. Their outcomes can sometimes involve courageous altruism but also the traps of martyrdom

and victimization in which mothers or women teachers give to children at home and in school to such an extent that their own needs are seriously neglected. When Gilligan speaks of autonomy as a modulating influence she is referring to a more balanced position which sets limits to responsibility and attends to personal needs and desires, while at the same time, caring for others.

In traditional Inuit society, womens' roles were clearly defined and everyone shared the work. Now, like women everywhere, Inuit women often shoulder the burdens of working to feed their families as well as the physical and emotional demands of cleaning, cooking, shopping, and taking care of the children. Salomie Awa-Cousins states that "employment has been introduced to the Inuit culture only in this generation and for many Inuit there were no role models when it came to having a job" (1994, p. 7). She analyses the many factors which contribute to the difficulty Inuit men experience in adjusting to the changes in the society, referring to the loss of cultural identity that was linked to hunting and life on the land. Suicide rates are higher for men, they commit more crimes, and are unwilling to take positions in the service professions because they involve "'womens' work" (p. 6). Unfortunately womens' work also takes place in the home. While men are struggling to adjust to the new way of life in Nunavut, women are working, bearing, and caring for children, and keeping their families together. These are women, like Awa-Cousins, who teach in Nunavut schools, care for their own children, and act as cultural brokers in their society (Stairs, 1991).

Cultural brokers are frequently women educators and mothers who carry incredibly heavy loads in Nunavut schools. Autonomy may be hard to find between the threads of responsibility that can be binding and very limiting. While Gilligan stresses that webs sustain as much as they restrict,

that women value connection and relationship over separation, and that autonomy can be an "illusory and dangerous quest" (1982/1993, p. 48); she also designates the conflict between compassion and autonomy, between "integrity and care" (p. 157), as a "central moral problem" (p. 71), for women. The kind of autonomy, or integrity, that is being suggested in this dissertation may take a different form when it is discussed in Inuktitut by Inuit; however, reading Gilligan carefully indicates that the ethic of responsibility and care needs to be modulated and balanced by autonomy and collective responsibility so that women can establish their own models of integrity that are based in interdependence, relationships and connections.

Conclusion

This exploration of some of the issues around post-humanism, integrity, and autonomy does not provide the kind of depth that is necessary when considering them as part of the picture for educator development in Nunavut. The issues are extremely complicated and not easily grasped. What should emerge from this chapter; however, is an understanding that educators are involved in searching for integrity and professional autonomy as they search for their own version of truth as it is constructed with others in their schools. This search requires space and time, factors not always available to educators in many school systems, including Nunavut.

If we want to take seriously the challenge of implementing ethically based practices based on a post-humanist understanding of subjectivity, then we must be ready for some very long debates, and we need to ensure that there is room for everyone to share their particular standpoint in that debate. That requires a multilingual exchange and a great deal of mutual respect.

Chapter Ten

Freedom, Space, Voice and Community:

A Magic Prayer
I arise from rest with movements swift
As the beat of a raven's wings
I arise
To meet the day
Wa - wa.
My face is turned from the dark of night
To gaze at the dawn of the day,
Now whitening in the sky.
(Aua, 1988, p. 7)

Introduction

The Baffin Divisional Board of Education (1996). uses the image of the
Arctic poppy to describe the work "that needs to be done to enhance schools
over the next ten years" (p. 1). The delicate Arctic poppy refuses to stop
flowering. Emerging out of the spring snows on the tundra, the flower is a
symbol of hope. Our Future is Now (BDBE, 1996, p. 1) states, "The flower
turns to follow the sun. Most importantly, the flower creates seeds for the
future." Pauqatigiit also carries hope for the future in its commitment to
providing professional education in schools all across Nunavut, but perhaps
more important is its interest in providing the time and space for educators to
consider aspects of their professional selves in a more reflective way.

This chapter suggests that professional education, by enabling
individuals to reflect on themselves and their lives and communities in
deeper ways, is one of the keys to understanding subjectivity, schooling, and
culture in a way that can provide more freedom for educators. This includes
the freedom to think and make ethical, informed decisions; the space to

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explore, take risks, and grow; the voice to express, resist, and share; and the support and political weight of a community that is committed to a collectively agreed upon good that honours difference. All these are critical elements in enabling educators to achieve freedom and have meaningful and rewarding careers.

Struggles for freedom express the most intense form of political desire and passion and are fundamental in the efforts to change education in Nunavut, or anywhere else. We don't seem to use the word freedom very much anymore. The words empowerment, enlightenment, or transformation are more popular in the literature and even in the jargon used by politicians in the NWT. Empowerment is a term that can conceal issues of freedom that lie beneath most of the struggles taking place in the school system today. It may fail to express the way school systems confine educators and limit their freedom. It may also enable some politicians and policy-makers to blame educators for failing to empower themselves. Rather than using the words empowerment, enlightenment, or transformation, I am choosing to focus on conceptions of freedom that I believe lie at the heart of ethically based professional practice.

This chapter starts with a discussion of freedom as it is taken for granted within our society and our schools, suggesting that efforts to gain positive freedom require critical reflection and collective action. Space is then discussed as an important element in accessing more freedom. Space enables human beings to think, dream, and explore. As Greene (1995), would suggest, space releases the imagination and starts a process of change. A consideration of voice as an expression of agency and as necessary in all efforts to make change, is used to highlight cultural differences that affect the way Nunavut educators share their views and build community.

The final section of this chapter focuses on community. Connection to others is seen as sustaining agency, providing the collective strength to enable voices to speak, and bolstering the courage it takes to make change. Community commitment is necessary in making concrete, long-term change. Individuals are often powerless when they fight alone but when they struggle together change is possible. Hope and the ability to take action are central in these notions of freedom, space, voice, and community, and the chapter ends with a brief discussion of agency within professional education.

Few educators will struggle to change the circumstances they encounter in their professional lives unless they believe that their efforts can achieve some success. As Maxine Greene says, "Without consciousness of agency, no human being is likely to take the initiative needed for the achievement of freedom" (1988, p. 36). I believe that hope, struggle, and freedom are inextricably linked and that they provide educators with the possibility of teaching and learning more joyfully in schools.

Freedom

Maxine Greene has called the action of critiquing within a shared context "the dance of life" (1995, p. 62). Like many other educational theorists, she points to the possibilities that can be creatively generated within and between the very dichotomies, contradictions, tensions, paradoxes, and oppositions involved in teaching and learning in our monolithic school system. In the Dialectic of Freedom (1988), she speaks directly to the dichotomy that exists between negative and positive freedom in the United States, the land of liberty that "presents itself as the apostle of freedom" (Greene, 1988, p. 26). Greene discusses both negative and positive conceptions

of freedom and identifies a dialectical, imaginative space of possibility. She

quotes Emily Dickinson:

> I stepped from plank to plank
> So slow and cautiously;
> The stars above my head I felt,
> About my feet the sea.
> I knew not but the next
> Would be my final inch, —
> This gave me that precarious gait
> Some call experience.
> (Dickinson, 1980/1959, p. 166,
> quoted in Greene, 1988, p. 131)

Negative Freedom. Greene suggests that the kind of freedom pursued

within a capitalist, conservative North America is related to the protection of

privilege and space by those who already hold power and money in the

society:

> Negative freedom brings together the conservative bogey man of
> Communism with "the libertarian enthusiasm for freedom as the
> absence of all state interventions and controls.... It makes it possible to
> replace social compassion with an insistence on each person's capacity
> and responsibility (and freedom) to 'make it' on his, or her own"
> (Greene, 1988, p. 26)

The conception of freedom that we generally hold is closely linked to

individualism which, as we have seen, is viewed as one of the fundamental

values held by educators in schools. Jonathan Neufeld and Peter Grimmett

say that "Empowerment is felt when one discovers one's self to be in relation

with a dialogic community under conditions whereby a 'feeling of power'

(Synonymous with feeling a self-directed agency) is perceived" (1994, p. 221).

While this sounds inspiring, conceptions of self-directed agency are closely

tied to emancipatory, liberatory models of education that can be narrow and

have their roots in individualism, as Judith Butler reminds us (1995, p. 136).

The Neufeld and Grimmett quotation illustrates the way that the rhetoric of

empowerment conceals an individualism that represents a negative view of freedom in our society and in our schools.

We must remember that we are all constrained by and implicated in "complex interrelations of power, discourse and practice" (Benhabib, quoted in Butler, 1995, p. 136), not to mention our history and socialization that must be acknowledged and dealt with along any road that might lead to what is sometimes called emancipation but that I prefer to think of as freedom.

John Dewey has stated, "The notion that men are equally free to act if only the same legal arrangements apply equally to all — irrespective of differences in education, in command of capital and the control of the social environment which is furnished by the institution of property — is a pure absurdity" (1960, p. 271, quoted in Greene, 1988, p. 18). Dewey's statement exposes our conceptions of taken-for-granted equality as integrally linked to negative conceptions of freedom. We are not born with equal opportunities, and our institutions do not provide us with equal access to freedom. It is our privilege that enables us to access what we like to think of as freedom. Our freedom is illusory. These negative conceptions of freedom make the assumption that just because we are free to move around we are free to teach and learn in schools according to our own self directed agency. It is not so simple.

Greene speaks of the excesses of negative freedom in our society which are bolstered by conservative ideology and instrumental reason and accompanied by a relentless pursuit of self-interest. The obsessive pursuit of individual freedom justifies decisions that restrict the freedom of others. For example, year-long educational leaves in the Northwest Territories provide many Qallunaat educators with access to professional freedom that leads, in my personal experience, to even more freedom. Only limited numbers of

Inuit educators presently access these educational leaves. Therefore Inuit are not equally accessing the same freedom to learn as Qallunaat. The freedom accessed by Qallunaat is limited by the inequality that operates within the whole process which surrounds accessing leave. As a Qallunaq educator I can write about the freedom I have gained during this year of paid leave but I do so knowing that it is a negative form of freedom because it is based on privilege accessed from a position of privilege and leading to even more choice and privilege.

Greene reminds us of the incessant demands of the privileged for more and more freedom to live their own lives without any interference or sense of responsibility for their society. We, the privileged, want more and more freedom and we often believe we can buy it or earn it within this society. Whenever we buy our freedom in the form of a commodity, Greene reminds us that masses are subjugated within dehumanized jobs in order to produce the very commodities that we value so much. Some of these commodities include computers, educational technology, photocopiers, fax machines, color printers, wonderful libraries, and beautiful schools. We have ample evidence, however, that these educational commodities are mostly accessible to the children of those who hold power and privilege in the society. Our freedom is gained on the backs of other people.

People try to buy their freedom by living within protected communities that exclude the unsavory elements of society. Yet they are not free behind barriers. Armed police are required to provide educators in some schools with the freedom to teach; the armed presence reminds us that we are not free. A plethora of rules, policies, and regulations are developed when a school board or college is created. I have been personally involved in the development of both these kinds of educational institutions from the ground

up, and very quickly educators start to find they are deprived of professional freedom by the regulations that are created. The democratic systems that are based on conceptions of community involvement and ownership end up becoming heartless institutions that do not promote freedom. We all shake our heads and wonder how this happened so fast, and talk about the old days when people really cared. In those old days the institutional barriers were often ignored or dismissed as unimportant. No one seemed to care that the rules were broken and people who received letters of reprimand for ignoring restrictive policies became heroic figures in the school system. Somehow, in creating and believing in the power of new and better structures we lost our freedom to break down the barriers we have erected. Perhaps they are still too new. It seems ironic that our efforts to create more freedom ended up limiting freedom because we have built structures that are based on negative conceptions of freedom.

Greene refers to the naïve sense of freedom as escape suggested by Thoreau and others who write or talk about retreating to a utopian hideaway. Cutting out the world, however, involves yet another negative vision of freedom. Educators indulge in this negative sense of freedom when they retreat into their classrooms and close their doors. Though this may be the only way to survive in institutions which limit freedom, it is still a negative conception for it is obtained by turning away from the school community and isolating themselves.

Greene writes about the false freedom portrayed "by visions of universal love, perfect justice, or a world unified under principle" (1988, p. 85). There are no perfect and universal places of freedom. Freedom is always fragile and must be carved out in contested and painfully negotiated processes that are influenced by a variety of factors. Greene also discusses the dangers of

pursuing freedom based on an "ignorance, or fixation [that] — lead to self-deception" (p. 80). We delude ourselves that we are free when we think we have developed the very best ways of teaching and learning and are no longer open to change. We can also deceive ourselves by refusing to acknowledge difference, conflict, and controversy. Colorblindness, a liberal conception of universality based on notions of equality, denies people the freedom to celebrate their difference. I sometimes feel that school systems based on liberal humanism are also conflict phobic which again limits freedom because it is based on an unwillingness to explore potentially controversial topics in case they might offend or hurt anyone.

Greene (1988), mentions the lure of a kind of freedom which involves doing good for others within established moral codes of behavior that ignore relationships of power and privilege (p. 74). In Nunavut, Qallunaat educators may assume that by respecting and caring for their colleagues they are behaving morally and that these gestures are sufficient. Without denying the obvious benefits of collegiality, we sometimes fail to understand that our efforts are superficial. At the same time as we care for our colleagues, we accept a salary scale that may benefit us personally but guarantees financial inequality throughout the system. Caring and respect are offered at the same time as our privilege limits the freedom of our colleagues.

Greene writes of the deception involved in acquiescence. She reminds us of Lily Barth in Edith Wharton's The House of Mirth who sees freedom as an indulgence and believes she has to "acquiesce to a life she despises for the sake of her security." Greene constantly stresses that "below the surfaces there is a whispered reminder that, if an individual plays the game, smiles and works hard, he/she will be rewarded" (1988, pp. 14-15). We can't fight every injustice, but if we are interested in freedom we cannot simply agree to go

along with everything in the name of peace and love. The costs are too high. We lose our freedom.

All these examples relate to forms of blindness about freedom. We convince ourselves that we are free but fail to recognize the ways in which we are confined. As John Dewey points out, "A person who is controlled in this way has at most only the illusion of freedom" (1938, p. 65). He warns us that "the mere removal of external control is no guarantee" (p. 64). We can easily "jump from the frying-pan into the fire ... to escape one form of external control only to find oneself in another and more dangerous form of external control" (p. 64). We are left wondering if it is possible to gain any freedom in a disciplinary society in which hegemonic control is internalized (Foucault, 1972/1980). Dewey warns us of external control and Foucault and Freud warn of internal controls that operate unconsciously. The situation sounds so negative as to be desperate, and it is perhaps within this desperation that we can actually find the seeds of freedom.

<u>Confinement and Freedom</u>. Maxine Greene says that "Many persons seem to have been provoked to engage on [sic] philosophical quests because they were so outraged by the thought of confinement, by the tamping down of energies, by living beings trapped and immobile in the dark" (1995, p. 63). "[C]onfinement causes alienation" states Foucault (1965, p. 227). Alienation leads to resistance. Resistance can bring about change.

As educators in Nunavut and elsewhere find that their teaching challenges are becoming more and more overwhelming at the same time as their salaries and power diminish, their sense of confinement, burnout and alienation increases (Fullan, 1997, p. 217). How long will educators continue to accept the cutbacks, the controls, the mandated changes without realizing that they are losing a lot more than money and benefits? They are losing their

freedom to have professional choice and direct their classrooms and professional learning. Unfortunately this kind of confinement is often viewed in narrow economic terms based on negative conceptions of freedom. Educators focus on economics without realizing that freedom is not just related to bread and butter issues, important as they are.

Acquiescence and passivity combined with helplessness make educators feel it is better to accept these changes than to fight, because fighting will make no difference. In the Northwest Territories for example, the right to strike is an illusory freedom. Some educators could not survive for even one week without their full salaries. The costs of providing sufficient funds to educators to enable them to survive would break the Member Protection Fund very quickly. The result is that the Government can control salaries and benefits without worrying that educators will ever exercise their right to strike. Negotiating takes on a different face when coercive power is so clearly held by one party.

Finding a way out of confinement, finding the space to breathe and think, and finding a way to claim back power involves a quest for survival and a search for space and freedom. This is not a luxury, or a privilege. It is a necessity. When a person's mouth is covered most people struggle for air and for voice. When educators feel powerless, ignored, dismissed, or uninvolved in decisions which critically affect their teaching and professional learning, it becomes very difficult to believe there is much professional freedom left to draw on for strength. Realizing that consciously, or unconsciously, you are permitting others to guide aspects of your life can lead to moments of awakening and flashes of resistance. This awakening, with its accompanying resentment, is strengthened through expression within a community. The articulation of voice is one of the first steps involved in the process of taking

control and claiming, or reclaiming space and power (Neufeld & Grimmett, 1994, p. 223). Under these circumstances voice is used to speak out and put a stop to the forces which restrict space and freedom. When voices speak together to ensure that space and freedom are available to all educators, the process involves renegotiating existing relationships within the power-knowledge structures in a school. This renegotiation can drive educators to demand the physical, intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and professional space which will enable them to feel free, powerful, and in control of their own learning and their teaching.

There are other limitations which affect freedom and encroach on a sense of possibility when you work as an educator with the school system in the Northwest Territories. No one can predict the future within Nunavut, and in an economy controlled by a conservative government it is hard to say where the funds necessary to sustain a financially dependent, majority aboriginal new territory will come from over the long term. This creates a feeling of anxiety, even foreboding. Based on the reception of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, it appears that the political will may not favor supporting the long-term future of Nunavut. Canadians appear to have bought the conservative rhetoric of self preservation, and a public frightened for its own economic survival may not be prepared to support the more needy members in their society. Doubt, fear, and confusion surround the Nunavut planning process while at the same time people are desperately hoping that it can work. Educators wonder about the ability of the new government to support education and to understand the real challenges involved in teaching. The major concern, however, continues to centre around locating sufficient financial resources to enable the people of Nunavut to survive and live their lives with dignity. Recent

changes in the economic forecasts may alter this perspective but slumps in the global market economy, or changes in the government could still impact negatively on a fragile emerging nation. These macro political realities impinge on illusions of freedom but it does not mean that we are helpless.

This discussion of freedom makes it sound as if Nunavut educators are victims of war, imprisoned in schools, and lacking in choice. This excessively melodramatic characterization is not unfounded. There are many ways in which educators in Nunavut feel they are surrounded by forces beyond their control and that even the space within their classrooms is not always safe. Nunavut educators do not always feel they have the freedom to speak openly about their views on education, or about the many frustrations they face in their teaching. Many whispered conversations take place in the corners of classrooms where hurt feelings, resentments, and felt injustices are shared with colleagues. These exchanges must be viewed positively, however, for they involve a recognition and a naming of experiences that educators find confining.

Positive Freedom. When teachers can imagine a different world, a different school, a different classroom then they become aware of the ways in which they might need more space in order to understand more deeply and achieve the freedom necessary to make desired changes. Maxine Greene believes that, "We who are teachers would have to accommodate ourselves to lives as clerks, or functionaries if we did not have in mind a quest for a better state of things for those we teach and for the world we all share" (1995, p. 1). The freedom to act and to make change involves understanding the complexity of the educational world and navigating, or negotiating through one's professional life in a complex process which involves achieving a balance between care of self and agency and between responsibility for self and

family and responsibility for community and the society in which we live. In

negotiating through these dangerous waters people constantly juggle

> "ways of doing things (this might be called the technological aspect)
> and the freedom with which they act within these practical systems,
> reacting to what others do, modifying the rules of the game, up to a
> certain point (this might be called the strategic side of these practices)"
>   (Foucault, 1984, p. 48)

Foucault sees that the juggling of these technical and strategic "practical

systems" (p. 48), involves a rotation around three axes: "the axis of

knowledge, the axis of power, the axis of ethics" (p. 48).

These tensions between ethics, power, and knowledge are rarely

identified in the professional education literature, though they permeate the

space that educators start to explore in their effort to gain freedom within a

particular community. Educators who start raising the kind of questions that

explore the practical system of power, knowledge, and ethics usually believe,

or hope, that it is desirable and possible to make change. Inherent in their

questioning is a belief that it is possible to bring "some measure of clarity to

the consciousness we have of ourselves and of our past" (Foucault, 1984, p.

45).

Against the negative, illusory visions of freedom and the suffocation of

confinement Greene positions "the freedom of speculation" (1988, p. 36).

Drawing on Dewey's theories and quoting from his work, she sees that

freedom can be found when we are driven "to pose questions, to pursue

meanings, to effect changes, to extend control" (Greene, 1988, p. 43). She

quotes Dewey (1937/1940, p. 341), when he suggests that "the basic freedom is

that of freedom of mind and of whatever degree of freedom of action and

experience is necessary to produce freedom of intelligence."

Greene also sees freedom as inherently linked to community. She

refers to freedom of mind and freedom of action as "functions of membership

and participation in some valued community" (Greene, 1988, p. 43), and with Charles Taylor, Hannah Arendt, Jurgen Habermas and John Dewey agrees that "the person - that the centre of choice - develops in his/her fullness to the degree he/she is a member of a live community" (Greene, 1988, p. 43).

There are times in our lives as educators when tensions become particularly stressful, leading some of us to raise fundamental questions about the world of teaching, or even to experience a point of crisis in our careers (Britzman, 1991). Most of us tend to keep our personal turmoil to ourselves. Nurturing our doubt, our equilibrium vaguely disturbed by perplexing paradoxes, hurt by evidence that our voices are not heard, and wondering why our efforts to reach students seem to be taken for granted, we go through our daily routines experiencing a sense of growing desperation. Our disillusionment, and questioning, if it is openly shared with colleagues, is sometimes labeled as cynicism, burnout, or the result of being in a rut. What is labeled as burnout; however, may sometimes signal the possibility of imagining a different world. Rather than blaming the victims of burnout we need to examine the context of their disillusionment realizing that it may sometimes be a sign that something is deeply wrong in the community that surrounds an educator who once nurtured a conception of a different world. We need to examine the context and understand that disillusionment may carry within it the very questions that can enable us to access greater freedom. Educators who do not raise questions, who do not feel twinges of despair, or who do not have the energy to wonder, are failing to recognize the challenges and realities of their professional lives. Hope can be regenerated by recognizing disillusionment as a critical response. Fatigue, exhaustion, and smoldering burnout may provide opportunities to develop a critique that will:

be genealogical in the sense that it will not deduce from the form of what we are what it is impossible for us to do and know; but it will separate out, from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, or think. (Foucault, 1984, p. 46)

Foucault goes on to suggest that critique "is seeking to give new impetus, as far and wide as possible, to the undefined work of freedom" (p. 46). The undefined work of freedom goes on all the time beneath the surface in most educators in most schools in Nunavut but it is not openly discussed as a major issue within professional education. Educators will share their concerns only when it is safe and passion is guaranteed some respect. Instinctively they know that by exercising judicious care, what Carr and Kemmis (1986), call prudence, Noddings and Shore (1984, p. 172), refer to as "composure and balance" and Foucault refers to as care of self, it may be possible to carve out some space and use our freedom in ways that sustain us, and enable us to create community. The traps are always present of course. For example, judicious care can mean that we hide out like cowards. Prudence can be politically motivated and lead to nothing but rhetoric. Self-care carries with it the constant danger of becoming self absorbed and narcissistic. The price we pay for deception, or acquiescence, can mean that we are "made into subjects, docile bodies to be 'subjected, used, transformed and improved' (Foucault, 1977, p. 136)".

By seeking "a vision of education that brings together the need for wide-awakeness with the hunger for community, the desire to know with the wish to understand, the desire to feel with the passion to see" (Greene, 1988, p. 23), adding the kind of balance and awareness of "political parameters" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 259), and the kind of "crap detection" referred to by David Corson (1995a, p. 9), perhaps we are equipping ourselves in a much

more realistic way for the challenges inherent in a career as a teacher. Dewey was right about one thing. The freedom that we need is certainly freedom of the mind, but that is only part of the story. Freedom is also physical, emotional, and spiritual for all are linked together in our experience. Our bodies do not often lie and they are better crap detectors than our minds. Our bodies recognize how we are being denied freedom, sometimes even before we consciously realize it. Often we articulate this is vague ways. "I feel restless." "Something is bothering me." "I just don't feel right." "I don't like this."

This is when Foucault's care of self provides access to freedom in a way that few other theories seem to be able to do. Freedom, happiness, and agency will remain chimeras unless they consider the kind of care of the self which involves "an ethic of self-disentanglement and self-invention" (Gore, 1993, p. 129). Foucault (1985, p. 245, quoted in Gore, 1993, p. 129), says this kind of disentanglement is "'diametrically opposed' to 'what you might call the California cult of the self.'" This kind of self-care involves a recognition of coercive power, of limitations, and of restrictions in our professional lives. It means we understand the range of political realities that we all encounter in our day to day experiences but it also involves self-knowledge at the physical, emotional, and spiritual level. Foucault talks about practices of freedom, not theories of freedom. Freedom is lived each day and carved out in every interaction with family, friends, colleagues, and students.

This is the critique that Maxine Greene speaks of as a dance of life, as a total experience that can be joyful and energizing. This is a critique which reaches out to others, and we have ample evidence that it is alive and well in Nunavut schools. Pauqatigiit documents an urgent call for community. I witness educators across Nunavut striving to create communities in their

classrooms and schools, and constantly calling for more opportunities to share. This is where the energy will come from to avoid negative freedom and to escape confinement. It should be possible to access the space, make the time, ask the questions, and provide the opportunities for educators to work with colleagues, students, and parents to create their own freedom. This is not to fly off into utopia. Freedom is not given. It must be gained in tough battles that are ongoing. Fighting for freedom involves a kind of process which I choose to term ethically based professional practice. It is grounded in conceptions of freedom, space, and voice mediated by political realities and maintained through a connection to a community.

Pauqatigiit believes that the hope and strength inherent in Nunavut educators needs to be nourished through connections with each other and by encouraging powerful voices to speak out from the schools. Hope and possibility become action when educators start using their own power to build communities in their schools. This involves a political process of awakening to direct professional education together at the school level in ways that acknowledge diversity and the necessity of conflict at the same time as they provide support and affirmation.

Agency and Freedom. Agency does not just burst out in individual, self-directed displays of heroism, though this does sometimes happen. It is much more likely that by carefully considering "the concrete conditions under which agency becomes possible" (Butler, 1995, p. 136), we can understand how the interrelationship of power, discourse, and practice within professional education can be recognized, named, questioned, and directed by educators who work together in order to access more freedom and who then act collectively to make change. This involves opening up what Butler calls a "contingent and fragile possibility" (1995, p. 137).

"To be hopeful is not to be naïve, but to struggle to move ahead" states Michael Fullan (1997, p. 232). The kind of ethically based professional practice which pursues integrity and professional freedom through community and is grounded in the kind of care of self referred to by Michel Foucault, is capable of moving us ahead because it reaches past self-deception. Disentangling oneself in a disciplinary society is both a painful and joyful experience.

Michael Apple and James Beane in their small book entitled Democratic Schools (1995), speak of the connections between the progressivism of the twenties and thirties, and the emergence of cooperative, community-based, teacher-directed change in schools. They speak of democratic faith and say that "bringing democracy to life is always a struggle" (Beane & Apple, 1995, p. 8). They believe that democratic goals are "attainable through the creation of learning communities within each school and between the school and the larger community" (Apple & Beane, 1995, p. 101-102). I would suggest, however, that if ethically based practice is not part and parcel of building every learning community then the kind of debilitating burnout referred to by Michael Fullan (1997, p. 219), is a likely outcome.

Communities built on collectively established ethics (not moral codes), common interests and the every day effort "to determine which is the main danger" (Foucault, 1984, p. 343), have the strength to survive the inevitable assault of internal and external forces that prevent change.

In 1996 the Nunavut Boards of Education created Shared Song, a document which speaks to the dream for collaboration between the three boards of education in Nunavut. These efforts, though riddled with political interference and beset with doubt and the cries of disbelievers, are ongoing, and tremendous collaborative progress is taking place almost on a weekly basis. Collaborative efforts between educators are taking place all across

Nunavut and somewhere between utopian visions and disutopian nightmares, educators and students in classrooms in Nunavut are reaching towards what Maxine Greene and Michel Foucault call freedom. They are working beyond the kind of doom and gloom which leads to cynicism and despair and creating rewarding moments in their professional lives with students. This kind of happiness is not the euphoria of bubble headed pollyannas. It is a deeply grounded belief that the human spirit is fundamentally indomitable, that human beings are capable of searing insight and overcoming daunting obstacles, and that connections to others can sustain people through very hard times. Ethical practice involves "thrusting into the lived and perceived" (Greene, 1988, p. 21) towards freedom that is achieved through conscious choices of action in a communal world that is "inextricably meshed with responsibility and obligation" (Greene, 1988, p. 100).

Space

Space is an important concept in Nunavut. The tundra and boundless sky create an almost limitless sense of space. Traveling across snow in the brilliant sunshine of a late May afternoon is an experience that connects an individual to the land and awes most human beings into silence. There is enough space for everyone. Families do not have to stop to have tea, or camp with each other unless it is desired or necessary for survival; however, it seems that company is almost always welcome and that there is usually time to stop and discuss the weather, hunting, and community activities.

On the land the age old rhythms of life dictate patterns of behavior that bear little resemblance to the hurried pace of government offices, or the busy,

contained life in a Nunavut classroom. Inuit in camps were free to wander, as young children still wander from house to house in smaller communities. They wandered; however, with a purpose, for everyone contributed to the survival of the group. The way that schools are compartmentalized and divided into classrooms and sections, the way that movement in schools is contained and time so carefully measured, contrasts starkly with the freedom available to many Inuit children once school is out.

This physical sense of limitless space on the tundra can be contrasted with the limited space available inside traditional homes and many of the older homes in the communities. Inuit, however, did not often sit inside a qarmaq, or iglu, unless they were confined by severe weather. When this happened stories, songs, games, and a variety of rituals filled the time with meaning. Work in a hunting and gathering culture usually takes place outside under the sky. My neighbor in Iqaluit, who is an elder in the community, sits outside his house all day long until the winter storms finally drive him indoors. All year long he mends nets, works on his skidoo, and hobbles slowly down to his shack by the beach to fix his boat. His face is weather beaten and almost black by the time June arrives. He is happy pottering around his house fixing the shed, chatting to his friends, and sitting for hours in the sun as soon as it starts shining for most of the day. Many other Inuit, even in a large, fast-paced, modern community like Iqaluit, spend the whole day outside carving, sometimes protected by canvas awnings, or tarps. Another younger neighbor, aged eighteen, carves in the porch of his home for many hours each day. These details of life are shared because they point to a different experience of the outdoors, and a different conception of physical space, one which may have important significance when discussing conceptions of freedom with Inuit educators.

These hypotheses have not yet been researched though Salomie Awa-Cousins' paper (1995), indicates that Inuit men often feel trapped within nine to five jobs. In considering the way physical space in Nunavut differs from space in a southern city, or even in an orderly farming community in a place like PEI, I am compelled to suggest that there are worlds within worlds, spaces within spaces in Nunavut. The unhurried world of the more traditional Inuit community stands in stark contrast to the hurried, frenetic pace of change that seems to be part of the pre-Nunavut frenzy. No wonder Alootook Ipeelie states,

"So I am left to fend for myself
Walking in two different worlds
Trying my best to make sense
Of two opposing cultures
Which are unable to integrate
Lest they swallow one another whole" (1995)

John Dewey (1938/1963, p. 61), saw that the "external and physical side of activity cannot be separated from the internal side of activity; from freedom of thought, desire and purpose." This physical sense of space and freedom in Nunavut is described for precisely that reason. Consciousness is formed by experience, and a physical sense of space is a fundamental component in any equation which relates to freedom.

Jonathan Kozol's haunting descriptions of the miserable, decrepit school and classroom spaces provided to American students in the economically depressed areas of the United States stand as clear examples of the links between physical space and freedom (1991). This is not to say that there is an outer sense of space and inner sense of space, and that freedom is found in a kind of public/private opposition that seems to be part of our consciousness in the south. As Maxine Greene says, "freedom is not found in either the objective world, or the inner self but is found in the understanding

of the dialectic between self and the world" (1988, p. 99).

This exploration of space in Nunavut, which is an integrated physical, psychological, and spiritual experience, creates a link to the land which is fundamental to a sense of self within Inuit society and is therefore likely to be an important key to freedom for Inuit educators. Qallunaat teachers who accompany groups of students on school trips on the land often talk about how different the students seem to be when they are away from the school. The students look after their teachers, roles are reversed, and individuals with traditional skills are quietly competent as they tie the qamotiq, light the stove, or cut blocks of snow for the iglu. Sometimes these are students who do not shine in the classroom and who find school a difficult and confusing place. Sometimes they are highly competent in both contexts. What is usually evident; however, is that students who are comfortable on the land display a dignity and composure that denotes a powerful and elemental grounding and a quiet strength that speaks of freedom.

Conflict does not flare up in the same way on the land as it seems to do in classrooms. Being on the land grounds all of us, but for Inuit it seems to have a special role. This relates to a history that means "the land is a tradition that is as much a part of life now as it was in the past" (GNWT, 1996, p. 93). The connection between self, community, and land is conceptually different within traditional Inuit culture where interdependence was necessary and one could not survive without the community and the land (Stairs & Wenzel, 1992).

Within the liberal, Euro-Canadian tradition, space is a more abstract concept that is divided into conceptions of the public and private and linked to individual freedom. It does have ties to the land, particularly in the frontier sense. Pierre Trudeau, for example, portrays a connection to nature,

though in keeping with an individualistic ideology he is usually pictured alone against the forest, rocks, or water. It seems as if contemporary conceptions of freedom and space based on a rationalist-modernist philosophy, has led to what Foucault sees as confinement within the institutions of a disciplinary society, in homes locked for our safety and within technologies of the self that act as limitations within our lives. We limit our own space when we stop inhabiting a "resisting world" (Greene, 1988, p. 20).

Foucault, quoted in Dumm (1996, p. 36), has stated that "our epoch will perhaps above all be the epoch of space." Thomas Dumm (1996, p. 38), quotes Foucault at length on the way we tend to conceive of space:

> Perhaps our life is still governed by a certain number of oppositions that remain inviolable, that our institutions and practices have not yet dared to break down. These are oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example between public space and private space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work. All these are still nurtured by the hidden presence of the sacred.

Foucault suggests that we are limited by our conceptions of space. The description of space on the tundra and within the lives of Inuit raises the possibility that conceptions of space and freedom may differ significantly within Inuit society. Concepts of space are formed as we interact with our environment and the individuals within it. It would seem reasonable to suggest that some fundamental aspects of being Inuit, of Inuit ontology and epistemology, are related to the space provided on the land and within more traditional communities. It would also seem reasonable to suggest that children raised in the carefully monitored spaces of suburbia and attending schools that segregate and organize children in ways that promote maximum order and safety, may develop different conceptions of space and freedom

than children raised on farms in the country, or in small Inuit communities in Nunavut.

The importance of physical space is not necessarily acknowledged in schools. Educators often use their desks as their space. Students use their lockers. We use our homes. We decorate our spaces to reflect parts of ourselves and increase our sense of belonging and connection. Students like classrooms that belong to them and reflect their interests and their achievements. Educators enjoy staffrooms that are cosy, pleasant, bright, and cheerful. Space and our sense of belonging are closely linked. Schools that provide space that is cold and alienating do not invite educators to relax and learn. It is hard to feel free in an environment that resembles a prison.

Intellectual space is hard to find when we are bombarded with competing agendas, priorities, and theories. One might feel as if there is no space in our heads when they are full of both theoretical and practical ideas that compete for attention and all seem to be important. In professional education we don't discuss strategies to establish intellectual space for educators. Usually we are too busy stuffing their heads with jargon and asking them to read articles that can be baffling. We alienate our educators because we do not provide enough intellectual space.

Emotional space is a preoccupation in our culture. We always seem to need more space from someone. Someone is always confining our space, demanding our space, taking our space, or hogging our space. We seem very protective of our space. In Inuit culture emotional space is protected by traditional practices that involve silence, waiting, and sitting quietly. Inuit support each other by waiting silently (Minor, 1992). Intruding verbally and emotionally is considered rude. On the other hand, physical space is much more open than it is in our culture. People walk into other people's houses

and know they are welcome, even at odd hours. Privacy is not protected the same way. These topics which surround issues of space are once again inadequately researched but they illustrate interesting cultural differences that need to be acknowledged in our teaching and within professional education.

Voice

> "[A]s the forces of bureaucratic control and teacher-led professional development wrestle with one another, one of the greatest challenges to the emergence of teacher voice is the orchestration of educational vision" (Hargreaves, 1994a, p. 249)

Andy Hargreaves argues that principals and others designated as educational leaders within the hierarchy lead teachers towards what is all too often their "imposed rather than earned and hierarchical rather than democratic" (p. 250), visions for the schools and the educational system. The result is that "teachers soon learn to suppress their *voice*" (p. 25), and silence prevails.

Principals who may unconsciously suppress voice are often trying to implement non-hierarchical discourse within the framework and limitations of instrumental reason. They have not examined the contradictions within their own understanding, actions, and discourse which may also leave them puzzled and wondering why educators do not participate. On the other hand when a person is used to silent acquiescence from staff members they may interpret it as agreement rather than resistance.

Hargreaves' observations are based on some of his recent experiences within the school system in Ontario where teachers are among the most highly qualified in Canada, where teachers' associations are strong, and where educators have approximately ten years more experience than those who

work in Nunavut schools. Concerns relating to the suppression of teachers' voices in places like Ontario are multiplied in a post-colonial context like Nunavut, and questions relating to the ownership of educational vision where the majority of principals and administrators are Qallunaat have even more legitimacy.

Inexperienced educators, particularly Inuit recently hired to work in schools, tend to hesitate before expressing their views in a professional space occupied by colleagues with more experience and qualifications. Cultural and linguistic differences and the impact of colonization provide additional obstacles to communication between Inuit and Qallunaat educators.

An individual with considerable experience within the educational system, who completed an interview as part of the Pauqatigiit research, spoke about communication with Qallunaat in general and stated, "You don't listen. Until I raise my voice and start swearing you don't listen to me.... Qallunaat think they have to raise their voices to be heard." He is referring to both volume and style of discourse and he feels that Qallunaat don't always listen carefully when Inuit speak. He believes that Inuit living in those communities most influenced by the south now speak more loudly and harshly to each other as a result of Qallunaq influence. At first he thought the raised voices meant these Inuit were angry all the time. In his more traditional home community, where southern influences are not as prevalent, Inuit speak to each other quietly, gently, and with respect. There are no swear words in Inuktitut. Listening is seen as a mark of respect and waiting for people to finish speaking is a vitally important component in communication. The interruptions, repartee, and raised voices that sometimes characterize communication among Qallunaat, particularly when they are excited, can seem excessive and childish to some Inuit. Of course

most people are used to Qallunaat ways and a more southern way of communicating often characterizes exchanges among Inuit in schools and in their homes. Martha Crago and her associates (1988, 1992, 1991, 1993), have extensively documented some of these shifting patterns of communication in their work in Northern Quebec.

Butt, Raymond, McCue, and Yamagishi (1992, p. 57), stress the importance of the teacher's voice for it "carries the tone, the language, the quality, the feelings." Teachers' voices also convey their understanding, their interpretation of experience, and their worldview. When some voices remain silent, which happens most frequently with the less experienced Inuit educators in Nunavut schools, then interpretation of the daily realities encountered in these schools are reflected only by those who speak.

The following example which tends to essentialize gender difference and involves gross generalizations is used to make a point about how a dominant worldview can radically influence the structures and institutions in our society. In any patriarchal society the predominance of men's voices, representing a group that is generally heard more frequently within political, business, and institutional contexts, has helped to create a culture which tends to focus on economics and power, rather than on priorities which include caring for people, communities, and the environment. The power structures created within a patriarchy recognize and validate a certain kind of discourse, which reflects instrumental reason. Voices which speak from a different perspective may not be heard, or understood. Corson, (1995a, p. 6), states that language "does fashion, reflect and reinforce structures of domination." This can mean that in the Nunavut context, if Qallunaat voices speaking in English are heard the most frequently then it is their interpretation of reality, their ideological preferences, and their patterns of

discourse that are maintained and therefore dominate within the schools.

Considering the fact that 15% of Inuit educators speak only Inuktitut it is very possible that the realities experienced by unilingual classroom assistants, cultural specialists, parents, or language specialists may not even be heard in some of the educational debates within some schools. In secondary schools, where English may be used almost exclusively and where the numbers of Inuit educators are lower than at the elementary level, the problem is likely to be even more prevalent. At the administrative levels, where people are conscious that Inuit are underrepresented, this is acknowledged as a serious problem and is a source of stress for Inuit in leadership positions. They realize that even when their voices do speak out they may be dismissed because they lack experience, or might be viewed as misunderstanding the institutional realities in a school (Lee, 1996). When the voices of Inuit educators are not heard, recognized, and affirmed the consequences can include disempowerment, alienation, resistance, acquiescence, anger, withdrawal, and emotional damage to self and community (Taylor, 1994).

Language differences alone may mean that Inuit often hesitate to express themselves in English particularly when discussions start to involve educational jargon, or terms that may be unfamiliar to individuals just starting their professional education experiences. Qallunaat, sensitive to linguistic and cultural differences, may hesitate to express their opinions because they are waiting for Inuit to speak, or because other Qallunaat have already expressed their views quite forcefully. In this case the voices of Qallunaat who are aware of subtle cultural differences are absent from discussions, and colleagues who may be unaware that they are dominating discussions can jump in and fill the space that is available.

The possibilities for miscommunication between Inuit and Qallunaat are rampant within this context and the sensitivity and awareness that is required to ensure that an ideal speech situation (Habermas, 1979) is at least approximated are often very hard to find. Cultural differences can provide a wide range of limitations with respect to voice. Inuit or Qallunaat educators may misunderstand tone, body language, laughter, expressions, or colloquialisms used by members of the other group, and efforts to discuss difference may be avoided because they might be embarrassing, or reveal a lack of cultural awareness.

Within a cross-cultural, post-colonial context, equality of voice stands out as a critical and delicate issue. Ivor Goodson sees the sponsoring of teachers' voices as "counter-cultural" (1992, p. 11), because it speaks against the grain of the power-knowledge held by administrators and politicians in our society. It means that the voices of teachers can act as a form of political resistance. Voices that remain silent, however, are often interpreted as acquiescent rather than resistant. Henry Giroux states that "a politics of voice must offer pedagogical and political strategies that affirm the primacy of the social, intersubjective and collective" (1997, p. 225). Determining a range of strategies that enable voices to speak would seem to be an essential starting point for discussions involving cross-cultural communication within professional education. Establishing ground rules can help to clarify difference in a way that facilitates understanding rather than promotes misunderstanding.

Balancing self and community within the complex communication in a Nunavut school is far from easy, particularly when some members of the community may be damaged as a result of colonial domination. The courage it takes to speak in a context of disempowerment and dominance may not be

fully understood by individuals whose lives have involved a celebration of their voices and affirmation of their perspectives. The doubt, fear, hesitation, and even terror felt by some individuals before they speak in a large group are not often discussed or appreciated.

In the Pauqatigiit survey the following statement was rated on a five point scale in Question 17: "I often find it hard to speak out in groups." The results are very interesting. A total of 62% of Qallunaat educators disagreed with the statement, while 12% agreed. The figures for Inuit educators differ considerably, with 35% disagreeing with the statement and 36% agreeing. This means that more than one third of the Inuit educators working in Nunavut schools feel that it is difficult to speak out in groups. There are actually more Inuit who have difficulty speaking out than those who do not. Almost twice the number of Qallunaat, compared to Inuit, are comfortable speaking out in groups. In all kinds of meetings these statistical results are confirmed.

In many meetings English is chosen as the language of communication. Simultaneous translation is exorbitantly expensive and translating in any other way can be cumbersome and time consuming. Inuit speak English and Qallunaat do not usually speak Inuktitut. Regardless of discomfort, the choice of language seems obvious. Given the predominance of what Alastair Pennycook (1992), calls the hegemony of English, it does mean that Qallunaat voices are usually heard more frequently and the majority of Inuit remain relatively silent during discussions. In small groups the problem is not as evident and when larger numbers of Inuit are involved, it is quite likely that they will speak out, often choosing to discuss issues together in Inuktitut. The evidence provided by the Pauqatigiit survey as well as the observations that can be made on a daily basis in Nunavut schools, indicates that there is a significant problem related to equality of voice within

Nunavut schools.

There may be some lessons to be learned within feminist discussions relating to voice. Jennifer Gore (1993, p. 21), quotes Francis Maher when she discusses the issue of voice for women and speaks of the "need for women to have their own space and their own educational culture, in order to 'find their voices' and grow without the threat of male (physical and/or symbolic) violence." Magda Lewis (1993, p. 3), suggests that, "As a pedagogical 'problem' women's silence has most often been articulated and framed within an ideology of deficiency — as a consciousness drugged into stupor by the opium of male power." She goes on to discuss the interventions that are directed towards compensating for this silence suggesting that silence is not necessarily "an absence of discourse" but a dissenting silence, a "political act .... which offers the possibility of a transformative politics." She speaks of the "power of the personal" (p. 5), in which dangerous memories hold the past in the present and can be used as a source of recovery of voice. Lewis quotes Adrienne Rich (1979, p. 35), who suggests that connection to the past serves not only "to pass on a tradition but to break its hold over us" (1993, p. 9). The importance of feminist insights and experience with respect to issues of voice for Inuit educators who speak within the dominating post-colonial context of Nunavut seems evident. I would suggest that rather than breaking with the past, the connection provides a link to strong Inuit voices that can be powerfully affirming. There is no doubt that the more recent "hold" within a colonial context needs to be broken. However, I believe that the recovery of voice is directly linked through stories, myths, and legends to the historical memory of Inuit voices from the past.

Jeanette Armstrong (1990), writes about the exclusion of the aboriginal voice to the point of "being disempowered and rendered voiceless" (p. 143),

and urges aboriginal writers to find "the courage to shake-off centuries of imperialism .... [and] see ourselves as undefeatably proactive" (p. 145). Both Armstrong and Minh-ha warn us of the dangers inherent in taking on "colonized-anthropo-logized difference" (Minh-ha, 1987, p. 101), which fixes, limits, and restricts identity and voice. The whole question of searching for an authentic, real voice in safe places leads us into the very complex politics of difference that occupies a central place within feminist and post-colonial discourse. We need to promote a plurality of voices which echo with multiple, complex identities and speak at various times, in a variety of tones, reflecting their own particular location and specific perspective.

Hargreaves (1994a, p. 251), warns us about "a world reduced to chaotic babble where there are no means for arbitrating between voices, reconciling them, or drawing them together." In many ways a babble is preferable to sullen silence in which the voices of those with power speak to each other. Implicit in Hargreave's comments is the arbitrator, the facilitator. One must wonder if that arbitrator "has some strategic purpose" (Corson, 1993, p. 157), or does he, or she, understand what it means to establish "a democratic flow of ideas and arguments [in which]: domination, manipulation and control are banished" (Corson, 1993, p. 157). In some Nunavut schools where trust is well established between Inuit and Qallunaat educators, all voices can speak out freely to express their views equally in the language of their choice. In other Nunavut schools, however, there are voices that are silenced, voices that choose not to speak and voices that speak in ways that can be violent, damaging, and oppressive. [B]ell hooks states: "Moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonized, the exploited and those who stand and struggle side by side a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible" (1988, p. 9).

As a facilitator I have found that creating space for voices to speak often requires the temporary separation of Qallunaat and Inuit. Inuit seem to be much more comfortable when there are opportunities to speak freely in Inuktitut without the necessity of translation, or the struggle to express creative thinking in English. Insights generated in a more protected space are later shared with Qallunaat colleagues. Voices grow stronger within space that is perceived as safe and then seem to be prepared to speak more frequently in both English and Inuktitut once ideas are clarified, or understood. Some Qallunaat and a few Inuit educators are very uncomfortable with any kind of separation on the basis of language or ethnic difference, and there is no question that the separation does speak directly to issues of domination within mixed groups. I believe; however, that these issues must be addressed openly, albeit in a way that helps everyone to understand why it might be necessary. Identifying the conditions that people require in order to feel comfortable speaking is essential, otherwise one group may express their opinions more frequently than the other, with the result that the equality of voice is seriously threatened. Habermas' theory of communicative action includes discussions of the ideal speech situation and of a communicative ethic which advocates and stresses "full reciprocity, solidarity and autonomy .... [and] an expansion of participatory democracy" (Ingram, 1990, p. 137). The ideal speech situation envisions the kind of Bakhtinian heteroglossia (1984), in which multiple voices speak and can be heard. Corson (1993, pp. 156-159), discusses some of the conditions that enable groups to work towards the ideal speech situation. These suggestions provide a useful starting point for a discussion which relates to equality and voice in Nunavut schools.

There are many ways to speak and many ways to express views and

opinions. In professional education which is interested in exploring space, freedom, and voice within a cross-cultural professional education context, the last thing that is needed is the kind of reification (Lukacs, 1970), which confines thinking and expression. Correctness as well as the ability to engage in elaborate language games within discrete groups can provide monumental barriers to communication. Communication does not always have to take place in words, and the expansion of voice into other genres and artistic forms of expression needs to be explored both within school and professional education contexts. Art, drawings, charts, poems, songs, laughter, dances, and drama need to be used much more extensively in order to share our voices in ways that extend the space and freedom we have to share our ideas. Neufeld and Grimmett (1994, p. 225), refer to the need to use the "nonrational languages of dream, of myth, of passion and of enchantment" during professional learning experiences. In keeping with this suggestion, I am choosing to close this section with a piece of writing that represents two voices from my own life. My daughter Kathleen McAuley's young voice expresses her desire to change her school program as well as her inability to express her views to her teacher. My own voice speaks as a mother, woman, and teacher who very recently found that I was silenced within my own professional space — an experience I never believed I could encounter, particularly after twenty years of teaching experience. Both voices speak from a space that is considered to be privileged, white, and middle class.

Sometimes I Want to Cry Out

"Sometimes I want to cry out", she says.
She cries out silently for science, art,
Involvement, learning, voice.
She is six years old.

She speaks of putting her head
Into her hands when the teacher is angry.
To hold the words inside.

"I can imagine a world of harmony," she says.
"I believe there is a place where I can grow wings
And fly from the top of a waterfall.
I believe there is a place where the world is colourful,
Shimmering with indigo light."

The dishes pile up in the sink.
Tiny pieces of dolls' clothing
Lie strewn across the floor.

I cry out as my throat is cut
I am forty-six
But there is no longer any sound.
(O'Donoghue & McAuley, 1997)

Community

My power as a person comes from
Who I am. I am a particular person
Relationship keeps me alive
(Lorde)

In Inuuqatigiit (GNWT, 1996), the developmental framework at the start of the document places the family, the community, and the self together. It is a holistic conception and no circles or boxes separate one element from the other. The overall goal of the Inuuqatigiit curriculum is that a student become, a "productive and contributing member of family and community" (p. 16). The self is seen as fully integrated into the community. The Tunngavinga, or Foundation for the whole curriculum centres on a circle of belonging which is sustained by relationships to people and the environment and strengthened by Inuit beliefs and values (p. 30). Inuuqatigiit states that Inuit:

belong to the land.... not just the earth itself, but all of nature: plants,

animals, water, ice, wind and sky. Nature and Inuit are one. They have depended on each other for centuries and any change, or alteration of just one aspect can unbalance the whole. (p. 31)

These fundamental aspects of the Inuuqatigiit curriculum clearly reflect an Inuit worldview which is interdependent, relational, and communal. Throughout this dissertation I have referred to views of the self that are not based on the individualism and rationalism that is still characteristic of a Western European culture. The worldview expressed in Inuuqatigiit, however, is not informed by post-structural discourse, or the reading of academic texts within feminism, post-colonial identity, or critical theory. It was drawn from elders and from the memories of Inuit themselves. This vision of community is central in any discussion of Inuit values and beliefs I have ever been involved in during my fifteen years of work in Nunavut. Community is perceived as the grounding for the society in a different and more tangible way than is the case in the south. This is obviously related to the much smaller population base which makes the gathering of community members a simple, everyday happening, particularly during the spring and summer but also during holidays and special days of celebration. This very strong sense of community is also related to the bonds of kinship which "ensured that virtually all the people in the camp were related to each other in some way" (Pauktuutit, p. 15). Kinship was established through birth, marriage, adoption, naming, and fictive relationships.

> Inuit society was largely egalitarian with no hierarchy, or formal authority. Individuals were largely free to do as they wished as long as their actions did not disturb others. The basic system of making decisions for the group was based on consensus. Major decisions affecting the group would be discussed among the adults. People would voice their view and compromise the final decision to ensure that everyone accepted it. People with special skills, talents, or knowledge, such as a respected hunter, an elder, or a shaman, could be solicited for their opinion on a particular issue but their advice was not binding.

Their ability to influence others was limited by the degree to which people chose to follow their advice. (Pauktuutit, p. 15)

In choosing to share such a long quotation from the Pauktuutit document, The Inuit Way: A Guide to Inuit Culture, I am attempting to highlight some of the differences in the way an Inuit society and a southern society were organized. The comparison is unfair in that Inuit communities, unlike many in southern Canada, maintain very close links with traditional ways. Many of the Inuit educators working in Nunavut schools actually grew up in traditional camps that were organized according to the non-hierarchical way of life described in the quotation The community was sustained by strong values of sharing, non-interference, patience, humility, respect, cooperation, resourcefulness, perseverance, and harmony.

Rupert Ross (1996), in his new book Returning to the Teachings, shares the doubt he initially felt when over and over again he heard stories that supported healing and teaching as traditional forms of justice. He states, "I suspected that people were giving me romanticized versions of traditional justice, with all the punishments removed to make things look rosier than they really were" (p. 6). The Pauktuutit description of Inuit society also sounds romanticized and simply too good to be true. We all know that life was often far from rosy. However, there are just too many stories about the harmonious life in traditional camps and there is still enough evidence of harmony in the smaller communities in Nunavut to simply dismiss the Pauktuutit description as romantic.

Our doubt, questions, and dismissal, sometimes expressed by Qallunaat in Nunavut schools, serves as more evidence of the hegemony which operates to ensure that our worldview predominates within Nunavut. Since the modern communities were established across Nunavut, Inuit have not

really had an opportunity to organize their communities according to their own traditional ways. The southern institutions impose policies, hierarchies, rules, regulations, codes, law and order, systems, discipline, and organizations that are diametrically opposed to the kind of society that is described in the Pauktuutit quotation.

This section on community starts with what I dare to call an Inuit perspective because that must be a point of departure for any discussion of community as it relates to schools, or professional education in Nunavut. This vision of community must be measured against the kind of contrived, collaborative, cooperative models of community that we tend to find in educational journals and texts. The mainstream professional education literature is literally saturated in discussions of community, collaboration, cooperation, and collegiality. They are dominant themes in the writings of Ann Lieberman 1995, 1994; Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, 1994, 1990; Judith Warren-Little 1986, 1987 ; Andy Hargreaves 1994a, 1994b, 1997; Peter Grimmett and Jonathan Neufeld, 1994; Michael Apple and James Beane, 1995; Kathleen Ceroni and Noreen Garman, 1994; Susan Rosenholtz, 1989; Michael Fullan, 1991; Jim Cummins, 1996, and many others that are far too numerous to mention.

Ann Lieberman (1995, p. 15), believes that "Colleagueship was built on shared struggles, changed practices and much trial and error." She identifies "norms of collegiality, openness and trust" (1994, p. 16), as important elements in building a culture of support. Milbrey McLaughlin (1994, p. 33), identifies "membership in some kind of a strong professional community" as the most striking characteristic shared by teachers who report a high sense of efficacy and success with students. She develops the concept of "professional discourse community" (pp. 32-47), characterized by collegiality and mutual

support, and sees common purpose, networks, coalitions and collaborations as essential in coping with the many challenges facing educators in schools. Susan Rosenholtz (1989), stresses the vital importance of "social cement" (p. 18) in building what she calls cohesiveness in schools. In her research she discovered that "Cohesiveness is relationship, oriented. It involves the affective attachment of people to the, organizational community, with fulfillment derived directly from membership involvement" (p. 18). Rosenholtz goes on to examine schools with shared goals and notes, "in high consensus settings, teachers' talk reflects a conception of the desirable, explicitly defined and mutually shared, which seems to direct and unify behavior, just as the funnel of an hourglass forms the sand and sends it all in the same direction" (p. 30).

Rhetoric aside, the examples cited by Rosenholtz, Lieberman, and McLaughlin are impressive and point to real successes that are based on a sense of community and commitment to education and professional learning. Sometimes in reading these examples I find that parents, politics, and a wider social context seem to be somewhat removed from the world of the school. While this does not in any way diminish the accomplishments of educators in the many classrooms and schools discussed and documented in the work of Lieberman, McLaughlin and Rosenholtz, it does leave me looking for more — perhaps for a sense of community that is linked to a wider view of society. Michael Apple and James Beane bring me back to reality; however, when they state, "the most powerful meaning of democracy is formed not in glossy political rhetoric, but in the details of everyday lives" (1995, p. 103). "We do not want dewy-eyed romantics here .... we are all exhausted at the end of a day spent dealing with the realities of schools" (p. 103). The creation of community in schools has a great deal to do with shared

hard work, with a deep commitment to the students, and a realization that reaching out to others can make a huge difference in surviving through difficult days.

As I read through the volumes and pages of writing which focus on collegiality, I find the words of Joanne Tompkins, a Nunavut educator, echoing through my head. "The answers are profoundly simple and they relate in large part to creating schools that value people — all people — staff and students and janitors and parent volunteers" (1993, p. 119). I have visited the school in north Baffin where Tompkins and her colleagues worked to the point of exhaustion, but also experienced intense joy. Everyone was welcome in that school. It was a school where parents felt comfortable, students felt valued, and staff were supportive of each other and worked closely together to plan, teach, and learn. Somehow the story of Anurapaktuq School seemed to work towards an Inuit-based conception of community at the same time as it implemented virtually all of the elements referred to over and over again in the mainstream literature which deals with collaboration. Family groups, culturally based learning, first language instruction, thematic teaching, supported team planning, centres, small group instruction, community involvement, ongoing educator development, reflection, celebration, empathetic leadership, and caring were all part and parcel of that particular school's success.

There are several Nunavut schools struggling to build communities where sharing, cooperation, and support are much more than jargon used in the professional education literature or the odd workshop. Apple and Beane (1995, p. 104) speak of the "long and valued tradition of like-minded efforts." Immediately I think of Stephen May's account of Richmond Road School Primary School in Auckland (1994), of the efforts in Rock Point that were

documented years ago by Wayne and Agnes Holm (1990), and the work

documented by Lucille Watahomigie and Teresa McCarty (1994), to create first

language programs in Peach Springs, Arizona.

Apple and Beane feel that part of the problem we face in building

democratic schools is finding out about the successes of other educators:

> Our work has become so intensified (Apple, 1988, 1993) that not only is it difficult to find time to write about our successes, it is sometimes difficult to find time to even read about what other people are doing to transform their schools. Yet sharing our stories is crucial, as is teaching one another what can be done, what pitfalls to avoid and what reality is like when the hard work of building more responsive schools finally pays off. (1995, pp. 104-105)

Not only do we have little time to read, we do not have the time to

waste on implementing an agenda of school reform which is preoccupied

with the kind of "contrived collegiality" referred to by Andy Hargreaves (1991,

1994a), or the duplicity of false "empowerment" described by Kathleen Ceroni

and Noreen Garman. Community is based on relationships between people.

real, difficult, complex, and caring relationships that are not created with

magic wands, or leadership from above. These are relationships in which

professional jealousy, carelessness, lack of understanding, ideological

difference and pettiness can quickly spoil our efforts to build community. We

need to be prepared to address the realities involved in accepting the good

along with the frustrating, infuriating idiosyncrasies of our colleagues.

Creating community also requires that educators yet again open their

eyes to the rhetoric of reform and refuse to become puppets in any one else's

idea of collaboration. These two realities alone present formidable challenges

to anyone committed to building a professional discourse community

characterized by cooperation, respect, and harmony.

The educators in Nunavut schools already understand a great deal

about community, much of it learned as they grew up being cared for by extended family, neighbors, friends, and relatives. They understand community when they dance and play games in the community hall into the early hours of the morning at Christmas and finally wander home exhausted to sleep away a day that remains dark. At community feasts, during spring camp, clam digging, hunting, or during the days when tragedies bring everyone together, the close life in Nunavut communities is sustained by relationships that are built and maintained over a lifetime. When it comes time for school, however, we tend to turn these connections into more formal relationships on committees, teams, and planning groups. Somehow the southern structures and ways of doing business predominate, and small hierarchies develop guided by those who are designated as leaders.

In considering what community really means to us, I believe we need to think long and hard about our schools and whose interests and agendas they are really serving. Are parents involved in creating these schools, do students have a voice in the ongoing discussions about direction, values, and activities? Do educators have the time to build their own community, work with their colleagues, and team teach in ways that are not prescribed and controlled by administrators? Until these things are possible, efforts to create a vision of community remain the kind of reformer based empty rhetoric in which the structures and existing relationships and hierarchies of power and knowledge are maintained. We have seen that it is possible to break this pattern in schools all over the world. It remains to be seen if it is possible to extend an Inuit-based model of community in more than just a few exceptional schools in Nunavut. Perhaps, as Maxine Greene and Richard Rorty suggest, "the only foundation for the sense of community is 'shared hope and the trust created by such sharing'" (Rorty, 1985, p. 3 in Greene, 1988,

p. 121).

Conclusion

The themes of freedom, space, voice, and community are fundamentally important in Pauqatigiit. Understanding these themes and the possibilities they can bring to the implementation of ethically based professional education in Nunavut schools cannot be overemphasized.

Without freedom we limit our choices. Without space we limit our creativity. Without voice we limit our understanding. Without community we limit the possibility of love.

Part Three

Emerging Frameworks for Professional Learning in Nunavut

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Chapter Eleven

The Dance of Life: Challenges Involved in Ethically Based
Professional Practice

"I would suggest that we not seek out a theory of truth
but affirm an ethical base for our accounts
of the value of cooperative human inquiry.
All we can do is articulate as clearly as possible
what we believe and what we share."
(Greene, 1995, p. 69)

Introduction

Maxine Greene suggests that, "For those of us in education, it seems peculiarly important that both the critique and vision of education be developed within and not outside what we conceive to be our learning community" (1995, p. 61). As I struggle to articulate an emerging framework for ethically based professional practice, I am intensely conscious of the tensions between the everyday world of Pauqatigiit and the world of critique that tends to draw me into an exploration of subjectivity, agency, ethics, and politics. This tension may be artificial, created by our preoccupation with the binary opposition established between theory and practice. The world of critique is often viewed by educators as inaccessible and inapplicable within the world of the classroom. For me, however, what started as a theoretical exploration has proved to be eminently practical within my own professional life.

Greene urges us to stay connected to our learning communities but during this year my professional community has expanded to include voices

that are sometimes thought to be "disconnected" (Greene, 1995, p. 62), from the real world of schools, students, teacher education and professional development. There were times when I believed I was drifting into a space that seemed to be distanced from lived experience and that the theoretical voices were preoccupied with splitting hairs as some of them wrestled intellectually with issues such as the death of the subject, the death of history, and the death of metaphysics (Nicholson, 1995, p. 3).

I wondered if my reading was becoming self-indulgent when at times it seemed to have little relevance to Pauqatigiit. The reading also started to become very time consuming to the point that I worried the dissertation would never be finished. We all face the challenge of relevance in our work, and when a year of leave is snatched from a busy life the pressure to complete writing is considerable. Delving into philosophical concerns did not always seem justified. Now, however, I think I understand what Maxine Greene means about connection to community, and I know that the tension between critique and Pauqatigiit is important and valuable.

As we focus on specific practices in specific locations they are constantly reshaped by our thinking. The quality of that thinking is influenced by the voices we encounter. When those voices simply mirror back our own realities and take for granted approaches within education, we are not challenged to consider problems from different perspectives or to delve beneath the surface to understand in deeper ways. We are not cognitively forced to resolve the disturbing and unsettling questions that can lead to a deeper understanding. Thinking which is grounded in ethical questions is vital, for without it changes that can benefit the community are unlikely to happen.

In our work as educators we are called upon to act ethically in the face

of a myriad of diversions, seductions, and sometimes unimportant details. We are called upon to work with colleagues in our learning communities as we struggle together to create the kind of school system that is committed to making a difference for students. In order to act ethically, it is essential that we have time to reflect, read, and consider our lives carefully for otherwise we are in danger of simply reacting and responding automatically according to the patterns of behavior and moral codes we have established over years. Eventually our thinking as well as our actions become stuck in grooves that are not easy to change. Our connections to community are very important, as Greene states, but so are connections to voices which come from the world of critique. I think we need both if we are to reflect and act ethically in our work.

My connection with theoretical voices has helped me to reflect on our specific practices in professional education in Nunavut and challenged me to think about research, theory and practice in a way that was not possible when I was immersed in supervising schools, teaching courses at NTEP, or coordinating Pauqatigiit. I believe this reflection will make a difference in the way I teach and work with other educators in the future. A connection with the voices of Michel Foucault and Maxine Greene, in particular, has helped me to consider our realities in Nunavut from an ethical perspective and then turn back to Pauqatigiit to try and synthesize new understandings with those realities.

In the context of the lived experience of some educators in Nunavut schools, concepts of freedom, and caring for self may be perceived as far from abstract and could represent a very practical kind of response to professional lives that can seem confining, confusing, and limiting. However, this remains a presumption at this time. The process of development in Pauqatigiit ensures that any emerging insights, presented by myself as part of

discussions, involves sharing the thinking of one person who spent several months of her life looking at the issues and questions of professional education in Nunavut with a bit more attention than is possible when we are involved in the daily scramble of life in schools. The relevance of these insights may only be of value to myself, in which case they will affect my relationships with others, and that may benefit a few people in Nunavut. I no longer believe that knowledge must have wide applicability within education to be recognized as valuable. There are already enough ideas and strategies out there but they are not being used effectively because educators have no time to think. A tiny suggestion that educators in Nunavut need to focus on themselves and the resolution of tensions in their own lives, may enable them to gain some of the freedom they need to act differently in their professional lives. I therefore suggest that the work of Foucault on care of self, and a reconnection to Inuit values as a foundation for ethical practice, provides a powerful antidote to the debilitating effects of cultural loss, exponential change, and colonial violence that permeates the professional life of educators who live and work in Nunavut today.

Emerging Frameworks

In this chapter I try to describe a framework for ethically based professional practice which draws on Foucault's notion of care of self and integrates it with Inuit values and conceptions of respect and relationship with community and the land. This combines the framework from Inuuqatigiit (GNWT, 1996), with Foucauldian ethics to conceive of practices which are founded on relational, communal, and political understandings of subjectivity and community. Vygotskian sociocultural learning theory

supports this perspective.

In his ethics Foucault turned to the Hellenistic culture of Greece and Rome, specifically the *epimeleia heautou* (taking care of one's self) as a practical foundation for being in the world. In doing so he was careful to pick and choose, rejecting the sexism and oppression that was part of Hellenistic society and which he argued, should be "abandoned" (Foucault, quoted in Dumm, 1996, p. 139). Similarly, while traditional Inuit values may capture important aspects of community living such as cooperation and sharing, historical memory may fail to recall the brutality that was also part of Inuit traditional life (Graburn, personal communication, 1985). In looking back we are carefully selecting aspects of ethical practice that have relevance today.

It would be naïve, nostalgic, and dangerous to suggest that we simply need to resuscitate pre-Christian forms of ethical practice and dismiss medieval philosophy and scholasticism, the Enlightenment, humanism, and modern and contemporary philosophies to return to the purity of more practical, traditional ethics. Our consciousness is formed by our histories and by the range of philosophies that are part of that history. Fortunately our understanding, interpretation, and appreciation of that history is critically informed. We don't always adopt the norms and values of our parents or of the dominant society. We are shaped by our questioning of, and our resistance to, prevailing beliefs. Though we may reach back to history and tradition in our efforts to understand ourselves, our interpretation is always transformed by our own personal history, social location, and interactions with people.

The creation of new forms of essentialism out of old traditions simply replicates historical patterns that are part of our modernist heritage and have already been thoroughly disturbed by post-structuralism. Foucault did not

believe it was possible to appropriate the insights from another age and apply them to our lives today. He says, "you can't find the solution of a problem in the solution of another problem raised at another moment by another people" (1984, p. 343). Therefore, Inuit values and Hellenistic ethical practices are used as powerful sources that must be adapted and transformed by individuals within specific contexts in different ways.

In drawing on Greco-Roman conceptions of care of self as interpreted by Foucault, and on the historical memory of traditional Inuit values that is outlined in Inuuqatigiit, I am suggesting a form of ethical practice which is problem- and choice-centered. This differs from a morality based on religious or humanistic tenets and also differs significantly from the simplistic moral codes of behavior that are often used in our schools to exercise control over both students and educators. This ethic is based on freedom, not control. It requires the involvement of self in decisions about how to behave in a school or a society.

Both perspectives, Foucauldian ethics and Inuit values, suggest powerful forms of ethical practice that offer interesting possibilities with respect to a harmony that often seems elusive today. Inuit pre-Christian life dates back only four hundred years and can be considered relatively recent history for Nunavut. It is a history that can provide an important foundation for the Inuit and Qallunaat who are creating Nunavut today. The values inherent in traditional and ancient knowledge are based on a considerable amount of thinking about the best way to live life as individuals and members of a community. The Greeks and the Inummariit spent generations adapting and refining ethically based practices for their lives. We can critically evaluate these practices, and if they have relevance we can choose to adapt them to our lives as educators in Nunavut.

In attempting to use aspects of Foucault's work I am conscious of working "at the limits of oneself" (Foucault, 1984, p. 46). I am not a student of philosophy or ethics. I am an educator exploring the possibilities inherent in an ethical practice that speaks very strongly to me personally, but requires a level of understanding that sometimes seems beyond the limits of my present intellectual grasp. Consequently, I take a risk in presuming that this enables me to interpret Foucault's work with any kind of clarity. Given this limitation; however, I am convinced of the importance of considering Foucauldian ethics for our context in Nunavut and trust that my understanding will continue to grow so that this tentative, emerging framework will be constantly reshaped and refined over the years.

In the same way, my necessarily limited understanding of Inuit values means I walk on dangerous ground in assuming that I am capable of interpreting what is written and spoken about with respect to those values. As a Qallunaq writing about Inuit values, I am constantly in danger of appropriating and misunderstanding aspects of cultural knowledge. I take these risks consciously, believing that an Inuit perspective and world view can provide an immensely valuable ethical base for any individual living, working, and teaching in Nunavut. My interpretation may be flawed in which case it must be corrected by my Inuit colleagues as part of our ongoing dialogue. I apologize for any misinterpretation, generalization, totalization, or offense which results from my writing.

This chapter initially attempts an examination of Foucault's ethics, which centre on care of self and use practices of freedom as the basis for ethical behavior. It then considers how Inuit values and an Inuit world view provide a basis for ethical living in Nunavut. The chapter moves on to consider the challenges that might be involved in using ethically based

professional education in Nunavut as it might be informed by Foucauldian ethics and Inuit values. The themes discussed in Part Two of the dissertation: the culture of schools, the post-colonial context, critical reflection, post humanism, collective autonomy, integrity, freedom, space, voice, and community are briefly re-considered as they relate to the values and practices which might inform our professional lives in Nunavut. The chapter closes with a discussion of the process involved in using ethically based learning and discourse that places care of self in relationship with a diverse community as a priority throughout an educator's career.

Chapter Eleven describes an emerging framework that might be considered within professional education in Nunavut. It explores the more theoretical aspects of ethically based practice, while Chapter Twelve uses reflections on my own professional learning experiences as an application of the evolving framework for ethical practice within the life of one Nunavut educator.

Care of Self in Foucauldian Ethics

Foucault's ethics suggest a discourse with self and others that requires a specific consideration of ourselves and the everyday world we all inhabit. This is not simply a rational, critical quest, it is a consideration of the "context of shared human stories, within a changing human community" (Greene, 1995, p. 62), and is much more like what Maxine Greene refers to as the "dance of life" (p. 62). She believes this dance of life involves laughter, happiness, and love, as well as critique, clarity, consensus, and logic. It involves what she calls awakening to a self that is not "ready made, but something in continuous formation through choice of action" (Dewey, 1916,

p. 408, quoted in Greene, 1995, p. 177). This dance of life has a great deal to do with an ongoing dialogue with ourselves and others.

Peter McLaren writes about "postmodern narrative ethics" (1995, p. 96) that involve living "in the narrative reality of the present, to encourage the subversion of stratified, hierarchized and socially calcified forms of subjectivity" (p. 97). It is this kind of shaking up of narrative and self that I believe we need to think about if we are interested in exploring ethical practice in Pauqatigiit. McLaren discusses Joel Kovel's philosophy of becoming which involves aligning "oneself explicitly with a narrative of freedom" (McLaren, 1995, p. 109). When we give ourselves a good shake and wake up to our lives we often discover that issues of freedom lie beneath our questions, and that concerns relating to self or subjectivity as they intersect with our families, schools, and communities are almost always central in our struggles to understand the world and find some happiness. McLaren quotes Kovel (1991, p. 108), when he discusses subjectivity:

> I am a subject, not merely an object; I am not a Cartesian subject, whose subjectivity is pure inwardness, but rather an expressive subject, a transformative subject; I am a subject, therefore, who needs to project my being into the world and transform the world as an expression of my being; and finally, I will appropriate my being rather than have it expropriated. (Kovel, quoted in McLaren, 1995, pp. 109-110)

A refusal to be expropriated leads individuals to question their lives and fight for more freedom. It is this urge to gain more freedom that makes Foucault's care of self so important. This is because, "Freedom is the ontological condition of ethics. But ethics is the considered form that freedom takes when it is informed by reflection" (Foucault, 1997, p. 284). Foucault explains that care of self "is ethical in itself" (1997, p. 287), because it involves knowing yourself in a way that enables us to be free. Our understanding of ourselves frees us from some of the patterns of thinking that bind us into

ways of behaving and reacting that limit our choices and restrict our pleasure and happiness. When we care for ourselves we are behaving ethically, which enables us to engage in ethical relationships with others. When others take care of themselves and gain more freedom, ethical relationships are possible and become exchanges between free human beings.

Foucauldian ethics apply within our everyday lives. They involve the use of disciplined, daily practices of freedom that change the way we relate to ourselves and to others. Foucault draws on the Hellenistic concept of "*epimeleisthai sautou*, 'to take care of yourself,' to 'take care of self, ' 'to be concerned, to take care of yourself'"(1997, p. 231, emphasis in text). He bases much of his work on an interpretation of Plato's first dialogues between Socrates and Alcibiades. For Foucault an "ethical response does not carry with it the clarity of a code....[I]n the face of normalization, he suggests that we need to think for ourselves...to become generous in our responses to others" (Dumm, 1996, p. 136). Thomas Dumm goes on to explain,

> In Foucault's reading, the care of the self thus is related to four main problems: politics and its relationship to the self, learning from others, concern with self and self-knowledge and finally care of self and philosophical love, the relation to a master. (pp. 139-140)

Foucault explains, "To constitute one's self as a subject who governs implies that one has constituted himself as a subject having care for self" (1988, p. 13). This is an ethics which implies the constituting and governing of oneself, the creation of oneself as a person who is interested in self, knows self, and takes care of self. This constituting of self takes place in relationship with others because we live in a world with family, friends, and colleagues. Foucault stresses that thinking affects all parts of ourselves and is not something that is limited to philosophy or science. It can be "analyzed in every manner of speaking, doing, or behaving in which the individual

appears and acts as knowing subject [*sujet de connaissance*], as ethical or juridicial subject, as subject conscious of himself and others" (1997, p. 201, emphasis in text). Foucault (1997, pp. 230-242), in an essay entitled Technologies of the Self, elaborates on the four main problems that are outlined by Plato in the Alcibiades and are referred to by Dumm. I am choosing to use these four problems to organize my discussion of Foucauldian ethics as they might relate to professional education in Nunavut.

The Relation Between Care of Self and Political Activity. Foucauldian ethics is not an individualistic ethics and does not focus on the self in isolation from others. It views the self as embedded in relationships with others and therefore as engaged in politics and community life. This requires a relational and communal ethics.

In living with others in a political community we are automatically involved in power relations with others. Some power relations are asymmetrical in that they involve inequality — one person may be dominating the other. Asymmetrical power relations are influenced by society's attempts to govern and control our behavior in ways which can limit our freedom, space, and ability to care for ourselves. In the educational system in Nunavut, asymmetrical power relations are fostered within hierarchies and bureaucracies that are charged with developing policies, programs, and procedures to organize education. A disciplinary society uses elaborate forms of hegemonic control to govern citizens which necessitates living a political life that tries to expose and limit that control. The teachers' strike in Ontario (October, 1997), provides an example of resistance to control in the name of freedom for educators and students.

In the schools in Nunavut, depending on the way a school board or a

principal chooses to use power through discourse, discipline can be exercised lightly and democratically, or it can be used in a way that increases control and limits the freedom of educators. Educators are quite capable of resisting, evading, and side-stepping controls, though these efforts can be very frustrating and eventually become debilitating and exhausting. They take educators' attention and energy away from teaching.

The classroom is also a political environment. Educators exercise control over their students and relations of power and discourse patterns can change over the course of a year or between the teacher and students in each interaction that takes place. Control can be firmly established or it can be exercised lightly. This depends on the willingness and skill of the educator in encouraging students to govern themselves. Foucault stresses that teachers have a role in guiding children towards self-governance. Children do not learn to self-govern by allowing chaos to reign in a classroom. They must learn about themselves and others through interaction and discussion that is developed by gradually giving more and more power to students within the classroom. When controls are excessive, or when a student is in great pain, resistance may become physically violent. There are many choices with respect to managing this kind of behavior but they all involve exercising power in a variety of ways. According to Foucault, we need to work towards establishing relationships that minimize domination by others and in so doing interactions can become more symmetrical, reciprocal, and collaborative. It would seem logical that by teaching students to care for themselves and by creating classrooms where students actively care for themselves, we are, in Foucault's terms, establishing classrooms where caring for others happens automatically.

The same thing applies in relationships with our colleagues.

Differences of ethnicity/race, gender, class, age, experience in education, competence, reputation, and a host of other factors influence power relations with others. A recently hired, untrained, Inuit support assistant will be linked in relationships with experienced, older, more qualified colleagues in ways that might potentially promote dominant relations of power; however, this is not necessarily the case because experienced teachers can choose to establish reciprocal relationships with the new educator in ways that encourage friendship and mutual exchange. The assistant is likely to have skills that can bring a balance of power into the relationship. For example they may be able to communicate with students in Inuktitut. They may also have valuable contacts in the community and may bring special skills and talents into a school. We cannot predict how power will be used in relationships though we can point to patterns of inequality in relationships between men and women, aboriginal and Qallunaat educators, children and adults, and people who hold positions at different levels in the educational hierarchy.

In professional education courses and workshops, facilitators and instructors can use dominant power to intimidate or disempower students, or they can establish dialogical relationships that involve an exchange of knowledge, the sharing of ideas, and the constructing of new knowledge. Student experience can be part of learning or it may not be considered. Each decision affects the power relations in the classroom and those relations constantly change and shift depending on control and resistance.

In our schools and in professional learning experiences we are integrally linked to others in our schools and communities. We need to understand that the school is a socio-political environment — not a neutral, safe place where we can just start teaching our students. Power and knowledge are exercised by the administration, and the staff in different ways

and individuals are interrelated in different ways that we may not understand. The discourse in a school or in a course or workshop may privilege one group of individuals and discriminate against another. These things will become clear if we observe, listen and reflect on the cultural, political, and social life that surrounds us. We are not ethnographers, however, and we do not have a lot of time to engage in political deciphering. We often hurl ourselves into the work, the causes, the social justice issues, the program changes, or the implementation of different approaches to teaching and, because we are preoccupied and very busy, before we know it, we are enmeshed in power relations that are not comfortable, cause stress, or are damaging to ourselves. In order to survive it is essential that we stop and take the time to understand ourselves and the world we inhabit. This is Foucauldian ethics and involves the exercising of care of self on a daily basis.

We need to examine the way we are positioned in a school or any environment or interaction, and use power, knowledge, and voice in ethical ways. Ethical practices involve caring for self while unethical practices usually mean we are overworking or engaging in futile games of truth that are damaging to ourselves. We can raise questions about the ways that the politics of the school or professional learning affect our lives and might ask:

- How am I using my power and knowledge?
- How much do I understand myself and my relationships with my colleagues?
- How am I using the politics of the school to enable me to be the best educator possible, according to my own definitions?
- How much freedom and space is available to me as an educator?
- How do I fit in this community and how do my values and beliefs correspond with those of my colleagues?

• How can I exercise care of self in this particular environment?

These are a few of the important questions we can raise within this first problem of politics and the self raised by Foucault in his ethics. The same questions can be applied within ever expanding conceptions of community until we are addressing issues at the national and global level.

Work is political because it involves relationships with others. The way we teach and learn is political. Our work is political and is driven by our values and beliefs. Different versions of the truth constantly compete for attention. Does this mean that we are obliged to engage in endless and exhausting analyses of ourselves, others, and society? Obviously this would not involve caring for self. Care of self enables us to relax, enjoy our lives, our relationships, art, the land, and ourselves. We slowly learn to pick our battles and, if we are always reflecting, we can learn how to use resistance to change our world without damaging ourselves.

This does not mean that we can just sit back and contemplate, quietly letting the world hum past. To contemplate alone means we are refusing to engage in issues that affect our well being. Neither can we stand frozen in agony, overwhelmed by hopelessness, paralyzed by guilt, or in despair because we are unable to affect change. We are affecting change all the time as we think and check in with ourselves about what is going on around us. Even our tiniest efforts to gain more freedom can make significant differences in our own lives and in the lives of our students and colleagues.

Nunavut is being created around us. After years of colonialism Inuit have managed to gain the possibility for more freedom. People in Nunavut need to ensure that they can live their lives in a way that brings them some peace and happiness. This will not happen if we all just sit back and believe that Inuit are now free and that the fight is over. Hegemony continues to

operate in all our lives. Sexism, racism, oppression, violence, abuse, and pain are all around us. We are all involved in relationships that are dominating, and we all need to be aware of what freedom means in our lives. We must pick our battles judiciously, however, using care of self to measure our comfort and our effectiveness.

To constantly engage in political activity and to be involved in relentless attempts to change society may be damaging to self and therefore involve us in unconsciously perpetuating violence by hurting ourselves, our families, our communities, and our students. Caring for others to such a degree that we damage ourselves means we are engaging in unethical practices and that our freedom is being limited. Ultimately we break down, get angry, and hurt others or ourselves. Care of self, when it is practiced on a daily basis, puts us in touch with ourselves in a way that monitors our bodies, our feelings, our thoughts, and our dreams. We start to know ourselves well and immediately recognize when we are in pain. We start to understand why we are hurting ourselves and stop the process early enough to limit the damage.

While care of self means we need to be on our toes asking questions and ensuring that our agendas are addressed in any community and in the political arena, it also means we need time to know and understand ourselves and relate to our friends who act as mentors and guides in our lives. Foucault speaks about strategic withdrawals from political life in order to care for yourself but this does not mean becoming hermits or giving up on our efforts to try and change our world. Foucault says there are times when we "must leave politics to take better care of the self" (1997, p. 235). Retreats are necessary and we need to learn when "it is better to turn away from political activity to concern oneself with oneself" (Foucault, 1997, p. 231). It is

likely that I am stressing the importance of withdrawal because in many ways a year of educational leave has provided that kind of space in my life. My care of self has improved and I feel healthier and happier. It remains to be seen if this can be maintained once I am immersed in work again.

Learning From Others. Foucault's second principle related to care of self involves learning from others, or what he calls pedagogy. This is a kind of lifelong learning that implies careful examination of the self as engaged in discourse with others located in a disciplinary society. We learn from many others but we learn the most from ourselves as we reflect on our lives and make sense of our experiences. We learn from the stories we tell and repeat. They contain messages about our pleasant and unpleasant experiences, and if we interpret these stories they tell us about relations of power in our lives. We start to understand that even though some relationships start out being reciprocal and full of pleasure, as time passes they can become confining, limiting, and constraining. We start to wonder about changing them, getting away, or finding new friends. This involves learning from others.

When we are engaged in professional learning we need to be aware of snake oil staff development, but we also need to be wary of what Patti Lather calls the "new master discourses" (1991, p. 49), including Foucault's, and the old discourses of the Enlightenment and various humanisms that are so much part of our collective history and are sometimes referred to as the canon. Lather deliberately uses the word master, rather than grand narrative, to remind us that many of the voices we hear in our consciousness are those that belong to men. In Nunavut, where most educators are women, we need to examine discourse to ensure that it enables us to live in our world with the kind of space we need to feel free. While the voices from the past are often those representing male rationality, learning is not, as Foucault points out,

about being for or against the discourses of either humanism or the Enlightenment, but involves being able to oppose those discourses in a "permanent creation of ourselves in our autonomy" (1984, p. 44). In this case, professional learning involves expressing our resistance, opposition, and refusal to accept any discourse that limits our freedom. It also means exploring discourse that enable us to uncover hegemony but also discover texts, voices, and dialogue that brings us pleasure and excitement, stir our blood, and arouse our passion. Learning can be exhilarating and when it is not, we need to wonder why.

Learning from others, in the case of ethically based practice within Pauqatigiit, involves listening to the voices that we may not hear because we are so busy. The voices of Inuit elders share history, mythology, and values that emerge from their collective memories and can bring us new insight and different understandings of our realities in Nunavut. We may not be able to hear these voices because they speak in Inuktitut, are not present within our immediate environment, or require us to make special arrangements before we can make the time to stop and listen. Caring for self will enable us to make the space we need to listen to these voices and appreciate and understand their wisdom without letting them become regimes of truth in our lives.

Learning also involves listening with attention to each other, not just to ourselves. In Nunavut this means that Qallunaat need to learn from Inuit and Inuit need to learn from Qallunaat in a way that enables all voices to be expressed and heard in the language of their choice. We have so much to learn from each other. We have pain and joy, and ideas about teaching and learning to share. Our resentment, our fear, our hopes, and our anger can all find expression if we can really listen carefully to each other. Perhaps we can even listen to silence and learn to read and appreciate it in another way.

Learning is a central occupation in professional education and that learning is always with others, even when we write our personal journals. As educators we are constantly involved in a process of recalling voices, reflecting on discourse, or remembering experiences with our students or colleagues. We need to think about the nature of this learning and ask ourselves some questions about pedagogy as it applies to ourselves. Some of the questions we might ask include:

- Is my learning controlled by others?

- Why am I learning about this particular theory, strategy, approach, or curriculum?

- How much of this learning really interests me, benefits me, or fits with my needs?

- Does this learning help me to care for myself as a professional educator?

- Is this professional learning a major part of my life or is it something I am just going through because I am obliged to be here?

- Am I hearing all the voices of individuals involved in this learning experience or do I just hear a few?

- Am I cutting out some very important voices because they disturb my equilibrium?

- Am I making the most of the learning opportunities that are available to me or are there personal issues blocking my access to something that I believe is valuable?

- How can I change my learning with others so it is rewarding, nurturing and challenging?

These are several of the questions to consider when thinking about the ethics of professional education that involves learning with others

throughout a career.

<u>Concern with Self and Self-Knowledge</u>. Concern with self and self-knowledge is the third problem identified by Foucault, and originally by Plato, within an ethics grounded in a care of self. Self-knowledge denotes coming to terms with our identity, needs, and desires in a way that helps us to know ourselves thoroughly. This is not a superficial examination of self that skims the surface of our being in the world. It is a self-knowledge which enables us to recognize the way we are implicated in relations of power-knowledge, discourse, and history, and provides us with the understanding to refuse some of the unacceptable aspects of such a position, as well as to appreciate others in a more reflective way. Foucault refers to the necessity of doing "hermeneutic work" (1984, p. 361), which carefully looks for meaning and pushes for interrelationships between different discourses. He stresses the importance of a person choosing "among all the things that you can know through scientific knowledge only those things which were relative to him and important to life" (p. 360). We cannot become preoccupied with every small detail unless they affect our lives directly.

A close attention to things a person considers important and a careful excavation of the site of the self is suggested by Foucault. He states, "No technique, no professional skill can be acquired without exercise; neither can one learn the art of living, the techne tou biou, without an *askesis*" (1984, p. 364, emphasis in text). Foucault says that *askesis* means "the progressive consideration of self, or mastery over oneself, obtained not through the renunciation of reality but through the acquisition and assimilation of truth .... access to the reality of this world" (1997, p. 238). Foucault accepts that there are a myriad of realities as experienced by individuals, the reality that is the most important is the one which swirls around yourself. Accessing that

reality requires discipline and daily attention to the details that are important to you in that reality. He says the ways of knowing the self include "abstinences, memorizations, examinations of conscience, meditations, silence and listening to others" (p. 364). In the Hellenic culture a person would review each day carefully in very practical terms to report back to oneself about aspects of your interactions, readings, insights, frustrations, mistakes, misinterpretations, and successes. Sometimes this happened with a guide or friend.

Foucault wonders about our distracted attention to everything other than ourselves and reminds us that in ancient Hellenic culture "the principal work of art which one has to take care of, the main area to which one must apply aesthetic values, is oneself, one's life, one's existence" (p. 362). The urgency of this call to mind ourselves, respect ourselves, and attend to ourselves may be countered by a Christian or humanistic voice which accuses those who focus on self of narcissism, selfishness, and a lack of attention to others. Understanding that the voice of Christian humanism can restrict access to freedom, and realizing that care of self can in fact enable us to be available to others in a much more unrestricted way, may be helpful in answering the insistent voices that accuses us of selfishness. This; however, is a matter for each person to undertake themselves, not something to be imposed in the name of liberation or enlightenment. The other thing that must be named and put in its place when learning about ourselves is the narcissistic culture of the self that is prevalent in popular culture today:

> In the Californian cult of the self, one is supposed to discover one's true self, to separate it from that which might obscure or alienate it, to decipher its truth thanks to psychological or psychoanalytical science which is supposed to be able to tell you what your true self is. Therefore, not only do I not identify this ancient culture of the self with what you might call the Californian cult of the self, I think they are diametrically opposed. (Foucault, 1984, p. 362)

Over-indulgence in self, as it is practiced within Californian, consumer oriented talk shows, new age cures, fashion fads, obsessive diets, and the host of other answers to our problems, needs to be understood as a manipulation of our needs in the interest of profit. New age psychology provides an endless stream of solutions to the problems of our time, and there are self-help books that promise to connect us to every part of our being. Aboriginal world view, for example, is always susceptible to marketing as we constantly search for the authentic, the pure, the one real truth. The obsessive search for identity and the real self in our culture is an indication of the depth of despair that people face in their lives. Foucault's care of self is a very different process for it focuses on understanding and interpreting the world and recognizing its dangerous influences and complexity. Foucauldian ethics does not provide any answers or solutions but it suggests that the answers might be located in ourselves, though not in any essential, authentic, real or fixed self. This self is problematized, located in a variety of sites, and constantly changing. It carries a history, it inhabits a reality and a body and when it is in touch with itself, it is alive to the world.

Foucault emphasizes the necessity of the careful, detailed, and precise work that is involved in care of self. He refers many times to the "austerity practices" and the "ascetic themes" (p. 361), utilized by the Greeks and Romans and sees this as "self-deciphering" (p. 358), which must be distinguished from the kind of "self-examination" (p. 358) that is part of the confessional self of contemporary thought. Self-examination involves a comparison with a set of morals that define some behaviors as independently bad or good. Self-deciphering is self-evaluation rooted in care of self and a determination to seek your own good. Foucault calls for "a patient labor giving form to our impatience for liberty" (1984, p. 50). This requires detailed

work on the ontology of self, on the self as situated and existing in a real world and encountering the everyday ethical struggles that we all face. This is not an abstract, theoretical, spiritual, or psychological kind of ethics. Precise definition is necessary in the interpretation of Foucault's words and there is ample room for misinterpretation, particularly as his premature death prevented him from elaborating on many of the themes suggested within his ethics.

Concern with self and self-knowledge are always central in Foucauldian ethics and constitute a major focus within the ethically based practice suggested in this dissertation. The last thing that Foucault would ever want to see happen with the care of self is to have it turned into a moral code or a prescription for living. Codes and prescriptions need to be rejected by all of us because, provided we insist on making time for self-reflection, we are quite capable of thinking about our lives and caring for ourselves outside the boundaries of any list of rules.

In considering how a concern for self and self-knowledge might be applied within professional education, it immediately becomes apparent that insufficient time is allocated to understanding who we are. Christopher Clark's big question, "Who am I?, immediately comes to mind (1992, p. 77). Other questions include:

- What do I need?
- How can I get help?
- What are my values?
- How can these values be used in my teaching and my learning?
- Who knows me and supports me in the school?
- How can I ensure that my relationships with colleagues are sustaining?

- How can I ensure that I have the space, time and freedom to know myself?

- Am I alive as an educator? If not, what can I do about it?

These are not the kind of questions I have spent enough time answering during my own professional life, and I do not feel I have provided sufficient time for educators or student teachers to raise these questions for themselves. I believe that addressing these questions would provide a totally different orientation to oneself as an educator, and that responses to these questions form the basis for developing an ethically based practice that can ground educators in a way that is not possible within current approaches to professional education.

Care of Self, Philosophical Love and Relation to a Master. Care of self, philosophical love and relation to a master are the last of the problems mentioned by Foucault. I am choosing to focus primarily on the relation to a master in this section.

The first thing to establish is that for Foucault the master is someone who acts as a guide or a kind of mentor and close ally for us in our lives. We respect our guides; they are engaged in reflective and discursive processes with us, often over a long period of time. I prefer to use the word friend, though I am prepared to use the word guide in this discussion.

Our friends and guides surround us. They can include our parents, siblings, relatives, teachers, or neighbors but in Foucault's sense a few of these individuals provide an important role as sounding boards in our lives. In Chapter Eight I referred to the importance of a guide in order to monitor ourselves within relations of power and it is worth quoting Foucault again. He suggests that we all need "a guide, a counselor, a friend, someone who will be truthful with you" (p. 287). He speaks about "listening to the lessons of

a master" (p. 287), in order to take care of yourself. The truth in this sense involves someone honestly sharing their version of the truth with us. This implies a very deep kind of trust and respect because few of us are really prepared to hear something we don't like, even when we know it might be true.

In an ethical relationship a friend/guide shares in a way that is not intended to limit but to extend your freedom. We sometimes face ethical dilemmas in which truth telling may damage friendship. The guide must make a decision based on care of self. If losing a friendship means damaging yourself, then it may be judicious to wait for a time when it is possible to share that truth without losing the friendship. Each time a friend or guide suggests that "You need to take care of yourself" they are encouraging the use of ethical practices that increase your freedom as a person.

We need to be aware of those we allow to be our guides or masters and carefully examine the nature of those relationships. There is an intimate kind of violation which can easily take place within relationships of dominance and it can be immensely damaging. When we admire, or almost revere our counselor or guide, our respect can sometimes become deference and it is possible that a guide may not act ethically all the time. Patterns of behavior are established easily, and very quickly the guru and his/her followers replace the friend and guide. In this case care of self is not exercised and the relationship is not ethically based because freedom is limited. This illustrates the importance of choosing guides who care for themselves and consequently promote ethical practices as part of the relationship.

We create our own masters in the academy. These masters sometimes willingly take on the mantle of enlightenment and with it the dominating power that can be involved in accepting the role of expert. We can use

Foucauldian ethics to bring a critical and self-protective orientation to this kind of relationship. We all choose guides and we all benefit from their support, however, we may sometimes forget to examine the ethical nature of these relationships.

In the context of relationships between Inuit and Qallunaat educators, Foucault's problematizing of the relationship with a master merits particular attention. As soon as we dominate another person our behavior is unethical. When we help our colleagues we need to be certain that it does not involve domination and that we are working towards reciprocity. In reading Foucault's writing I sometimes wonder if the Greeks became masters for him in a way that he failed to problematize sufficiently. I also wonder to what extent Foucault has moved into the role of guide for me and I wonder if I am allowing his ethics to dominate my thinking.

Foucault moves reciprocity with a master/guide to an ontological and spiritual level in relationships of equality, though he states that he has had insufficient time to explore this concept in his work. He talks about the idea of knowing oneself to "gain ontological knowledge of the soul's being" and he suggests that this can occur "using as your object the soul of an other" (1984, pp. 367-368). In this dissertation I have written about the longing for mutuality that I sense in myself and between Inuit and Qallunaat in Nunavut schools. We long to understand each other in reciprocal relationships. Mutuality can occur and when it does there is indeed a feeling of looking into one's own soul in the eyes of another. This longing permeates our relationships with all people, even more so as we awaken to know ourselves, love ourselves, and exercise care of ourselves.

Clarifying Foucauldian Ethics

Foucault is anxious to assure us that taking care of one's self "does not mean simply being interested in oneself, nor does it mean having a certain tendency to self-attachment or self-fascination" (1984, p. 359). Rather, it means "working on or being concerned .... it implies attention, knowledge, technique" (p. 360). He goes on to say that work on the self involves "a choice about existence made by the individual .... so as to give their life certain values" (pp. 361-362). Foucault says that government of the self involves "a sort of permanent political relationship between self and self" (p. 363).

This relationship was fostered by the Greeks in their keeping of notebooks and the recording of insights, quotations and encounters with texts and other people that provided a "material memory ... an accumulated treasure ... by which to struggle against some defect (such as anger, envy, gossip, flattery) or to overcome some difficult circumstance (a mourning, an exile, downfall, disgrace)" (Foucault, 1984, p. 364). This discourse with self involved a kind of "training of oneself by oneself" (p. 364).

Foucault's care of self provides a powerful ethics which is linked to aesthetics and politics through what Jennifer Gore (1993, p. 129, emphasis in text) calls "self-disentanglement and self-invention operating somewhat independently of 'moral code' to enable the constitution of ourselves as moral beings who are not ruled or limited by moral *duties* but are free to make moral *choices*."

Conscious, informed choice means accessing the kind of agency that enables us to change ourselves and our society as well as enjoy a range of pleasures which are closely tied to our necessarily limited, but constantly evolving conceptions of beauty, truth, or freedom. Accepting that conceptions

of beauty, truth, and freedom are always liminal, personal, and mutable means we can appreciate and value our own culturally and socially determined perspective as one viewpoint within a diverse, pluralistic society. Notions of high culture, privileged aesthetics, or popular culture, which may dictate or manipulate our choices, can be named as such and understood as limiting our access to freedom. When we exercise care of self we are freed, at least to some extent, to make the kind of choices that contain within them an informed awareness of our location and the possibility for connecting to ethical practices that involve a dance with life. This is because we are freed by self-knowledge, rather than liberated by ideology parading as the truth. We also need to remember that, "The political question, to sum up, is not error, illusion, alienated consciousness or ideology; it is truth itself" (Foucault, 1972/1980, p. 133).

Self-knowledge means that when we take care of ourselves we are available to others in a way that is not possible when we are self-obsessed, preoccupied with 'causes', involved in individual quests for knowledge, intent on gaining more power or money, constantly self-doubting or guilt ridden, enslaved to mediocrity or commodification, or ceaselessly worried about the mundane. The ethics involved in care of self enable us to understand these obsessions, come alive to ourselves in a way that is self-sustaining, and makes it possible to give more freely to our families and our communities. Maxine Greene (1995), says that wide-awakeness enables us to live within our communities in rewarding relationship with others. Foucault's ethics are grounded in caring for ourselves and in knowing our own realities but they also enable us to make change. Changing ourselves changes our realities and our world for they are entwined.

The kind of postmodern narrative ethics that McLaren describes seem

to correspond with the kind of Foucauldian self-knowledge I have just tried to outline. This narrative is not the narcissistic masturbation we see on California style talk shows or the convoluted personal story telling that is sometimes "monumentalized and sanctified" (McLaren, 1995, p. 98), and divorced from politics. It is a kind of narrative that enables us to carefully explore our histories, our socialization, our life choices, our confinement, our needs, our interests, and our thoughts with disciplined attention. Thinking, talking, and writing can involve a disentangling from the regimes of truth that we create as we struggle to answer our many questions. It can also create a continuity that links us to our cultural heritage.

Gore (1993), suggests that critical pedagogy and feminism, as only two selected examples, can become regimes of truth in the lives of educators by providing them with ideologies that may initially be liberating but too often amount to putting on the mantle of the enlightened and the building of isolated communities where individuals speak more and more to each other rather than to the larger world. Any ideology can operate in this way to become dogma within a world where power-knowledge intersections control so much of our lives and careers (Corson, 1997a). The answers worth pursuing within an ethically based professional practice are often those that involve unmasking ideology, rhetoric, and regimes of truth as they control our thinking and therefore our values.

Many theories and ideas are inherently valuable in themselves, capable of removing blinkers, helping us to raise more questions and access freedom. Unfortunately they get turned into regimes of truth by our slavish dedication to what we believe and hope are the "right" rather than the evolving answers to our questions at various times in our lives. They are also seen as the truth because it is politically necessary when we belong to communities of

individuals who accept certain versions of reality as the truth. Jennifer Gore says that "Ethics allows us to identify the 'micro practices' through which power and knowledge circulate" (1993, p. 129). Our freedom is therefore gained by examining ideology carefully, and bringing a healthy skepticism to our own enthusiastic adoption of something that may appear to be the truth.

We also need to remember that ideology critique (Carr & Kemmis, 1986), is inherently problematic. "Foucault's notion of power-knowledge 'challenges assumptions that ideology can be demystified and hence that undistorted truth can be attained' (Diamond and Quinby, 1988, p. xi); it 'delimits the intellectuals' dreams of truth's control of power' (Bové, 1988, p. xviii)" (Gore, 1993, p. 52). Our pursuit of truth needs to be modulated by an awareness that though essentialism may be dead, ideology is not. The best we can probably do as we negotiate our way through our lives is to understand where we are consciously situating ourselves ideologically at any particular moment and examine that position with some rigor, particularly with respect to its impact on our community (McLaren, 1995, p. 97).

The slick postmodern world certainly "flatters the ironist and strokes the skeptic" (McLaren, 1995, p. 94). It can elevate alienated personal philosophies within popular culture to the iconic level. That is why the kind of ethically based practice I am suggesting has relevance within Pauqatigiit; is rooted not simply in Foucault's care of self but in Inuit ethics that stress relationship with community and the land. The Inuit perspective from Inuuqatigiit is combined with Foucauldian ethics to conceive of a self that is communal and grounded in unique connections to the environment. The combination of these two unrelated pre-Christian conceptions of the self are used as the axes of a framework for ethically based practices within professional education in Nunavut.

If the outcome of a growing self-knowledge can bring us some

happiness and more freedom and space, then this ethic of Foucault's

combined with an Inuit commitment to community and the land may be

worth pursuing, particularly for those of us interested in living in Nunavut.

Significant Points on Foucauldian Ethics

Before considering some of the difficulties associated with using

Foucauldian ethics within professional education in Nunavut, I want to

make two points that did not arise in the previous discussion. The first

concerns instrumental reason and what Foucault calls "punitive rationality"

(1984, p. 338). In an interview entitled On the Genealogy of Ethics: An

Overview of Work in Progress, conducted by Paul Rabinow and Hubert

Dreyfus in 1983, Foucault, is asked:

> Q. You mean that once Descartes had cut scientific rationality loose
> from ethics, Kant reintroduced ethics as an applied form of procedural
> rationality?
> M. F. Right. Kant says "I must recognize myself as a universal subject,
> that is, I must constitute myself in each of my actions as a universal
> subject by conforming to universal rules." The old questions were
> reinterpreted: How can I constitute myself as a subject of ethics?
> Recognize myself as such? Are ascetic exercises needed? Or simply this
> Kantian relationship to the universal which makes me ethical by
> conformity to practical reason? Thus Kant introduces one more way in
> our tradition whereby the self is not merely given but is constituted in
> relationship to itself as subject. (1984, p. 372)

The critical importance of this question and response within the

context of education as a whole, and within an ethically based practice as it is

lived in our schools, needs to be realized. If instrumental reason, or

procedural rationality, with its continuing hegemony in contemporary North

American thought is "cut loose from ethics" and "makes me ethical by

conformity to practical reason", then the foundations of our thinking within the educational system are essentially disconnected from ethics and rest on highly questionable ground. Maxine Greene (1996, pp. 192-195), discusses this problem at some length, and in referring to the kind of modern societies built on instrumental rationality states, "All were bureaucratized; all were administered; all were afflicted with the technologies of power Foucault describes" (p. 193). I cannot read these words and fail to see their application within our thinking and within the systems of government that operate in Nunavut.

This lack of an ethical base for instrumental rationality may be self-evident to anyone who stops for two minutes to think about the way we make decisions in schools, the way professional education operates so efficiently to provide solutions to our learning needs, the way educational psychology continues to control the way we look at students, or the way hierarchies continue to operate within our educational systems. It explains why so many educators and students are alienated from the institution of school that can be heartless and dehumanizing, even as it is called progressive and genuinely strives to become student centered or caring. Many individuals are struggling to bring a human face to inhuman structures and inhuman ideologies. As Valerie Walkerdine (1992, p. 22) says, teachers "are the guardians of an impossible dream, reason's dream of democratic harmony." An institution does not love and care, only the people inside that institution can fight their way past the prevailing, dominant culture of rationality to insist that relationships are the heart of schooling (Cummins, 1996). This is an ethically based decision they must make in their professional lives. Foucault's response joins with many who subscribe to a critical orientation from Freire to Habermas, from Walkerdine and Lather to Spivak,

from McLaren to Popkewitz. There are many voices raised in protest against a school system and a society which permits instrumental reason, rather than ethics, to dictate its values.

In the everyday world of educational decision-making this can mean that rather than considering what is in the best interests of students and educators, administrators may unconsciously favor efficiency, convenience, or economic necessity. As long as instrumental reason, supported by positivist ways of thinking, remains the prevailing philosophy in educational administration, then it is unlikely that ethics will be seriously considered. In a discussion related to a difficult decision in the school system, one school board administrator in Nunavut was overheard saying, "I don't have time for ethics." The fact that this statement can be made in public speaks to the danger that instrumental reason may be tacitly accepted in a school system where difference, a colonial history, and dominance by Qallunaat would seem to require that the utmost care be exercised to ensure that decision-making rests on the firmest ethical foundation that is possible. Of course we all make off the cuff remarks and make decisions in a hurry and under stress. We know that there is often no time to ponder ethics and we do need to get on with operating our schools. Obviously issues are never black and white and very few administrators are heartless technocrats — at least not all the time. Still, the difference between an educational system that is consciously committed to ethically based principles and practices developed with those individuals most directly affected, and one committed to efficiency, accountability, and management of people can be quite dramatic, particularly for the educators and students whose lives are affected by these beliefs and practices.

Terry Eagleton (quoted in McLaren, 1995, p. 189), provides some balance

to what cannot be seen as a total indictment of the Enlightenment vision. After all, the Enlightenment brought us important conceptions of freedom and equality. He provides us with an insight into the dilemma we face in working ethically within schools:

> This is the kernel of truth of bourgeois Enlightenment: the abstract universal right of all to be free, the shared essence or identity of all human subjects to be autonomous. In a further dialectical twist, however, this truth itself must be left behind as soon as it is seized; for the only point of enjoying such universal abstract equality is to discover and live one's own particular difference. The telos of the entire process is not, as the Enlightenment believed, universal truth, right and identity, but concrete particularity. It is just that such particularity has to pass through that abstract equality and come out somewhere on the other side, somewhere quite different from where it happens to be standing now.

Concrete particularity involves relationships with people. These relationships can be ethically based or they can simply remain as socialized, normalized responses. The choice, once we open our eyes, is ours.

The second point which needs to be added to this discussion concerns the importance of aesthetic and political choices within a care of self which strives to live a beautiful existence. Individuals interested in having a good reputation in ancient Greece accepted responsibilities and "obligations in a conscious way for the beauty or glory of existence" and this involved "personal choice" (Foucault, 1984, p. 356). Foucault contrasts this ethic of personal commitment involving a "politico-aesthetic choice" (p. 357), with the evolving ethics of the late Stoics who started to believe that we were obliged to behave in a certain way because we were rational beings rather beings who voluntarily chose the good in order to live a beautiful life. Foucault sees that this changes the relationship to oneself by introducing codes of behavior which provide controls that within Christianity amounted to a renouncing of self, in favour of an obligation to others. Ethical actions

were eventually based on rules and codes developed within law, medicine, religion, or other professions like education and they were internalized so that individuals policed themselves.

The relevance of Foucault's argument for our lives involves not only a recognition that our ethical behavior is based on moral codes, that may limit our aesthetic and political enjoyment of life, but even more significantly that we may fail to consider the possibility of making ethical choices as free beings. This is not to suggest that it is possible, or in some cases even desirable, to divest ourselves of the shackles of one kind of morality and normalization and transform our lives into works of art; however, it does mean that we might want to consider the way we make choices in our lives and find the space to live more consciously.

Deborah Britzman (1991), dicusses the problem faced by a student teacher, Jamie Owl, who decides that "becoming a teacher means not becoming who you are" (p. 114). This student teacher found herself caught between the "normative voice ... and the ... resisting voice, which speaks to one's deep convictions, investments and desires" (Britzman, 1991, p. 115). Educators who challenge the imposed morality of normalization may be in a better position to deal with the kind of ethical dilemma faced by Jamie Owl when they are equipped with an understanding of how an institution like a school is structured and operates. In many ways Jamie Owl's efforts to teach reflect the desire to be free, though this desire was not supported by the kind of detailed work on self-knowledge that has the potential to equip educators to shape who they are within and against the institutional structures of a school.

Problems with Foucauldian Ethics

The major problem with using care of self within an ethically based practice applied to professional education is that educators have virtually no time to engage in the kind of self-knowledge referred to by Foucault. They are so exhausted at the end of the school day that they can do no more than trudge home to get dinner for the family. There are children to be fed, houses to be cleaned, laundry to wash, and relatives to visit. Educators may be so caught up in various forms of professional learning that their minds are busy worrying about how to implement the next important and exciting change in their classrooms. They may be overwhelmed by the variety of challenges they face and feel poorly equipped to respond to student needs. At the risk of exaggerating, it is not difficult to see that some educators are trapped in cycles of unreflective practice almost like hamsters in their wheels. Perhaps this prosaic metaphor can bring home the importance of care of self within professional education. Teachers must not get caught on treadmills that prevent reflection.

Care of self can enable us to deal with the endless cycle of change and the countless workshops and innovations that are part of the commodification and consumerism involved in professional education. Care of self might also provide a healthy antidote to the stressful pursuit of academic truth that we subject ourselves to in the academy. Care of self can enable us to clarify the values that guide our professional practice and enable us to see through a lot of the ideology we are subjected to in the school system. The problem of time, however, remains a major and truly significant barrier in enabling educators to reflect on themselves and be free to exercise care of self.

Another problem with Foucault's perspective centres around its elusiveness, complexity, and potential elitism. Foucault, unlike for example Nel Noddings (1992), did not talk and write for educators struggling with the day to day realities in schools. His notorious refusal to take a position means he is "situated in most of the squares on the political checkerboard, one after another and sometimes simultaneously: as anarchist, leftist, ostentatious or disguised Marxist, nihilist, explicit or secret anti-Marxist, technocrat in the service of Gaullism, new liberal etc." (Foucault, 1984, p. 383). Hardly a discourse one can easily bring to educators interested in sorting out their professional lives.

My own struggle to understand Foucault stands as a warning that to bring aspects of this discourse for consideration by Nunavut educators is probably outrageously impractical. Nevertheless, I feel the concepts are important enough to bring to the attention of educators in schools. People in the academy discuss Foucault and seem to feel he has some valuable things to say; why not educators in schools who need his insights far more than those who already have the space and time to read and think? Educators are perfectly capable of grasping the simple fact that care of self may enable them to survive the exhaustion that comes from teaching against yourself for years. I believe that not only will educators find Foucauldian ethics interesting, they will discover that they speak directly to the realities in their lives in a way that many other ideas can not. There is no question, however, that Foucault does not provide an easy discourse to use in professional education and that he lacks the snappy, commercial appeal that characterizes too many of our current efforts in staff development.

A third concern relates to the utopian, potentially elitist character of Foucauldian ethics. Foucault's writing about ethical practice seems to be filled

with a kind of pure desire for beauty and virtue, in the Greek sense, which surprises me considering his adamant rejection of essentialism. There is a nostalgia in his discussions of an aesthetic that conveys a longing for a beautiful life which may be related to an awareness of his own mortality. Many educators in Nunavut face crushing economic challenges and have survived years of abuse that leave them emotionally scarred. Others are cynical following years of being ignored or subjected to multitudes of changes. Some are apathetic, having worked in silence, hidden in their classrooms. Some educators are just glad to be able to put one foot in front of the other as they head to their classrooms at the end of a school year. Discussions of an ethical practice that can bring one closer to an aesthetic, beautiful life may produce derisive laughter or Monty Python jokes. I can hear the voices that will taunt, "Right then, off we go, up the hill towards beauty and truth. Let's get into some ethics now. We're right behind you?" These comments are quite likely to be heard in the staffrooms of several Nunavut schools if ethical practice based on a Foucauldian perspective were naïvely placed on the agenda for discussion or were to form the basis of a workshop at a conference.

It may be more realistic to use Dumm's words where he relates Kateb's lyrical, almost poignant phrase to Foucault's concern with freedom, "which is not for him a category or zone in which there is no power/knowledge but is, instead, a style of being in the world that depends on an awareness of how one cares for the world, or, to use George Kateb's phrase, how one has 'an attachment to existence'" (1996, p. 19). An attachment to existence rings with an understatement that reflects our postmodern sensitivities. I believe it is much more palatable and realistic than talk of a beautiful life.

A yearning for an ethically, politically, and aesthetically balanced life preoccupies all of us when we actually stop for long enough to think. The

time must be created within the school day for busy educators to stop and breathe, relax and think. Given the cutbacks, the dominant political perspective on education, and the unwillingness of educators to speak out for themselves, I am not convinced this kind of change will come without a considerable struggle. I can state that the Pauqatigiit Committee members are preparing for this struggle and building networks of communication that can enable educators in the schools to participate in decision-making about their professional lives. Gaining more time is becoming the major focus for a lot of their efforts. Some of this time needs to be used for quiet reflection and very deep thinking.

The fourth problem with Foucauldian ethics relates to its celebration of aspects of a male dominated Greek society in which women, children, slaves, and virtually everyone except the male intellectual elite contributed to maintaining the privileged few. Foucault himself acknowledges this problem and believes it is still possible to consider aspects of the philosophy as inherently valuable. Thousands of years later we continue to live in a society that is sexist, where many people live an existence that lacks the kind of freedom that was available to slaves in Greece. The issues remain the same. Power and privilege ensure that some people are free to read, write, think, and involve themselves in discourse while others are not as free. Asserting our determination that ethically based practice remain committed to naming inequality and privilege as barriers to freedom is one response. Turning away from Foucauldian ethics because it draws on a male dominated world view is another.

The last problem that I am concerned about with respect to Foucauldian ethics relates to an Inuit perspective and Inuit values. From what I can see, Foucault's ethics bear a very close resemblance to traditional

practices in Inuit communities. It may seem superfluous to pursue Foucauldian ethics when Inuit perspectives address many of the same concerns and are culturally relevant; however, I believe there are many benefits to discussing both approaches to ethics. We live in a pluralistic world. Nunavut educators may benefit considerably from critically considering the connections between Foucauldian and Inuit ethical practices. I believe we need both perspectives in order to challenge thinking and avoid the tendency to romanticize an Inuit world view.

Discussing Foucault with Educators

The following questions come to mind when I consider ways to bring Foucault's work to educators:

- What does it really mean to take care of self when you are a busy educator?
- What are some of the things we need to do in order to use techniques of self-knowledge in our work?
- How can we be wide awake in our schools?
- What are some of the things that prevent us from having joyful and rewarding professional lives?
- How can we change the limitations in our school?
- How can each of us take more control of our learning within this school?

There are many ways of opening discussions with educators so they address issues that are of real concern rather than turning to a spoon feeding of specific skills or a massaging with snake-oil, however, those concerns must come from educators themselves, not from a Pauqatigiit Coordinator who is

fascinated with Foucault.

Inuit Values and an Ethical World View

Inuit values developed in a hunting and gathering culture in which subsistence was tied to the land and water. This meant that physical survival was fundamental and values evolved to ensure that the community was maintained. Individual survival becomes an absurd concept when an Arctic climate requires that everyone's efforts are needed in order to feed, clothe, and shelter people. The virtuous person in Inuit society was an Inummarik (a free Inuk, a genuine Inuk or a real person). Inummariit, the plural of Inummarik, were those who had "struggled and overcome physical, emotional and spiritual barriers" (Minor, 1992, p. 104). Inummariit were tied to the land in a way that we can hardly imagine is possible from a Western-European perspective. Stairs and Wenzel (1992), propose a person-community-environment construct which suggests an integration of cultural identity that is supported in Inuuqatigiit (GNWT, 1996, p. 31), by references to the fact that "Inuit belong to the land." Stairs and Wenzel state:

> It is suggested that Inuit find their identity in a richly detailed and all-encompassing ground and that the process of becoming a mature person is directed towards grounding rather than towards autonomy — a figure-ground reversal of much Western thought concerning human development (e.g., Erikson, Freud, Piaget, as discussed by Bruner, 1986 and Gilligan, 1982). The Inuk maturity ideal (inummarik) is group and environmental interdependency rather than self-sufficiency. (p. 9)

What is important to grasp in this suggested concept is that identity rests on "community interaction with the environment" (Stairs and Wenzel, 1992, p. 9). Identity, in traditional times at least, was not seen in the individualistic way that it seems to be in Qallunaat culture, or as it is

increasingly viewed by Inuit today. Stairs and Wenzel write about the "unifying of human and non-human systems through Inuit cognitive constructions in the process of grounding identity" (p. 9).

Traditionally, Inuit did not see the world in terms of living and non-living things (GNWT, 1996; Tompkins, 1993). One of the titles of an Inuktitut book published by the Baffin Divisional Board of Education translates into English as Rocks Can Have Babies and older Inuit continue to believe that all parts of the land are alive. In Inuuqatigiit it states, "Inuit believe everything has life, or a spirit and must be respected and valued. All living things are connected in a continuous cycle of past, present and future" (GNWT, 1996, p. 31). Life is interdependent, continuous, and connected. The world view was complete. Inuit are still integrally linked to this cycle of life and respect for this holistic conception of living is one of the most important values in the society. This includes:

> Respect for ourselves, for others and for the environment. From this important value will follow others, such as pride, self-esteem, independence and a willingness to learn, contribute, share and have a welcoming nature .... Inuit value life; being welcoming, smiling, respectful, sensitive, enjoying humor, giving, honest, patient, accepting and overcoming grief are some of the strengths valued by Inuit. (GNWT, 1996, p. 8)

I am going to suggest that this respect and love of life, which in my experience has a spontaneity that is often lacking in the more self conscious Qallunaat culture, bears a resemblance to both the "attachment to existence" referred to by Kateb and the dance of life suggested by Greene. It is a value in itself, one that is fundamental in community life. Minor (1992, p. 54), suggests that once Inuit believed that nothing more could be done (ajurnarmat), they wasted "neither time nor energy in grief or pursuit of the unattainable .... the matter was to be accepted and life would continue." In the harsh Arctic

environment survival is celebrated. Inuit survived through snow storms and

blistering winds and they often survived when food was scarce. Their

existence in the past, though harsh, was not miserable. Inuit lived in

communion with the land and created a rich oral mythology and a carefully

developed system of values and beliefs that still provide a source of strength

for Inuit today. As Fred Bruemmer, writing about all peoples who live in the

Arctic, reminds us:

> The natives of the north had their own vision of this demanding
> world to which, over millenniums, they had become so superbly
> adapted. They accepted its hardships and gloried in its wildlife wealth,
> its space and freedom. The Lapps, marveled the Roman historian
> Tacitus in A. D. 98, are 'extraordinarily wild and horribly poor ... yet it
> is this people's belief that in some manner they are happier than those
> who sweat out their lives in the field.'" (1985, p. 19)

The enjoyment of community life is always evident in Nunavut.

Games, songs, drum dances, feasting, hunting, and the return of hunters with

food are things that are looked forward to with great anticipation. It seems

ironic that this love of life is such a strong value in a culture with the highest

suicide rate in Canada (Levy, personal communication, May, 20, 1997). This

disturbing statistic may indicate the depth of dislocation from traditional

values that permeates contemporary Inuit society and provides a rationale for

reconnecting with values that are so powerfully life affirming.

Another central Inuit value centres around acceptance of things that

cannot be changed, or "ajurnarmat" (Briggs, 1970, p. 364; Minor, 1992, p. 53-

54). In the face of so much that cannot be changed, perhaps suicide represents

the ultimate acceptance of fate. In a culture that is so grounded in respect,

respect for self now seems to be in great danger, particularly with the youth.

The recent suicide of an elder in the community of Igloolik was particularly

distressing for the community because in modern society it is virtually

unheard of for elders to take their own lives. Assisted or agreed upon suicides were part of the traditional culture and were considered an honorable way to die under certain circumstances in the past (Minor, 1992, p. 42). The fine line between ajurnarmat and despair may be hard to define when there seem to be so many circumstances that are beyond an individual's control.

People in Nunavut need to see that it is possible to change things, to have some control of their lives, and to regain the pride that is part of their culture. An ethically based practice which examines Inuit values in depth would require that self merits the same kind of respect granted to elders, animals, and the land. This is certainly worth exploring in professional education and in our teaching. Inuuqatigiit and Piniaqtavut, as well as many departmental curriculum documents, set the stage for such practice and there are examples of attempts to use more Inuit-based perspectives in other professions (Minor, 1992). Recent efforts to develop an Inuit-based approach to school leadership explore values as the basis of decision-making and action (Arnaquq, personal communication, March 22, 1997). To continue to pursue southern models of professional education based on instrumental reason or a misunderstood humanism as the major focus for learning, seems untenable and unethical for the educational system in Nunavut.

Stairs and Wenzel emphasize the importance of generosity within what they term an "ecocentric" identity (p. 9), in which animals and humans participate in a holistic cycle of life:

> Through Inuit food-sharing patterns, animals mediate the networking of social relationships within which Inuit must carry out this negotiation of identity .... Generosity is thus critical to one's continuing existence through repeating phases of the identity cycle.... Generosity is simply normal to the central cultural feature of inummarik living. Ongoing generous interactions, circling through all the elements of the human and non-human environment, are essential in sustaining a genuine 'ecocentric' existence. Inummarik living must be expressed

anew in each situation; it is not a fixed quality of a bounded person. In effect, the person is defined anew and holistically in each new context. (p. 10)

This Inuit world view is holistic, complex, and profound. It is a world view based on ethics and values that are still practiced in Nunavut today. We are not discussing an ancient culture or an artifact. This culture is alive in the communities and though it is in great danger, it can be found and felt as soon as Inuit gather together. This may sound romanticized but it is not. The traditional ways were holistic and harmonious, though they could also be harsh and brutal. Inuit young men and women sometimes accepted arranged marriages against their will, individuals were murdered in the interest of survival and harmony in the community, and families did not always cooperate peacefully with each other. Any violent actions were usually necessary to guarantee the survival of the group and were often collectively supported.

Qallunaat stories of wars, persecution, oppression, and environmental disasters stand as an indictment of Western civilization's efforts over thousands of years to use the weight of rationalism to bring us peace. It is not difficult to be cynical when you start to make comparisons between the two cultures, and it is tempting to embrace Inuit cultural values as offering a far more realistic, ethical and practical response to the challenges facing us in today's world. That would be romantic and nostalgic. People in Nunavut step forward with both cultures informing their history, socialization, behavior, thinking, and decision-making. However, it should be possible to develop a contemporary ethics that is informed by traditional Inuit values, just as Foucauldian ethics draws on Hellenic practices. Many individuals in Nunavut are committed to ensuring that Inuit values and traditional beliefs are respected, given space, included in our teaching, and used to guide our

lives and our practices. These values need to be discussed and interpreted as they operate within the society today. Inuuqatigiit suggests these values be incorporated into our teaching. Refining and clarifying Inuit ethics seems like a vitally important, if not urgent, undertaking for a pre-Nunavut educational system.

It is unlikely that Foucault spent much time conversing with Inuit elders and yet his ethics closely parallel their traditional values. His concept of caring for self as embedded in a community compares with the Inuit emphasis on independence and autonomy and looking after yourself so you would never become a burden to the group. Just as care of self in Foucauldian ethics automatically leads to caring for others, Inuit values of independence and autonomy were not individualistic but communal. Innumariit were considered free and freedom within the community was a value of the highest order for Inuit. Foucault's ethics are based on freedom as it is gained in interactions with others. Inuit had partners that sustained them throughout their lives, much like the guide described by Foucault. Inuit gradually acquired issuma (the ability to reflect wisely) as they matured. Eventually some Inuit became issumaqtuq (wise helpers) in their families and communities, much like the concept of master discussed by Foucault. The ability to become generous in our responses to others echoes fundamental aspects of Inuit ethics and is also an important concept in Foucault. Disciplined learning and mastery of self were of primary importance as Inuit grew up in communities, just as Foucault's practices of freedom require daily disciplined attention.

These similarities are pointed out to demonstrate that Inuit ethics are based on many of the same kind of principles and practices used by the Greeks and taken up by Foucault in his work. Working from Inuit values, as they are

shared by Inuit, and possibly sharing the parallels with Foucault's insights may be helpful. Opportunities to reconnect to Inuit values and discuss Inuit ethical practices need to be provided in schools.

The values of sharing, cooperation, independence, innovation, patience, non-interference, consideration, self-control, discipline, restraint, and fortitude were all important in the tightly knit and mutually dependent traditional Inuit community (Pauktuutit, no date). These are values that still guide the lives of many Inuit but they are values that are rapidly giving way to those that characterize our predatory culture today (McLaren, 1995). Values of competition, individualism, commodification, efficiency, and self-aggrandizement seem almost barbarous when compared with the values just mentioned.

This very brief consideration of the ethical foundations of Inuit traditional life demonstrates yet again the brutality of a colonizing influence that has so carelessly deprived Inuit of access to the deepest parts of themselves in the name of something that is called civilization. We can only trust that our consciousness of these facts, coupled with a respect for Inuit culture, will enable all of us to tread softly throughout the rest of our lives.

Ethically Based Professional Education in Nunavut

In 1993, Salomie Awa-Cousins, who was then a student in one of my psychology classes at NTEP, interviewed Malaya Nakasuk, an elder who lives in Iqaluit, to discuss traditional values and their impact on child development within traditional communities. Malaya observed that one of the real problems that we are facing today is that traditional values were learned in interactions among people who lived the daily activities of a camp

life that was closely linked to the land. When this life on the land in traditional camps was replaced by life in modern communities and houses, the patterns of interaction, fundamentally important in socialization, disappeared. Malaya noted that people no longer visit each other the same way. They do not sit together sewing or cleaning skins and telling stories, as they did when they lived on the land. Instead they watch TV, play cards, or go to bingo. She pointed out that unless children were actually participating in the busy life in a camp, it was unlikely that they could really learn or understand traditional values. She laughed and said you could not teach traditional values from a book.

Salomie returned to the College in shock. The psychology class sat in a circle in our meeting corner as she shared Malaya's insights. The profound truth of Malaya's simply stated observations left us speechless. We were studying Vygotsky and Salomie carefully pointed out the obvious comparison between Vygotsky's learning theories and Malaya's insights. We learn in interactive contexts with others. We learn with the support of others and in relationship with others. Our values are learned from people as they engage in the activities of their daily lives. Values are learned from others.

Several of the students had been born on the land and had lived in traditional camps as young children. They often spoke about the differences in the way people behaved on the land and in the community. Salomie herself had shared stories from her childhood on the land. She had told us about walking for days without food, even as a very young child. She spoke of sleeping for a few hours on the tundra and walking again until her father finally shot a caribou and carried it home on his back to camp. She had spent a great deal of time discussing the values she had learned from her father and mother when they lived on the land and comparing their lives in the

community with the life on the land.

Now we all realized in an even deeper way that our careful examination of Inuit values really involved, to use Foucault's terms, genealogical and archeological work. A whole pattern of traditional interactions were gone, they were history. The day to day lives of students and teachers living and working in a busy, modern town like Iqaluit bore little resemblance to the way of life on the land. Though aspects of traditional interactions and values remain, the students at NTEP do not interact with Inuit elders very often and until very recently their day to day relationships with their colleagues and teachers tended to take place in English, not in Inuktitut. Aspects of their interaction patterns and their relationships with each other, even with their own children, no longer reflect those learned on the land. There were important values carried in these interactions and they were changing all the time.

While cultural loss, linguistic erosion, and the changes in the traditional way of life are evident to all of us who live and work in Nunavut, their significance with respect to interactions among Inuit people and the values transmitted in these interactions may not be fully realized. The irony of asking Inuit student teachers to interview elders with their notebooks in hand and pens poised was not lost to Salomie Awa-Cousins on that particular day in her life. It made the students think very hard about their interactions with their parents, relatives, and children.

At our usual Friday NTEP seminar, when all the students meet together to discuss educational issues, Salomie organized an activity that she called visiting. "We don't visit enough," she said. "We have forgotten how to visit the Inuit way." The students from the other classes looked puzzled and wondered what they would talk about. How could they, as Inuit students,

have forgotten how to visit the Inuit way? What was the seminar topic for that day, they asked? People wandered off compliantly in small groups and started chatting. When we gathered together again as a large group Salomie tried to explain why she believed this kind of interaction was important. She pointed out that the cultural context had radically changed and that interactions were very different today. Students nodded and went off to study, prepare for their practicum placements in schools, or read Shakespeare and Vygotsky. Did they really understand, Salomie wondered?

This story is shared to illustrate some of the difficulties involved in considering Inuit values as a framework for professional education in Nunavut. First of all values need to be experienced to be fully understood. Talking about values is only a small part of the process. Values need to be present in relationships and they need to become part of our daily behavior in schools and the community or they will gradually be replaced with southern patterns of interaction, as Martha Crago has demonstrated (1988). The whole process becomes problematic when it becomes consciously intentional. What was once perfectly natural, taken-for-granted behavior may need to change if we think seriously about culturally relevant, ethically based practice that consider Inuit values to be important.

The implications are that we need to start behaving consciously, one might say artificially, in our teaching. This raises very difficult questions about culturally appropriate behavior, possible appropriation and essentializing of Inuit culture, not to mention the problem of masquerading rather than being oneself as an educator. Difficult questions immediately arise.

- What does being yourself really mean?
- What is the difference between Inuit and Qallunaat values as long as

you treat everyone with respect?

• Can younger Inuit, raised in bicultural homes where English is the language used in daily interactions, relearn or reclaim traditional patterns of discourse they have been exposed to through one parent and possibly through their grandparents?

• Can younger Inuit understand and practice Inuit values as they are transformed through the generations or is this a mockery of traditional practices?

• Can Qallunaat who support a curriculum like Inuuqatigiit, or an approach to professional education that considers Inuit values as central, really change their behavior to become more Inuit-like in their interactions?

• Is consciously changing a pattern of behavior ethical?

• Can patterns of behavior reflect Inuit values when those values are poorly understood and often situated in historical memory?

• How can cultural values be reflected without becoming essentialist?

Many educators would suggest that it is ridiculous and hypocritical to start behaving in a consciously different way. What would Jamie Owl think if she had to change her behavior in order to teach in an Inuit school system? It is evident that we all change our behavior in subtle ways as we live within a particular social context. When teacher education students at NTEP suggest that a Qallunaq who speaks Inuktitut is like an Inuk what do they mean? Does he speak Inuktitut like an Inuk? Does he behave like an Inuk? If the person has lived for more than twenty years among Inuit has he actually become more Inuit in his thinking? Is this a conscious or an unconscious process? Is it really possible to adopt values, live them, and practice them in our lives? What does Cummins' mean when he talks about an intercultural

orientation (1996)? I have always assumed it meant respecting and valuing all cultures but when you are living and teaching as a member of a minority group that represents a dominant majority in Canada does ethical practice not require that you consider how you are interacting with your students and with people in the community? Does it not require that you spend time listening, watching, waiting, going out on the land, and being with Inuit on a regular basis? Does it not require that you learn to speak Inuktitut? These are matters that individual educators must address in their own lives and in their own professional learning, but they should be opened up for discussion and consideration. David Corson discusses some of the dangers of unconsciously allowing the values and language of one culture to overwhelm those of another:

> When people in majority culture education systems ignore minority culture discourse norms, for that moment the cycle of cultural reproduction reinforced by those norms is disrupted. More than just miscommunication results. Over time, culturally different children are deprived of the everyday reinforcers of values that are central to their culture's world view; and children deprived in this way of a developing and shared world view have less understanding of who they are, where they are going, and where in the world they might have a value as individuals and as group members. (1995b, p. 194)

Documents like Inuuqatigiit and Piniaqtavut call for us to implement culturally based education in our teaching. They ask us to teach Inuit values to students. Cultural retrieval has happened in situations that are just as oppressive as those faced by Inuit in Nunavut. Does it require changing the way people interact with each other? Probably. Does it require that most of the teachers need to be aboriginal? Probably. The Maori people provide one of the best examples of cultural and linguistic regeneration in this millennium. It is possible to retrieve a language and it must be possible to live according to different values because we are all aware of individuals who change their

lives in dramatic ways. These are some of the things we need to reflect on as Nunavut educators. We do not expect to find easy answers to our many questions.

Culturally Relevant, Ethically Based Practice

The last section in this chapter suggests that in order to be ethical our practice needs to be culturally based. This means that in professional education in Nunavut we must take up the whole question of Inuit values as a central focus in our professional learning. It means that professional education needs to be available in Inuktitut and English. Without romanticizing and sanctifying Inuit culture, our professional learning, if it is to be ethical, must grapple with questions of values as they are lived and as they are unconsciously learned in interactions with educators. We need to apply ourselves in a critical way to these issues for they are often at the heart of philosophical differences that tear people apart in Nunavut.

No one should ever be required to change the way they behave or speak. This amounts to a violent and unethical imposition that is opposed to the kind of Foucauldian approaches suggested in this dissertation. However, to raise questions about our practices as educators in Nunavut and try to explore and understand an Inuit cultural perspective in some depth amounts to little more than a thorough orientation. If, as a result of this thorough orientation as well as discussion and experiences over time, a person changes the way they behave or think, then this involves a personal choice that may be conscious or unconscious. Vygotskian theory suggests that we are all socialized through interactions. The more interactions Nunavut educators have with elders, the more likely it will be that they will gradually change.

We think of this as a "natural" process. Faking it in order to be more culturally appropriate does not involve behaving ethically. Using more and more Inuktitut in everyday interactions, however, would seem to involve taking small, tangible steps towards an intercultural orientation.

Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994, p. 15), in her book The Dreamkeepers, states, "the pedagogical instruction that many teachers of African-American students received— from their teacher preparation programs, from their administrators and from 'conventional wisdom'— leads to an intellectual death." This is the death of self and the academic death and cultural death that is involved in school failure for students from oppressed groups. In spite of our significant successes in Nunavut, student failure as it occurs against southern norms continues to plague us. Ladson-Billings cites the work of Mohatt and Erikson (1991), who suggest that teachers who use culturally congruent interactional styles in their teaching are most effective in communicating with Native American students. She refers to the work of Au and Jordan (1981), who "used the term 'cultural appropriateness' to discuss the methods teachers used to work with native Hawaiian students to improve their reading performance" (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 16). She also refers to the work of Cazden and Leggett (1981), on cultural responsiveness and of Jordan (1995), on cultural compatibility. Ladson-Billings then links these studies to the work of Villegas (1988), and Giroux (1983), and McLaren (1989), which suggest that students' failure is linked to societal conflicts and struggles for power within society. Cummins made those connections and linked them to pedagogy years ago (1983). Ladson-Billings develops her own conceptions of culturally relevant teaching in the Dreamkeepers, and her stories of successful teaching with African-American students are inspiring.

The work of Joanne Tompkins (1993) in Nunavut, of Stephen May

(1991) in New Zealand, of Oscar Kawagley in Alaska (1995), as well as many others documented by Jim Cummins (1996), provide further analyses and support for adopting an intercultural orientation (Cummins, 1996, pp. 147-150). Whether this involves changes in values and behavior needs to be very carefully considered. Cummins considers cultural/linguistic incorporation to be critical in the achievement of success for students from minority cultures. Harris (1990), in his book Two Way Aboriginal Schooling: Education and Cultural Survival argues that differences in world view between aboriginal and non-aboriginal are so deep that it is necessary to teach the two cultures separately. There are arguments for and against such an approach but anyone who comes to teach in a Nunavut school needs to grapple very seriously with these issues. We do not allocate sufficient time for this important work.

In Pauqatigiit both Inuit and Qallunaat educators are crying out for more knowledge about Inuit culture, for more Inuktitut. This is their highest priority. Providing this kind of professional education should therefore be the highest priority for the Pauqatigiit Committee. Decisions about behavior, values, and thinking will follow.

Teresa de Laurentis (1988), in discussing the point when feminist critique turns to question its own assumptions, speaks of a:

> qualitative shift in political and historical consciousness .... a displacement and a self-displacement: leaving or giving up a place that is safe, that is "home" (physically, emotionally, linguistically and epistemologically) for another place that is unknown and risky, that is not only emotionally but conceptually other, a place of discourse from which speaking and thinking are at best tentative, uncertain, unguaranteed. (p.139)

Is this the kind of adjustment of self that is involved when we consider what an Inuit perspective, an Inuit epistemology, an Inuit world view means? In her article de Laurentis (1988), goes on to speak about "taking the

risk and struggling to rebuild identity and subjectivity, as well as community"
(p. 141). Identity is not fixed. Subjectivity is not universalized, totalized, or
culturally bound. Carmen Luke (1992, p. 48), addresses the issues around
difference, relativism and essentialism stating, "a political and ethical
standpoint means we cannot claim one method, one approach, one
pedagogical strategy" in our efforts to name identity and location. There is no
final authority in matters relating to Inuit identity and there is no precise
location from which to make judgments about what it means to be Inuit.

Each of us enters into relationships with Inuit students, Inuit parents,
and Inuit colleagues with a degree of understanding about our own identity
and values and differing understandings and assumptions about the identity
of others. When Qallunaat educators teach Inuit students within a context
that carries with it the ever present danger of disempowerment and
dominance, then they enter a space that is intensely charged with ethical and
political challenges. Inuit educators, though they share history and cultural
location with students, must face many of the same painful ethical and
political challenges because the culture is in such danger.

Maintaining perspective and self-understanding at the same time as
addressing the cultural and political realities of this educational space is
difficult. Retreating into a relativism which espouses a quasi-liberal
"anything goes and whatever the students bring is where you start" kind of
attitude fails to address the ethical issues of cultural and linguistic loss in this
context. Adopting the essentialist and potentially reactionary position that
our role is cultural retrieval and maintenance and that everyone must speak
Inuktitut, teach about the culture, and work hard to incorporate Inuit values
and ways of relating into our everyday interactions is also ethically
unacceptable. Examining these difficult questions carefully and courageously

as we teach, plan, organize, and learn with colleagues seems to involve facing the political and ethical challenges of "writing ourselves from the ground up" (Luke, 1992, p. 49).

In Nunavut we are all walking in this painful transitional space. In many ways this space has the characteristics of what Foucault calls a heterotopia. Heterotopias are "something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, the other real sites that can be found within a culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted" (Foucault, 1991, quoted in Dumm, 1996, p. 39). Foucault outlines six general principles that govern heterotopias, the third is of particular interest in this context. Dumm summarizes Foucault's third principle to see heterotopias as "a place where it is possible for incompatible sites to be brought together [to create] .... a necessary openness to the cross-connections such bringing together provides" (1996, p. 40). This is a space that "emphasizes freedom's connections to imaginary possibilities" (Dumm, 1996, p. 42) and manages to "dissolve our myths" (Foucault, quoted in Dumm, p. 43). Foucault says that heterotopias involve transgression because they walk into spaces that cannot be controlled and are not secure.

> Transgression ... takes the form of a spiral which no simple infraction can exhaust .... Transgression is neither violence in a divided world (in an ethical world) nor a victory over limits (in a dialectical or revolutionary world); and ... it opens the heart of the limit .... affirms the limitlessness into which it leaps as it opens this zone to existence for the first time .... retaining that in it which may designate the existence of difference. (Foucault, quoted in Dumm, 1996, p. 45)

Foucault's conception of a heterotopia seems a little obscure, almost ethereal, when educators in Nunavut must walk into classrooms every day to address the difficult realities of teaching, however, he does manage to capture the combination of possibilities accompanied by a lack of immediate answers that seems to exist within such a space. The space is real enough and is

occupied by students and teachers interacting together in classrooms. It is the space that is present between Inuit and Qallunaat educators as they learn together in their schools, at workshops, courses, and conferences. Rather than simply assuming that these difficult questions can be answered theoretically or by creating an ideal, utopian vision for the future, a heterotopia suggests that they can only be lived out in the difficult and often messy realities that characterize our relationship with others. This is the space of border pedagogies, border walking, and cultural practices that walk into difficult places. It is a space that requires some very careful reflection.

A Framework for Ethically Based Practice

Ethically based professional practice as I have outlined it in this chapter involves care of self, as it is engaged in relationship with community and the land. Care of self is central within our relationships with family, friends, and community and acts as a stabilizing influence as we move through life. The space corresponds to some extent with the comfort zone suggested in Vygotskian learning theory. The self undertakes the challenges of learning in relationship with others and the environment. These relationships move us into the Zone of Proximal Development and from there into new learning. Learning takes place as space and time for reflection, dialogue, and sharing are provided to educators. Ethical processes for discourse and reflection ensure that all voices are given time to speak and to be heard.

The relationship to the community and the land is a constant in ethically based, culturally relevant professional education as it is suggested in this chapter, but it is understood in different ways according to different

cultural perspectives. As we move through cultural spaces, aspects of ourselves change to accommodate to this difference. The ability or willingness to accommodate and construct new and ever expanding forms of identity is modified by socialization, normalization, attitudes, and biases. Processes of negotiation are monitored by the self as it interacts with others. This whole framework is holistic. The self is physical, emotional, intellectual, spiritual. All aspects of self work together in constructing evolving positions and perspectives.

This is not a subjectivist or a relativist position. Self is a socio-political and ethical self that is constantly involved in making choices, setting limits, and sometimes retreating to recover, reflect, and puzzle through the difficult aspects of life. This is not a bounded circle but an ever expanding circle of learning controlled by a wide-awake self. The self cannot be wide-awake all the time. The self is often confused, over extended, and too tired to do more that drift along. In this case the circle can calcify, settle, and start to be restricting. When this occurs freedom is limited and the possibility for attachment to existence and the dance of life are curtailed.

Conclusion

The framework proposed in this chapter is emergent and far from complete. It is a draft which will be refined and considered by the members of the Pauqatigiit Committee and Nunavut educators. The implementation of reflective, ethically based, culturally relevant professional education can take place slowly as long as Pauqatigiit stays true to principles that are constantly reworked by educators to ensure that they reflect their realities. The ethically based framework suggested in this chapter is provided as a starting point for

discussion. Over many years of work in Nunavut I have learned that frameworks are transformed through discussion and through the kinds of discursive practices and processes that are suggested in this dissertation. These discursive practices need to include: an awareness of the hegemonic influences of mainstream approaches in professional education, an understanding of the culture of schools and the culture of Nunavut, a consideration of the post-colonial social context, a good grasp of the application of critical reflection and problem-posing, a thorough grounding in the issues addressed in post-humanism, and careful attention to freedom, space, voice, and community in all professional learning.

Principles and frameworks need to develop from discussions with educators that do not involve suggesting directions or sharing abstract theories. I have every confidence that if educators are given sufficient time to share and interpret their own stories and the opportunity to tackle some critical questions that focus on themselves, they can develop their own versions of the truth and their own ethics.

I have found Foucault's work to be strikingly clear and remarkably useful. I think care of self is a concept that is desperately needed in any school system that finds educators close to burnout and exhaustion. I also believe that Inuit values provide a powerful source of strength for both Inuit and Qallunaat educators struggling to make sense of their professional lives.

Once educators start to actively use self-care as a guiding ethic for their lives, and once they connect to the values that ground Inuit culture, it is likely that the educational system will start to change in significant ways. This is a change that must start with self, with each educator looking at their own care of self and asking questions about their own well being in the school system. I believe this process will lead to different ways of teaching and

learning, ways that can have a significant impact on the emergence of an

Inuit-based school system in Nunavut.

> We must teach our children their mother tongue. We must teach them what they are and where they have come from. We must teach them our philosophies which go back beyond the memory of man. We must keep the embers burning from the fires which used to burn in our villages so that we may gather around them again. It is this spirit we must keep alive so that it may guide us again in a new life in a changed world. (Amagoalik, 1977)

Chapter Twelve

A Personal Search for Freedom and Integrity

Ai! but songs
Call for strength.
And I seek after words.
It is I,
Aja-aja-haja-haja
(Ivaluardjuk, 1980)

Introduction

In this chapter I try to clarify, share, and analyze my own understanding and beliefs as an educator by considering aspects of my own learning over the last fifteen years. I use this chapter as an example, almost a testimonial, to support the framework which is suggested in the dissertation. The process of personal change that is described in this story of my professional life involves moving from a position that accepted reality at face value to one that now sees versions of the truth competing for attention in a world that is influenced by the intersection of power, knowledge, and ethics. My growing self-knowledge enables me to exercise care of self, which I believe has led to a greater sense of freedom.

This story, like any other personal account, is uniquely mine and reflects my own version of the truth and my own interpretation of my reality. I have decided to include it because I think it may reflect the kind of process that other educators go through as they try to make sense of their world.

Clarifying Personal Perspectives

At the start of my teaching career I held many of the same beliefs that I

do now, but I did not consider or understand the larger cultural and political context. I accepted my work as a teacher at face value and the busy life of the schools I worked in provided virtually no time to examine values or beliefs, or ask important questions about my role as an educator. My many questions and doubts were usually brushed aside by the demands of teaching. This chapter tries to describe how I have struggled to make sense of my work over the years and outlines some of my emerging beliefs about professional freedom, space, and integrity.

I focus primarily on my time in Nunavut, sharing some of the most important experiences or understandings that led me to see critical reflection and a connection to self as a process that enables me to develop a sense of professional integrity, and consider ethically based practices that I believe can ultimately bring me greater professional freedom. This kind of freedom differs in fundamental ways from the more individualistic, rather brash self-sufficiency that I aspired to earlier in my career. My freedom is now related to the creation of more professional space for myself and a greater understanding of myself as a "free being" (Foucault, 1984, p. 47). It is also related to the creation of more space for other educators. As long as individuals like myself, who work primarily outside the classroom, can access more space than those who work inside the classroom, then I believe inequality exists which contributes to the maintenance of damaging hierarchies of power and knowledge in education. As long as Qallunaat continue to have greater access to professional education than do their Inuit colleagues, the inequity limits my freedom. The kind of space I am referring to is uniquely defined and shaped by each educator as they search for meaning and work with others in their teaching. I believe that all educators need a sense of space and autonomy to work with dignity, to dream, reflect, share,

and connect, or they are unlikely to gain a deeper understanding of themselves and of their teaching. When I speak of space and autonomy it is always relational, interdependent, and interactive. Educators rarely spend time alone and when they do they are usually interacting with ideas in texts, student assignments, with their own work, or with themselves.

In writing this chapter, painful an experience as it is, I have found a little more space and a sense of freedom which may come from some hard reflection and a feeling of connection to other educators. Though I do not feel alone or in imminent danger of succumbing to despair, I am deeply concerned. I know that I am part of a community of educators in Nunavut and in Canada whose world is changing as I write. I believe that we desperately need to develop a much stronger sense of community and to speak out together about the things that are happening in our schools and educational systems. I am sharing my own experiences in this chapter not only to articulate and understand my own beliefs, but also because I believe it is important for us to share and try and understand the realities we encounter in our daily lives as educators all across Canada. I am not just thinking of the realities of teaching successfully, but of the realities of teaching students who suffer and the realities of our own struggles to hold on to some kind of meaning and control in a time of very frightening change.

I am certain that other educators are fighting for more space and for more freedom in their schools. I believe that other educators feel overwhelmed, constrained, helpless, powerless, confused, and taken for granted in their classrooms. They may feel all these things at the same time as they feel connected to students, secure in their personal lives, and qualified for their positions. Feelings are often contradictory, mixed, and confusing. The experience of every educator is different and their feelings are unique,

however, I can state that many educators in Nunavut often feel overwhelmed by the challenges of teaching. They are sometimes very frustrated because of the lack of materials and resources. They are often sad and angry because they see their students suffer and struggle so much. Sometimes they are very confused about their roles in a bicultural and bilingual school system. These educators shared their feelings in the Pauqatigiit survey. In writing this chapter I am sharing some of my own frustration, sadness, anger, and beliefs and they are often related to the same issues.

In starting to write something which is more personal I shy away from the exposure and the narcissism involved in describing my own perspective and the potential arrogance involved in daring to share aspects of my own story. Above all I am conscious of the dangers of personalizing, psychologizing and becoming too preoccupied with a sense of self which is narrow and excludes others. The ever present question of, "Who do you think you are?" keeps coming and going in my head. Being a middle class, Qallunaq, Irish/Canadian woman has the potential to obscure, mask, and distort my perspective when writing about and a culture that is not mine.

I feel discomfort because I work in a context where resources are not equitably shared. This is probably a discomfort many of us feel if we are interested in fair play. As a well-educated teacher I earn a lot more than some of my Inuit or less qualified Qallunaat colleagues, which means I have access to more choices and more opportunities than they do. This never seems right and makes me feel uncomfortable, but at the same time I would have great difficulty giving up any of the freedom that I have managed to access. It concerns me to be yet another Qallunaq who successfully accesses paid educational leave to rest and think and write about my work in the North

while colleagues, many of whom are Inuit, must continue working in schools for years without a break because they are often the only wage earners in their families or cannot leave their communities because of family commitments.

In expressing my feelings I am conscious of walking into a politically incorrect confessional space, where dwelling on oneself demonstrates a kind of weakness. Admitting that when I work in Nunavut I am often filled with anger, that I am sometimes desperate with sadness and riddled with guilt, breaks taboos established in the sanitized world of professional education and academic writing. One can easily choose to stay safe within the privacy that is provided by the more traditional approaches to scholarship. It is evident to me this year, however, as I worry my way to a deeper understanding of the educational context in Nunavut, that one can not simply avoid feelings, deal with powerful emotions, and then shrug them off as one might a bad debt. Feelings like sadness, guilt, and rage tell us something about ourselves, as well as about the circumstances we encounter every day. I believe that exploring these emotions is always important, especially when I work with colleagues and friends who are struggling to access the very opportunities that provide me with some limited freedom within the school system.

Opportunities to access professional education are not as readily available in the small communities in Nunavut as they were in the South when I lived there. There are other differences as well. Simply coming from the South gives many Qallunaat an advantage in understanding how southern institutions and structures work. Qallunaat can usually negotiate their way swiftly through the range of bureaucratic rules and regulations that sometimes puzzle and discourage Inuit colleagues. There are many examples of access to privilege that are available to Qallunaat educators but not as easily accessible to Inuit.

Inuit colleagues have different advantages, like the Inuktitut language, connections to their communities and to the land, and an incredibly rich heritage and tradition that survives in spite of assault. In the post-colonial society of Nunavut, however, privileges based on an Inuit cultural heritage have not, in the past, provided the same access to power that is gained almost effortlessly by Qallunaat. This access means that Qallunaat continue to have more advantages in many different situations, particularly when discussion takes place in English. It seems that by definition when Qallunaat are advantaged, Inuit are disadvantaged, and this means that inequality operates in many interactions in Nunavut.

For example, I found it troubling to be a teacher educator working in an institution that privileges southern academic knowledge and consequently disadvantages Inuit students who must negotiate their way through teacher education courses that are sometimes offered primarily in English. Regardless of our often very successful efforts to offer courses bilingually, the students with the best English and academic skills developed through the medium of English usually do very well in these courses, while those who struggle in their second language sometimes have difficulty understanding concepts, even after they are presented and discussed in Inuktitut. Such a system seems inherently unjust and ensures that those with privilege have the easiest access to more privilege. The teacher education program based in Iqaluit is presently available only to bilingual Inuit, those who speak, read and write both Inuktitut and English (NTEP, 1996). Though we are rapidly working towards a teacher education program that can be offered in Inuktitut to unilingual Inuit, it is sometimes difficult to know that excellent educators in the schools, those who possess a great deal of the important cultural knowledge, will continue to work as assistants for their whole careers. This

means they earn less than their bilingual Inuit colleagues and a great deal less than most Qallunaat teachers. It means they are called Language Specialists or Classroom Assistants, not teachers. This seems wrong. My questions about these issues always bring me back to social justice and ethics and I often find myself angry, sad, or disturbed.

I am often angry and sad. I am sad because so many people in Nunavut experience hunger, desperation, confusion, insecurity or indignity. Our students at NTEP are often hungry and many of them face considerable academic challenges related to language, not ability. Some students even joke that their hunger connects them to their parents who nearly starved on the land many times. Our efforts to make changes in the educational system so that student financial assistance cheques arrive on time find us fighting a bureaucracy that appears faceless and uncaring. Harsh economic realities of life affect more and more colleagues in Nunavut as cutbacks hit lower wage earning educators, often single parents and Inuit with large families. Daily hardships are experienced by members of my own small community. I cannot turn my back on their pain. I cannot take my privilege for granted. I feel some of the pain experienced by others. It is the source of any action I take to make things better and to change the system so that at least people are not starving as they try to learn and teach.

Educational Experience and Evolving Beliefs

Though I have spent fifteen years, most of my professional life, working in Nunavut I am still an outsider, a Qallunaq. My upbringing, education, and perspective differ in fundamental ways from many of my Inuit colleagues and friends. They also differ from Qallunaat colleagues, of

course, but not always with respect to accumulating and accessing a range of privileges which seem to naturally accrue to a confident, articulate, middle class, university educated teacher who hails from southern Canada.

Like most Qallunaat working in Nunavut, I do not yet speak Inuktitut and like many Qallunaat my holidays are spent with family in the south. Iqaluit is my home, but in a different way than it is home for my Inuit neighbors. I live in Nunavut as a resident, as a homeowner, but I know I will not live there when I am old. This gives my presence and the presence of most Qallunaat, a distinctly colonial flavor. Though Nunavut is not called a colony, it is still occupied by people who sometimes think and behave like colonials. These Qallunaat colonials, including myself, hold a disproportional amount of the power and influence in the society. I state this bluntly for it is usually denied, ignored, or repressed in this post-colonial era when we like to pretend that colonialism is a thing of the past, something we put safely behind us in our awareness of difference, appreciation of diversity, and our rapid ability to acculturate and appreciate Inuit society.

Acknowledging these differences is a starting point for me as I consider my own beliefs and explain how I make sense of my location. Many people believe that seeing difference gets in the way of building connection. For me, however, it is a more honest place to start. Common humanity, friendship, and shared experiences are vitally important, but can sometimes be used to gloss over the glaring injustice that deny some Inuit access to things like food, education, good jobs and their own culture and language. Very few Qallunaat in Nunavut are walking around feeling hungry and their language is in no danger of disappearing.

The process of writing a more personal chapter in this dissertation involves acknowledging fears of appropriation, discussing the dangers of

intrusion as well as affirming the possibility of working and living creatively in this context. It also involves the ongoing and "delicate work of extending one's educational voice" (Britzman, 1991, p. 241), of challenging assumptions and digging underneath commonsense understanding to determine the beliefs that drive my work and teaching. I believe that attempting to explain my position, which constantly evolves, is one of the steps that is necessary in trying to understand my role as a Qallunaq educator in Nunavut. Searching for understanding, as opposed to blindly accepting things as they are, is not just a curiously middle class preoccupation with causes, a bleeding heart liberal response, or even a deluded modernist quest for elusive truths. I think of it as a human refusal to give up asking questions, a belief that people can change the world and make things better, and a determination to understand why I behave, speak, and think in a particular way. Perhaps I hope and believe that this search can bring me some peace and a little of the freedom I refer to in my writing.

In describing the evolution of my beliefs over the last fifteen years I use descriptions of my own experience more than I do references to any theories. This personal experience reflects a slowly evolving critical understanding of my location as a Qallunaq educator working in Nunavut. Growing understanding for me, and I suspect for many others, is frequently related to interactions with people, more than it is to the reading of any academic texts, though they are also important. I talk my way through life in constant dialogue with friends, family, and colleagues, sometimes driving them crazy with my intensity. Though I do not search for theories to fit my beliefs, I am constantly influenced by discourse and texts encountered over many years, which makes my own understanding complicated, layered, confusing, and often tentative as it searches for meaning.

The very fact that I describe this search for a position is an intellectual, academic kind of exercise. In many ways I resent and resist the urge to explicate and dissect my beliefs, for in doing so my work and life in Nunavut loses its spontaneity; its less conscious commitment to getting things done and feeling part of making things better in one location. This is a joy that has fueled and driven my work in less conscious times — a sense of connection that equals few other experiences in my life. Attaching the labels of critical theory, using educational jargon or the big words of critical pedagogy has helped me to understand, interpret, and peel back layers of naïveté, but it also withers and spoils what used to be a delighted, total immersion in a special world and in very meaningful work. Now that the blinkers are off I sometimes feel I am walking warily, conscious of every injustice, interpreting conversations in a different way, and taking in pain at each step. It is a risky place to be, a place I share with other educators cautiously, for though some of the theorists talk about a more enlightened position, I have not found it is a happier place to be, though I do understand things differently and appreciate the kind of insight this involves.

Critical Awareness

Critical awareness is the foundation of my theoretical position and "springs from an assumption that we live amid a world of pain, that much can be done to alleviate that pain and that theory has a crucial role to play in that process" (Poster, 1989, quoted in Lather, 1992, p. 121).

My critical awareness, at a conscious, articulated level, developed only when I moved north in 1982. Teaching in Ontario for several years in a school where half the students came from single parent families, I did not

fully comprehend that the behavior we dealt with in the classroom and yard was directly linked to poverty, inequality and class difference. I did not realize that the school and the teachers in it represented a potentially alienating, though generally safe, environment for many of our students. As a special education resource teacher I worked directly and happily with very needy, sometimes unhappy children but my reading or interactions with colleagues did not involve critical dialogue. I did not see that my work was inherently political and I have no doubt that I made some difference in the lives of the children I taught.

I completed a master's degree at Queen's University without encountering a single critical text, commentary, or discussion, a fact that I now believe is ethically unacceptable at any level in the educational system. I deeply regret that I spent so much time reading texts and discussing aspects of education that had very little real significance for my work. I also regret that interactions and the discourse in courses were so impersonal and unrelated to the questions and problems of the world I encountered as an educator. Though I was always an actively contributing member in my classes, I did not feel that my ideas and suggestions really made any difference to anyone else, or that my thinking about educational issues moved into any truly reflective space. I now wonder what kinds of questions I was raising at that time when my obsession with the outdoors predominated and I was preoccupied with a different sense of personal freedom that seemed to be linked to an exploration of the environment.

Orientation to the North.

In the late Spring of 1982 I stepped off the plane in Iqaluit, looked up at

the hills, took a deep breath, and felt I had come home. Even though I had not even participated in the interview for a position as the Special Education Consultant for the Baffin Region, something told me I would get the job. The rocks and tundra reminded me of West Cork in Ireland. The air was sharp and fresh. I was filled with enthusiasm, energy, and a calm conviction that I was meant to be here. Not a shadow of doubt or hesitation marred my sense of being in the right place.

I missed the formal orientation to the Baffin because I was completing an ESL course at Queens. This was unfortunate considering that I desperately needed to learn more about life in the north. My summer reading and the ESL course filled me with the rather typically naïve and romantic excitement that characterizes the entry of many Qallunaat into the north, a kind of tourist mentality accompanied by a sense of adventure. Close friends had worked in the schools in the Eastern Arctic and their stories helped me to understand that Inuktitut and the Inuit culture were vitally important. No one took me aside, however, to suggest that I calm down, shut up, give my head a shake, and realize that I was stepping into a totally different world.

One event stands out as significant in furthering my understanding and providing some relief to my ignorance. Fortunately it occurred within two weeks of my arrival in the Baffin and I am indebted to the Qallunaq adult educator who arranged to have his Inuk trainee take me "visiting" in the first community I encountered. Visiting is an essential part of Inuit life in the communities.

We set off in the pouring rain of early September, stepping over rotting sealskins on the beach, and pausing to look out into the bay which was dotted with canoes. Slowly we visited homes, drinking tea, nibbling bannock, chatting about the weather, hunting, and things that form the basis of

conversation in Baffin communities. I noticed the simple, often poorly maintained homes, the oil stoves, the seal carcasses on cardboard in the kitchens, and the smoke and laughter that filled the air as people enjoyed their cigarettes and stories. As I flew home belugas rolled and swam under the waves, their white skins shining through the water. I decided then and there that I would always make "visiting" part of my work and pleasure during trips to communities.

More significantly, however, anger was starting to boil up inside me. Why were the homes of the Qallunaat teachers so much better than those of the Inuit who lived permanently in the community? Why were childrens' ears running with pus from middle ear infections while they sat at their desks trying to learn? Why were the students in Grade Four leaping up on their desks and mercilessly taunting the new Qallunaq teacher from Ontario? Why was she accepting this behavior with a kind of helpless resignation? On my return to Iqaluit I took my anger and questions to the Superintendent of Education. A man of few words and unswerving vision, he informed me in clipped tones that education in the north needed to reflect the community. I took up the recently published, remarkably insightful report, Learning Tradition and Change (GNWT, 1982), and got down to some real work with one small layer of ignorance stripped from my romantic perspective.

Political Power.

In 1982 the Baffin Region Education Society (BRES) was actively and persistently lobbying the Government for more control over education. Learning, Tradition and Change provided an added urgency and focus to these efforts. As a consultant working across the region, I was fortunate to be

involved in many meetings where Inuit representatives from each community passionately expressed their views about education. Radical, articulate, bilingual young Inuit were guided and tempered by the solid wisdom of older, unilingual representatives with powerful results (Colbourne, 1987; O'Donoghue, 1990).

By 1985 BRES was the first education society to achieve Board status in the Northwest Territories. Witnessing this determination to take control of education deepened my own commitment and provided some much needed insight into the importance of using political power to make badly needed changes in education. It also provided many opportunities to interact with individuals who cared deeply about providing a high quality, bilingual, culturally based education for their children and helped me to understand the kind of educational system that Inuit desperately wanted to create.

Unfortunately as the years have passed some of the initial idealism and heady sense of power have soured a little. Some of the young radicals, like many of us, are now middle aged, struggling to make a living and keep their original dreams alive. Sometimes fatigue, poverty, loss, corruption, greed, violence, or addiction gets in the way and the dream falters. Nevertheless, the original vision remains and still drives Inuit in communities to fight for a better future for their children — a future in which Inuit culture and Inuktitut occupy the central place within the schools, and a future which sees bilingual, young Inuit, rooted in their own culture, adeptly managing the challenges involved in both the southern and northern worlds.

Lost in Work

I worked very hard for over seven years. Using Learning, Tradition and

Change as a guide, I did everything I possibly could to create supports and services to help students with special needs in the Baffin and in the NWT. It was a time of change. The purse strings opened and money flowed. Program Support Teachers and Student Support Assistants were hired and trained, there was a sense of progress, possibility, and hope for the future. The lives of many students and teachers changed in significant ways as they finally received a few of the supports they had needed for years.

I started working with other educators, both Inuit and Qallunaat, to publish Inuktitut books and create an integrated school program that reflected Inuit ways of looking at the world. We called the program Piniaqtavut (things we are going to do). It was a time of excitement, accomplishment, and great joy for me professionally. Work occupied my every waking moment, even when I was at home, but it was an energizing preoccupation. The people I worked with seemed to provide each other with more energy, and there was a sense that tomorrow was a long way off. There was so much laughter and sharing. My colleagues and I often said to each other, "We are living in a bubble, how can work bring so much pleasure?" It seemed as if our enthusiasm, optimism, energy, and happiness were boundless. People joked that we had enough energy to fuel the Northwest Territories Power Corporation. It is ridiculous and embarrassing now to even share such exaggerated comments and I can cynically state, "Oh yes, blind optimism, puppy-like enthusiasm, adrenaline-induced energy, crazed happiness. We were too young and foolish to see the real obstacles that lay ahead."

Perhaps more to the point is the fact that we shared a dream for Inuit education and a commitment to working together in achieving that dream. Anything can seem possible when people are united in their purpose. The relationships we established held us together and enabled us to do more that

we could ever have achieved individually.

In the Fall of 1989, three out of the four of us who worked in the Teaching and Learning Centre (TLC) were pregnant. Administrative and program staff at the BDBE office were involved in a blitz of travel to inservice Piniaqtavut. Dragging boxes of resources, we traveled in teams to communities for six solid weeks and by January of 1990 we were a pretty tired lot. In April, 1990, I went on maternity leave, tired but still optimistic and satisfied that we had achieved a great deal. The maternity leave was followed by a year of leave without pay to start work on a doctorate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE).

In looking back I can now see that the relentless pursuit of goals left us drained and in need of some recovery time. Recovery, however, was a word that I did not even know existed at that time in my life. My colleagues in the TLC also went on maternity leave and, as is typical in the north, the BDBE office lost several people in one fell swoop. As I struggled with the challenges of becoming a new mother and doctoral student, I did not really think about how everyone back in Iqaluit would cope without all of us. An Inuk colleague had accepted my position as a Supervisor of Schools at the Teaching and Learning Centre, and I had absolute confidence in her ability to carry on with the work. I underestimated what it would mean for her to move from a position as a teacher education instructor into a senior management position in a Board of Education. She completed seven years in the position and is now moving on to other challenges. When we can snatch a little time to seriously reflect on our lives, I wonder at the courage, commitment, and stamina that carried her through the last seven years. It seems that the same sense of shared purpose, found in her case through the creation of Inuuqatigiit, made it possible to overcome the many barriers that must have

been part of her experience. She tells me that she is tired now. I hope she can take a little time to rest. Something tells me that she may have a better understanding of her own needs than I did in 1989.

Theoretical Understanding

In 1981 OISE had published Jim Cummins' monograph, Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children, a small but immensely valuable text for anyone working in education in the north. Cummins was also completing Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy (1984), a book that could have provided me with affirmation and direction as I worked with colleagues to establish community-based, inclusive education in the Baffin in the early eighties. Though I read the monograph in 1983 and several Baffin educators understood the theoretical premises of bilingual education, it was not until 1986 that the full significance of Cummins' work for our context began to really sink in. Meeting Cummins personally in 1987 and talking with him about bilingual education, convinced me that his theories had far reaching implications for us in Nunavut. However, I was running so fast, focusing on publishing books and completing Piniaqtavut, that it took several more years to internalize and understand the concepts discussed in his writing.

Cummins' framework (1986), and the fact that I had opportunities to discuss aspects of the theory directly with him, remain the most significant theoretical influence on my professional work as a northern educator. His empowerment pedagogy, now termed transformative pedagogy, provided me with a critical perspective in looking at education in Nunavut. His analysis of the disabling effects of power relations on the education of children in places

such as Nunavut, helped me to understand that the failure in our
educational system was related to the dominance of a southern world view
and overt and covert negative attitudes towards Inuit which were
unconsciously present in our educators and in their interactions with
students and colleagues. The pedagogy advocated in Piniaqtavut draws on
Cummins' work, and some schools in the Baffin actively try to implement
his theories (Tompkins, 1993; Ball, 1995). Cummins' strength lies in his ability
to present ideas clearly and concisely so they are accessible to busy educators.

I believe that implementing Cummins' theory as a basic framework for
education in Nunavut can result in truly significant changes in bilingual
achievement as well as increased parental involvement and Inuit leadership
throughout the system. I do not believe this is a simple matter and have
written about the considerable challenges involved in personally
implementing transformative pedagogy in my own teaching (O'Donoghue,
1997). I believe we need to spend much more time carefully discussing the
implications of Cummins' theories for our work in bilingual education in
Nunavut.

Recent revisions to Cummins' framework (1996) incorporate a sharper
critical perspective which speaks even more directly to our context in
Nunavut. His work continues to provide a coherent, practically related theory
which guides my daily work and evolving critical understanding. It is
Cummins' work, combined with my own experience, that really opened my
eyes to the broader cultural and political context in Nunavut and enabled me
to understand, in a deeper way, the persistent failure that plagues our school
system.

Critical Theory

Completing a course with Henry Giroux and Roger Simon at OISE in the Fall of 1990, opened my eyes in a big hurry to the world of critical theory. Entitled Post-Colonial Discourse and the Creation of Identity, it exposed me to demanding reading, well informed colleagues, and a whole new vocabulary. It took at least four classes before I could even begin to understand the dialogue, let alone participate in the discourse. I felt I had landed in another world. I managed to get through the texts, finding people like Spivak (1990) hard to grasp, and enjoy the writing of Trin Minh-ha (1989), Mohanty (1984), Said (1985), Fanon (1967), and Freire (1983). Finally I was engaged in reading texts that related to my work. In spite of their theoretical complexity, especially for a newcomer to critical theory, the writing spoke to me and I wanted to learn more about concepts of difference, borders, hegemony, postmodernism, and post-structuralism.

I survived the course and found myself struggling past the vocabulary and heady concepts to a conviction that critical praxis was ever hopeful and a critical position an absolute necessity. Everyone kept mentioning Foucault and Habermas but I could barely manage the readings in the course, let alone take on theories of such magnitude and relate them to Nunavut. The needs of my infant daughter, Kathleen, often did not allow the time it takes to thoroughly read critical theory. I would dash out of Giroux and Simon's class, down the stairs, and into the subway, head buzzing with the power of the dialogue, to face the reality of a hungry baby. I remember many nights of dragging a pail full of diapers down stairs to the washing machine and then staggering to my desk which seemed to be weighed down with books I never finished reading.

In retrospect I realize that I was seduced by the discourse. The power of the theory created a lust that is still hard to contain. It is only now, as I write almost eight years later, that I have reached a point of understanding that enables me to put critical theory into some kind of perspective within my own experience and resist the proselytizing influences of the more flamboyant writing in critical pedagogy.

In Cummins' course, entitled <u>Critical Pedagogy and Minority Students</u>, offered during the Spring of 1991, we read a wide variety of articles and books including McLaren (1989), Freinet (1990), Chomsky (1987), Delpit (1988), Freire (1970), Ellsworth (1989), and others. Several readings related to the application of critical pedagogy within classrooms and helped me to internalize the more theoretical perspectives discussed in the Simon and Giroux course. They also supported Cummins' work and confirmed its importance for Nunavut.

These encounters with a wide variety of readings and theoretical perspectives, during what seemed like a very brief residency at OISE, were both exhilarating and frustrating. I found it profoundly annoying that I did not have the time to explore the literature in any depth. Discussion of issues was limited because I had family commitments that drew me home. My initial encounter with the theory was superficial and consequently tantalizing.

<u>Back to Reality</u>

All too soon the year of leave in Toronto was over and I returned to the demands of my position as a Supervisor of Schools and Student Support in the Baffin. At the beginning of August, two out of the three schools in Iqaluit lacked principals. People suggested that I could sign out the Board van

and drive from one school to the other trying to support the educators.

As it was, we hired almost as the schools opened and the two new principals, hired directly from the south, started the year with a limited orientation to the system. New teachers arrived in the schools before the principals and the usual issues associated with the start up of a school year in the north were not always thoughtfully addressed. It was a harsh way to come back to work. Reality was a far cry from the heady idealism of critical theory or the joyful shared work I had been involved with before I took leave. In addition, the fact that I was trying to work on a part-time basis in order to spend some time with my daughter meant that I no longer had unlimited hours to spend in the schools or work on projects at the office. Dealing with the many everyday happenings in the Iqaluit schools, especially with principals new to the system, took almost every minute that was available. I had no time to read or reflect in any depth on the important topics and issues raised during the year at OISE. Critical theory was certainly not a topic of conversation and my interest in the discourse took a back seat.

Unfortunately my family also suffered during this stressful year. My daughter would start crying every time the phone rang or I dialed people at work when I was supposed to be playing with her at home. I finished the year quite exhausted, having encountered some of the depleting battles that are involved in drawn out labor relations issues. These are battles which no one wins and battles that can bring a real cynicism to the perspective of even the most optimistic educator. I experienced few of the rewarding professional challenges that had driven my work in the past. This was a professional space that seemed to provide little room for creativity, very little professional freedom, and worst of all, I had lost touch with the things that were dearest to me: program development and support and the publication of resources at

the TLC. Words like professional integrity and freedom can seem almost laughably idealistic from an administrative position which must address the endless problems and complexities of the system.

Searching for a more peaceful professional space and a little more time for my family, I accepted a position as an instructor at the Nunavut Teacher Education Program in Iqaluit in October 1992, and started focusing on issues in teacher education. These issues preoccupied me for four and a half years and involved our initial work on Pauqatigiit. I am not ready to share the frustrations and struggles involved in our efforts to change the direction of teacher education in Nunavut, but it involved some of the most important professional learning of my life. This learning has led me to think much more deeply about myself and the issues we face in our work in Nunavut.

In looking back on the five years that passed between 1992 and 1997, I now believe that a well grounded critical position based on ethical principles could have provided a sound framework to help me make sense of that very demanding year as Supervisor of Schools and of the years that have passed since I went to NTEP. The necessity of reflection and self-care which are inherent in ethically based educational practice might have helped me to place my own needs and those of my family first, instead of last, and that by caring for self, I might have found the professional freedom that I was looking for in the very contexts that seemed so overwhelming at that time.

Deepening Awareness

My initial encounter with the discourse of critical theory deepened my critical consciousness and convinced me that unless more Inuit educators started working in Nunavut schools we would never get beyond the failure

still experienced by so many students. In working as a teacher educator, I believed I would be contributing in a more significant way to the development of Inuit education than might be possible in the more administrative role of Supervisor of Schools, a position that also does not lend itself easily to part-time work. I was mistaken. One can contribute very significantly from any location or position, depending on the depth of your understanding and perspective.

What I also did not fully realize at that time was that unless Inuit educators and their Qallunaat colleagues had opportunities to develop their own critical consciousness and ethical practices to support their work; unless they had the time to connect to their own stories, their history, their culture, to themselves, and their communities in a much deeper way, unless they had the confidence and skills to take control of their classrooms, schools, and their professional lives, then the same cycles of failure would continue to be replicated in our schools. Providing more culturally relevant curriculum, more Inuktitut, more cooperative strategies, more child-centered approaches, more elders, more critical literacy, more parental involvement, more professional education, while they are all vitally important supports, would never be enough to change Nunavut schools so that students could become fully bilingual, confident learners. Until educators stop to really examine their own teaching practices, attitudes, values, beliefs, and behavior, and to consider how approaches, strategies and resources can be used in a more critically and self-informed way to support their teaching, we will continue spinning our wheels and wasting energy.

To use my own teaching as an example. Though I constantly emphasize critical thinking in my teaching and use almost all the approaches I have referred to above, including culturally based experiences, it was not

until quite recently that I really started challenging students and myself to consider and discuss who we are as people and educators, who we are in the process of becoming, and how the socio-political context and structural forces act as fundamental influences in our work and in our lives.

It is only very recently that I have been forced to come to terms with myself as an educator and to understand in a much deeper way how my own search for professional freedom is inextricably linked to critically based ethical practice. It is only in the last year that I have seen this search as a deeply personal experience involving a growing sense of professional integrity and understanding. It is only as I write that I am finding the space, freedom and peace that comes from interpreting my own struggle for meaning. This understanding emerged when I started to lose professional freedom, and had to fight very hard to regain space and autonomy.

I realize that in reading and re-reading the words of Nunavut educators in the Pauqatigiit surveys, in letting their loneliness, commitment, determination, isolation, and struggles to become better educators sweep over me, I began to understand my own professional quest and then to gradually step from there to a more reflective position that seems to provide a perspective that was missing in my earlier experiences.

I now realize that professional education is not about better teaching techniques, reflective practice, stories, critical theories, or even transformative pedagogy. It is about our struggles to become free educators and people who are alive to ourselves. This is not a humanism based on Christian ideology, Enlightenment philosophy, individualism, or self obsession. It involves being wide awake to ourselves and other people, becoming critically aware of our thinking, developing consciousness of our social location, connecting to our history, and finding strength to act. This is what I have learned after

several months of reading and thinking while on leave from my position in Nunavut. Insights that are probably self evident to most other educators have taken me years to fully comprehend. It is almost as if I am ready to start all over again as an educator. The next sections explore aspects of this understanding and share further experiences which have fostered what I believe is a deeper understanding of myself and the context.

Hegemony and Beliefs

Though our educational policies, mission statements, and curriculum frameworks refer to culturally based education and stress the primacy of Inuktitut and Inuit perspectives, and though many Qallunaat and most Inuit educators are genuinely committed to working towards an Inuit system of education, most of us have never actually grappled with what hegemony really means in our lives and daily work. Do we honestly believe that an Inuit way, however that might be defined, is equally relevant and of equal status to the southern way, or do we believe it is a romantic fiction? Do we realize that there are better, yet to be discovered, soon to be articulated approaches to educating Inuit students, ways that may not fit with our Western perspective, or the research findings we have so carefully developed and aspire to adopt? In vague, woolly ways we espouse politically correct positions, but are not conscious that our views are frequently ethnocentric and Western. We consider ourselves enlightened because we endorse diversity, acknowledge difference, celebrate Inuit culture, and speak the odd word of Inuktitut.

Often we are just far too busy and stressed to take the time to worry about these issues in any depth. For many of us, unfamiliar with critical

theory, even for those of us acquainted with the discourse, the raising of endless questions sometimes seems to involve splitting hairs and makes things worse by stirring up emotions that often hurt. There are jobs to be done, children to teach, and schools to run. Let's just keep things simple. We Qallunaat are here to teach English well — providing an essential skill for Inuit moving to take over Nunavut. Why not just get on with doing that job and stop messing around in things that are not our business as Qallunaat. We are so busy just coping with our challenges and preparing for the next class that we rarely stop to ask ourselves about what is really happening in our schools. We don't really want to stop and peel back our own hegemonic attitudes and beliefs. It is much safer to remain ignorant of the real issues.

Marris (1977, p. 150), tells us that "when we impose change on ourselves or others, we need to allow a moratorium on other business, so that people can give their minds to repairing the thread of continuity in their attachments; and we should not burden ourselves with so many simultaneous changes that our emotional resilience becomes exhausted." This would mean that nothing would ever get done in Nunavut for we would need to declare a moratorium every week and every day. In the educational system in Nunavut we just keep going and going, coping with endless, multifaceted change. Many educators are emotionally exhausted, drained, and worn down. The high levels of stress negatively affect our ability to relate to and support each other. Contesting territory and fighting for our own deeply held, but rarely fully understood ideological truths, drains us of energy as institutions are built, collapse, shatter, or change in the space of a few years. The battles to access power and influence, which are integrally tied to economic and professional survival, divide the very people who desperately need to work collaboratively together to improve education for

students.

Hegemonic decision-making in the Government, school boards, and schools is supported, reinforced, and maintained by hierarchical bureaucracy, patriarchal power, the culture of schools, and the uncomfortably accepted southern models which operate almost invisibly, inexorably, and unconsciously to provide solutions to problems that all too often reflect the south. I am not suggesting that we, Qallunaat, all pack our bags and move south, though this is a solution often discussed and often thought about. Neither am I suggesting that we sit around wringing our hands, paralyzed by white guilt, waiting for direction from Inuit or hoping that we can become more culturally oriented and enlightened by spending time on the land or going native. It would be impossible, inappropriate, and even ridiculous for Qallunaat teachers and administrators to try and think, behave, and teach like Inuit. However, there are many experienced and thoughtful Qallunaat teachers and administrators in Nunavut who tend to act more consciously and carefully by establishing genuinely collaborative relationships with Inuit, and providing the support necessary for Inuit to take over positions of influence. These individuals who understand what an intercultural orientation involves, quietly ensure that Inuit are very closely and equally involved in all aspects of the planning and decision-making processes.

There are many Inuit and Qallunaat educators who refuse to allow structural, ideological, or personal barriers to get in their way. These are the people who demonstrate a "quality of uncommon courage" (Apple & Beane, 1995, p. 103). When these people are Qallunaat who must necessarily operate from within a consciously Eurocentric position, they continuously challenge their own backgrounds, history, and socialization in their determination to achieve social justice. When they are Inuit who wrestle with the transitional

space they occupy and resist essentialist identities while speaking up for their own perspective, then they are uncommonly courageous.

This more thoughtful way of working, however, is not as common as we would like to think. We don't spend enough time together as Inuit and Qallunaat educators discussing what is involved in working towards this kind of position. It is so often assumed that we are already "there". We tend to delude ourselves into believing that we are actively creating democratic, Inuit schools. Thankfully, some of the courageous educators are actually doing that — getting on with building Inuit school. They bring us hope that is desperately needed.

I believe that until hegemony is acknowledged, named, and consciously resisted at both the micro level within relationships and at the macro political level in decision-making, the status quo will prevail and Qallunaat or neo-colonial Inuit dominance will be maintained, in spite of acts of remarkable individual courage. This has happened in several Baffin schools where structures committed to collaboration and Inuit involvement collapse after insightful principals leave and more hierarchical, southern structures are reinstated, supporting relationships which tend to reflect dominant rather than collaborative relations of power.

Qallunaat and Inuit in positions of power now fluently use the labels colonial, dependency, learned helplessness, cultural invasion, racism, hegemony, empowerment. They slip quickly off the tongue identifying their users as informed and insightful while at the very same time the structures of government that guarantee ongoing inequality grow exponentially. Token consultation with Inuit, the inclusion of Inuit as partners in companies run by Qallunaat, the placing of Inuit on Boards, committees, and positions of authority often clear the way for Qallunaat bureaucrats and business people to

bolster their own positions and power bases so the interests of the status quo, of the individuals themselves, and the bureaucracy are protected and furthered.

The disillusionment and disappointment of Inuit who find themselves acting in token positions is often expressed, but it is never easy to challenge the very authority that promises you power. Consequently, resistance is expressed silently or through resignation from positions. The necessity of finding good work and improving one's economic position guarantees that many Inuit very quickly adopt southern ways of doing business, perpetuating hierarchies and bureaucracies that are often self-serving. The circle is complete and few will speak out to threaten their own positions of power or the economic stability they have so recently achieved.

So where does this leave me as a Qallunaq who rejects the structures that conspire to maintain and strengthen the southern status quo while I continue working within them? Where do I stand in the maze of complex, interrelated ideologies? Am I contributing to ongoing domination, particularly when I step into, or seek, a position of responsibility because I believe it provides the potential to make much needed changes in the system? The process of working critically as a Qallunaq educator in Nunavut is never easy, often frustrating, and personally costly as it raises suspicions and doubts from colleagues when it, "challenges coercive relations of power that are manifested in the school context" (Cummins, 1996, p. 164). Indeed, what gives me the right to challenge anything but my own hegemonic beliefs?

There is the possibility that discussions of hegemonic thinking and behavior with Nunavut educators might result in more self conscious actions. For example, monitoring my own hegemony with colleagues who

share my perspective has helped me personally, but I often hear Qallunaat talking about the racism they witness in schools in a way which leads to a rejection of their southern colleagues and aggrandizes their own position as being "more enlightened." I find myself complicit, nodding sagely at the prevalence of these racist attitudes and bemoaning the ignorance of others. Rather than building collaboration and understanding, this kind of self righteousness needs to examine itself thoroughly.

Starting with the recognition of racism and acknowledgment of hegemony as a powerful influence in one's own life may initially lead to feelings of guilt, discomfort, and embarrassment, sometimes even temporary paralysis; however, it can also enable us to step beyond guilt to a place that can be joyful and professionally rewarding. This is a risky and painful process full of doubt, hesitation, and confusion as my own experience has shown. My own struggle to understand and work within a colonial context is still emergent. It is always difficult to find the balance between discomfort, appropriation and action. Fortunately action is generally a lot more fun and I have always preferred to get on with the work. Now, however, I work far more consciously, and sometimes this takes the pleasure out of interactions when I recognize how coercive rather than collaborative relations of power are working against me personally and against my colleagues. This is when I really need to know that I do not stand alone and that others are also recognizing, naming, resisting, and challenging this domination in our lives.

Unfortunately, I sometimes get tired of this wearing challenge. In writing this dissertation I am recovering strength little by little and understanding that I often fail to recognize limits and set reasonable boundaries for myself. As I wear down I seem to forget how to laugh and have fun with my colleagues. That is when the struggle has gone too far and

has temporarily overwhelmed me. I have lost some courage over the last few years but I have not lost hope. If anything I think I have gained more strength this year by understanding my anger and pain in a deeper way.

Power and Hope

Foucault's exposition of institutional power has had a considerable impact on my position, particularly as the concept of discipline and control is used by Jim Ryan (1988), as a framework to view the schooling of Innut in Labrador. Reading Ryan's doctoral dissertation the first time was a harrowing experience and at first I rejected what I interpreted as an excessively pessimistic and theoretically contrived analysis of the system. Rereading Ryan's work again, however, I found I was ready to consider and understand the way in which rigid surveillance might socialize Inuit students in Nunavut and destroy their own deeply engrained value system. I feel that Ryan failed to acknowledge the impact of institutional power on the southern teachers working in the school which left them unfairly caricatured as representatives of domination. This in turn put Ryan in the role of "the enlightened one", a position I always question. Maintaining solidarity across borders requires the realization that we are all constructed by historical, cultural, and social practices (Giroux, 1992, pp. 133-141). Gaining academic capital as we complete doctoral studies should enable us to reach out to others across borders, not to use it in creating hierarchies of intellectual privilege. I now see that Ryan failed to understand Foucault's analysis of power as a force which can be used creatively by both those who are potentially oppressed as well as by those who are unconsciously oppressing. I read Foucault's account of freedom and space as the struggle to escape from the restrictions,

regulations and edifices that are often imposed in the name of liberty, discipline, and personal safety (Dumm, 1996).

Ryan's insights, combined with the work of Crago (1987, 1991), with its indication that subtle aspects of verbal and non verbal interactions with older mothers and caregivers reinforced cultural values of Inuit, while the interaction patterns utilized by Qallunaat teachers and younger Inuit were significantly different and potentially disruptive to those values, reinforced my fear that schooling could indeed become, "the last nail in the coffin of the culture" (Graburn, 1985, personal communication). Coupling Ryan's application of Foucault with Crago's work, the insights of Jean Briggs (1970), and Hugh Brody (1975/1991), together with Dorais' (1989), research on language shift, produces a picture of doom for survival of the Inuit way of life and Inuktitut in particular and depressed me at a time when I was the most vulnerable to doubt.

Witnessing the successes in Nunavut schools (Tompkins, 1993), turning to New Zealand for examples of cultural and linguistic recovery (May, 1994), and finding inspiration in the efforts documented by Lipka and McCarty (1994), by Ladson-Billings (1994), Nieto (1993), and by Cummins (1996), has helped me to maintain my own hope in what is possible. It has enabled me to understand that while normalization and discipline conspire to have us accept the status quo and sink into alienation and hopelessness, critical reflection and the indomitable strength of human beings, which bursts out in art and acts of resistance and defiance, will always enable us to fight for our freedom. I feel that educators need to wake up and realize that the forces of normalization and dominance are encroaching on the world of the school and that we need to understand education in a much deeper way if we are to maintain or retrieve our hard won professional autonomy.

My views are not pessimistic, though I am often very sad and sometimes depressed when progress seems to be so slow. I do not believe that the situation in Nunavut is monolithic and totalizing, as Ryan seems to conclude in his dissertation about Innut schooling in Labrador:

> The Innut, by virtue of their no longer being able to live life on traditional terms, have been forced to deal with Canadian society within the framework of relations set down by the latter. Indeed, in many respects, life depends upon an adherence to these principles. Is it worthwhile for Innut to learn and abide by these principles at the expense of their dignity? (1988, p. 273)

Perhaps I am unconsciously working within the framework of dominant relations, but I have been fortunate in seeing Inuit take a leading role in trying to preserve their own language and culture from within the very structures that Jim Ryan, Connie Heimbecker, and I characterize as southern, potentially alienating, and dehumanizing.

I know from my own personal experience that schools staffed almost totally by Inuit are calmer and feel happier than those staffed primarily by Qallunaat educators. I stand by this purely subjective, emotional judgment and remain hopeful and optimistic that as more and more Inuit become teachers in schools, provided that they are given the time to reflect and understand themselves, they will find their own way to deal with the issues of language, power, and cultural change in Nunavut. As Inuit teachers gain more experience and confidence and become the majority in Nunavut schools, their very presence will help to maintain and strengthen aspects of the language and culture that are inevitably evolving. Providing opportunities for Inuit to write and express their dreams and challenges is critical in the effort to regain voice and engage in the process of cultural recovery. Regardless of cultural reproduction, dehumanization within colonial structures, the influence of predatory culture (McLaren, 1995), and

the homogenization of cultures within globalization, I continue to believe that Inuit will be in a much better position to develop and foster their own values and beliefs once Nunavut is established.

Language, Discourse, Social Reproduction, and Strength

My reading of David Corson's book, Language, Minority Education and Gender: Linking Social Justice and Power (1993), provides a deeper understanding of the critical issues associated with language and power. His introduction to the social reproduction theories of Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), and the critical realism of Bhaskar (1986), are helping me to refine and revise my position. Bourdieu's use of cultural, linguistic, and academic capital, magisterial language, and habitus (Corson, 1993, 1997a) brought home, yet again, how we Qallunaat thoughtlessly use the English language and the mores of our culture to behave in ways that baffle and alienate Inuit. Over and over again in meetings, Qallunaat, including myself, speak quickly and effusively in English with little thought that unilingual or even bilingual Inuit in the same room have no idea what is really being said. Unaware that we are using different body language, laughter, and concepts rooted in our own experience and our different understandings, we forge ahead in our dominance and insecurity, often unchecked by Inuit or more aware Qallunaat. Dominant discourse and dominant cultural capital is legitimated, approved and rewarded time and time again in our school system because Qallunaat desperately need to feel comfortable and, in their efforts to feel at home, create the conditions for social discourse that reflect their own experience.

Making Inuktitut the primary language of discussions at meetings and

having Inuit facilitate and lead, requires that translation must be arranged for the Qallunaat, rather than the other way round. It reverses the power structure. As Said reminds us, *"who speaks* is more important than *what is said"* (1986, p. 153, emphasis in text). All voices must be heard in Nunavut and many of these voices need to speak in Inuktitut.

In his dedication Corson (1993) quotes Foucault, "The real political task is to criticize the working of institutions that appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a way that the political violence which has always exercised itself so obscurely through them will be uncovered so that people can fight it". My own critical and political position is directed at the school system in Nunavut, at myself, and at our initiative with Pauqatigiit. The fight is far from being mine alone. In fact I must state again and again that to stand alone is not only naïve, but foolish. I am committed to questioning, searching, and pushing for solutions with my colleagues, even when it is painful and exhausting. I have not given up and my growing understanding provides me with a different, colder, and more determined strength.

The Pauqatigiit Committee members are also fighting. Over and over again they articulate their desire create professional education which is educator owned and driven. The Committee is intensely aware that Inuit involvement is threatened by the very way we conduct business in our hierarchical, English language dominated system. We struggle in our meetings to address these issues and it is this struggle that is hopeful and brings us strength. Our own critical awareness, our agency, grows out of our connections, relationships, and discussions with others, and is crucial in helping us to make decisions that not only uncover the obscure violence referred to by Foucault, but to move beyond it to create new structures and

ways of relating. My critical awareness helps me to own, and at times recover from, my own violence and the patriarchal violence in the society. It enables me to move on with a little more self-knowledge.

Cultural Grief and Self

In the Spring of 1994 I found myself in a workshop presented during the annual conference of the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Suicide (CASP), which was held in Iqaluit. What happened in that workshop added an unexpected, new dimension to my growing critical awareness. This story is told as a form of narrative experience.

Elizabeth, speaking slowly, encouraged the group to share words that came to mind when they considered the word culture. Word by word, faster and faster, the chart paper was filled. Everyone was contributing, Inuit and Qallunaat, elders, and young NTEP students. People were openly sharing their feelings and concerns about Inuit culture.

Elizabeth wrote some questions on the next chart. Who am I? How do I identify myself today? What belief systems govern my life today? What is the price I have paid? What are the risks I have taken? She spoke of starting to grieve in a less desperate way, of relationships and of a moment of beginning. She spoke of the neglected territory of our feelings. In my notebook I wrote down, "I am in grief." The shock of recognition was overwhelming. I felt I was in a whirlpool. Elizabeth wrote the word spirals on her chart. Did she know that I was in the middle of a spiral? What was happening to me? Where was reality? I had come to a conference session about cultural grief and here I was naming my own grief and going into some kind of weird state. Why was this happening? "We lack equilibrium until we regain a sense of

continuity", she said. I took a deep breath. I knew that what I was feeling was critically important. I did not resist.

The workshop was over. People rushed up to Elizabeth. My friend was clutching my arm. "She has to speak to the students", she said in an urgent tone of excitement. Yes, she must speak to the students but there were too many people crowding around. I would track her down later.

What happened that morning was a moment of personal recognition. In leaving my work with the Baffin Divisional Board of Education and moving to Nunavut Arctic College and NTEP I had suffered a significant loss. A loss of relationships and connections with people all across the Baffin, a loss of being directly involved in change, facilitating at meetings, and responding to concerns from communities. I had lost the moments of exhilaration as we opened boxes of new Inuktitut books and the joy of seeing colleagues grow and change through years of shared commitment and hard work. I felt cut off from work that was central and vitally important in my professional life for a period of seven years: the creation and implementation of Piniaqtavut, the building of inclusive education, and Inuktitut book publishing. None of these things were to be part of my immediate future. They were no longer my responsibility. Finally I allowed myself to admit that leaving the Board was intensely painful and though it sounds excessive, it amounted to a grief experience in my life, a grief I had not acknowledged and was only aware of as a vague sadness or anger when changes faltered or directions changed. I felt a sense of relief in being able to identify my feelings and wanted Elizabeth to talk to my students and my colleagues.

The next morning Elizabeth spoke briefly to the NTEP students; a few months later she came back to offer a day long workshop and in the Spring of 1996 she offered twenty-four students in the B Ed class at NTEP a ten day

section of a course entitled, <u>Cultural Values and Socialization</u>.

The course was an important and valuable experience as the following comments indicate:

- "I now have an idea of who I am, where I am and where I want to go in my life."

- "I'm a changed person mentally, emotionally, spiritually."

- "It also helped me to realize how every community can work together for the good of everyone else and how we can stand united as a people — a culture."

- "... it helped a lot of us to confront our fears and share our very personal issues which had affected our behavior and attitudes throughout the year."

- "The grieving and healing process will make a difference in our lives and for other people who are close to us."

- "I feel more me, I feel happier inside my heart."

- "It is helpful to me that I am not higher or lower than anybody."

- "I am not scared anymore."

Elizabeth Fortes, Brazilian by country of origin, is a naturalized Canadian, like myself. She works as a suicide counselor and Freirian educator in Vancouver, primarily with immigrants, often women from developing countries. She is developing a theoretical framework for cultural loss which I believe is fundamentally important for our work in Nunavut.

In my teaching at NTEP over a period of almost four years, horrifying experiences suffered by students emerged in virtually all classes and private discussions. Stories of violence, neglect, rape, incest, and sexual abuse were

mentioned, described, and cried about. In one class of seven students, five had experienced serious, prolonged sexual abuse as children or young people. The abuse occurred in their homes and also at residential schools. The counselor at Nunavut Arctic College (Berman, February, 1996, personal communication), expressed disbelief that some students could get up each day and come to class given the traumatizing experiences they suffered and survived. Some of the students in my classes were so abused by their partners that their academic work was seriously affected and their ability to become teachers placed in jeopardy. Others simply dropped out because of the pressure.

Students had suffered deep losses when their parents had been suddenly transported to the south for tuberculosis treatments, sometimes never to return. The following poem by Susan Qamaniq, now a teacher in Igloolik, speaks to the search for a grandmother who is not buried in her community.

> My Grandmother Ipiksaut
>
> I am searching
> My Grandmother's body
> But I cannot find her.
> She is in this community
> But no where to find.
> Nobody knows where she is
> Anywhere.
> People I ask make it hopeless.
> Where is my Grandmother Ipiksaut?
> I can remember her a little bit, She was ill. flown away and never
> came back.
> Who knows where my Grandmother is?
> Where is my Grandmother Ipiksaut?
> Why doesn't she have a headstone?
> My Father's mother Ipiksaut.
> There is not even a picture of her.
> My Grandmother Ipiksaut.
> (Qamaniq, 1995)

Students, flown south as children with tuberculosis or other diseases

and later returned to communities, spoke of being like strangers, unaccepted aliens in their own land. One student remembered her mother saying, "This is not my child." Frequently this student was forgotten when the family went on trips and spoke of running along a headland shouting desperately at the boat that was carrying her family back to the community after a summer on the land.

Another student lost his Inuktitut when he was placed in a hospital in the south and was unable to communicate with his family when he returned to his community. He still struggles to express himself adequately in Inuktitut, the loss spilling into his personal life to this day. Students shared experiences of being adopted, or of having children or siblings adopted resulting in abuse, sometimes in suicide. To name the number of suicide victims I have known personally over the fifteen years that I have worked in the Baffin would be obscene. Each death impacts on the whole family, on the community, on the school, on the educators, and on the students. Often the victims are young. Their lives over far too soon.

Attempting to describe the effects of alcohol abuse on the lives of Inuit educators I worked with would sound melodramatic. Each day educators in Nunavut deal with young children who suffer from abuse, neglect, or starvation because of alcohol abuse. I will not go on. To belabor these realities is to trivialize pain that destroys self-worth, creates violence, and wrecks havoc in lives. It furthers negative stereotypes of aboriginal Canadians, and it raises dangers that the victims themselves will be blamed yet again for abuses which result from domination and oppression. It makes it sound as if things are hopeless when they are not. It makes it seem that everyone is overcome and in a state of collapse which is far from the truth. No one is untouched by these experiences, however, even those Inuit or Qallunaat who have never

suffered abuse and who can only imagine the pain.

The colonial situation contributes to a dehumanization which numbs everyone because it is impossible to really feel and acknowledge all this pain on a daily basis. This process of psychic numbing means that our feelings are blunted. We start living life without being fully connected to ourselves. We start to live a half-life, to go through the motions, to lose our humanity. Marris (1977), tells us that people facing compounded change and loss "lose confidence that their own lives have a meaningful continuity of purpose" (p. 158).

"All aspects of being were affected", said one Inuit educational leader in a Pauqatigiit interview in 1994. "The troubled populations of our schools require specially trained teachers. Suicide, abuses of all kinds, alcoholism — help us", wrote one Nunavut educator in her Pauqatigiit survey (1994). Her cry was echoed over and over again by other educators, both Inuit and Qallunaat. Elizabeth Fortes believes that the trauma she has heard expressed in Baffin is comparable to that suffered by the survivors of war. This war does not use bombs. The wounds are spiritual and psychological for all of us.

The cultural grief framework, influenced by the work of Paulo Freire and shared by Elizabeth Fortes with NTEP students, suggests a cycle of cultural grief experiences which occur when dominance, oppression, immigration, war, colonization, sudden change, and other cultural dislocations result in deeply felt losses which weaken people and leave them vulnerable to further violence, either inflicted on themselves or inflicted on them by others. Working from the unconscious to the conscious level, the pain of these losses can rise past resistance, psychic numbing, and somatization to be painfully articulated and experienced under the right circumstances. These circumstances build feelings of being safe and of being ready to trust.

Regression, anxiety, denial, and other defensive reactions usually accompany the rising acknowledgment of this grief. Immersion in the grieving process and breaking the silence often involves trauma but results in a gradual awakening of consciousness. During a period of transition, confusion, nostalgia, and crisis are experienced as people break down in order to come together again. The relief of expressing grief brings a change in reflexive power which results in the ability to reflect, dialogue, and understand oneself. This in turn leads to an awareness of the cultural context, to integration, and finally to action.

People can enter into this dialogue with themselves and with others, and there is a growing appreciation and knowledge of self. Elizabeth says that the process of self-recognition is a polylogue, interactions take place with all the different aspects of self, parts of oneself that were masked by pain. These parts of the self include history, culture, traditions, race, gender, sexual orientation, language, status, age, class, body, and voice. The exploration and celebration of self, as one is positioned within a family, community, and the world, builds and strengthens connections, enabling us to reach out to others, to share and support. Critical consciousness emerges as individuals realize the sources of their grief and name oppressive influences in their lives. Empowerment and autonomy result. This process is not linear but spiral as successive waves of loss are experienced and gradually processed throughout one's life.

Griefwork, as Elizabeth defines it, involves supporting people to stay with their feelings, emotions, and images. Resistance, boundaries, and silences are respected. Pain is acknowledged and subjective states are validated. Self-dialogue, self-expression, and self-care are stressed. The process is delicate, risky, and essential.

The historical events that have adversely affected the people of Nunavut, for example, whaling by Qallunaat, tuberculosis, starvation, religion, DEW line sites, the Hudson's Bay Company, government, and schooling, have inexorably destroyed good health, wildlife, traditional lifestyles, culture, language and spirit in the Eastern Arctic over a period of 200 years. Endemic unemployment, poverty, poor housing, high rates of school drop out, and a frenetic rate of change contribute to abuse of alcohol, chronic depression, suicide and the attendant problems of abuse and neglect. Inuit and Qallunaat living in Nunavut need to find ways to deal with this history, pain and loss of culture. The promise of Nunavut, access to education and good jobs for a few are just not enough for those who cannot live their lives fully because they have had no opportunity to express, examine, and move past grief.

Fortes outlines a framework which provides healing through articulation of pain but also provides opportunities for individuals to understand their oppression and move on to make changes in their society. It is a framework which explains the sources of loss and recovery from losses within oneself and within one's culture and society. It explains how dominant power conspires to keep people silent and acquiescent in spite of their pain.

Many Inuit do not seem comfortable with a raging grief and anger. Like Qallunaat women in the past, Inuit often remain silent when dealing with pain inside themselves (Minor, 1992, pp. 54-55). Jean Briggs (1970), in her book Never in Anger discusses cultural mores which suppress the loud expression of anger because it is debilitating and threatening to survival in traditional families who live closely together. These mores may contribute to the way anger is expressed even today and need to be explored in future research.

During Elizabeth's course one woman described how she took her anger out to the hills on her skidoo, screaming and roaring to the skies. Elizabeth suggested that she express some of this anger to her colleagues. Our mouths dropped open in shock when a scream from the soul reverberated through the classroom. I started sweating anxiously thinking that administrators would be scurrying down the halls to see who had just been assaulted. One by one, eyes filled with tears, we embraced this woman, thanking her for her scream of courage, for sharing her defiance with her colleagues. Hers was a recovery of voice, a scream of solidarity, a scream of invitation, and a scream that called for action and change. "Never again will I be afraid to speak", said one woman during the closure of the course.

That was enough for me. The process of healing, sharing, and understanding, combined with critical consciousness, created autonomy, pride, and direction for many of the students. It changed the lives of some and strengthened others as they prepared to work in schools. It changed my life and helped me to understand my own grief and anger and reach out to others in order to make change. It gave me the strength and the desire to write this chapter of the dissertation.

Fortes' framework combines critical consciousness with a psychology of the self in a way I have not seen before. Emotional and spiritual aspects of self are fully integrated into critical consciousness. Mind, heart, and spirit are one. "All parts of yourself are welcome", Elizabeth would say each morning and the dialogue would begin. The approach is loving, caring, and nurturing. It is scrupulously respectful, patient, and accepting. It is also teaching, teaching that begins with students' real experiences, is quietly insistent, questioning, and sometimes carefully demanding. It acknowledges and celebrates feelings as crucial in the understanding and discovery of self and community. The

approach might be very threatening for individuals used to rational, unemotional, transmission approaches. It could be frustrating for those who expect to see a product quickly or need to have immediate, written proof of understanding. It would be quite frightening and threatening for individuals who are patriarchal, insecure or need to hold on to their power. Perhaps this approach is what Giroux (1992, p. 137), reaches towards when he talks about rethinking that is "outside the geography of rationality and reason." I believe this process involves using the language of hope he refers to so often in his writing. In responding to Giroux I can state that all experiences involve both feelings and reason but our fixation and obsession with rational discourse, while it is historically understandable, is excessively pervasive in critical pedagogy, post-structuralism and critical theory, distancing us from our feelings and shrouding us in fears of engagement in dangerous narratives, while at the same time declaring them to be so necessary. Critical pedagogy is full of contradictions and can be indulgently rhetorical.

Critical pedagogy needs to become more courageous, though it must also step with great care. This involves having the courage to integrate feeling and thinking in our teaching. It challenges us to use dialogue to explore issues of cultural loss that are critical within our own recovery. This exploration; however, involves "ethical responsibility" (Cummins, 1996). [B]ell hooks tells us that unless the process of sharing painful stories is linked to strategies for resistance and transformation, it can create "conditions of even greater estrangement, alienation, isolation and at times grave despair" (hooks, 1988, p. 32). We stand warned and cautious. I am not dashing forward waving cultural grief as the new Enlightenment for Nunavut educators, and I do not suggest it as some new approach that we can use in yet another workshop with educators. This is more that an approach. It is a way of being

in the world, a way of thinking, feeling, and reflecting.

In referring to the dialogue journals I share with students during my teaching someone once said, "Fiona, how can you stand this confessional stuff — it's not helping students develop the skills they need." At that time, perhaps three years ago, I felt guilty and embarrassed. Was I appropriating the experiences of my students? Was I letting students wallow in a negative space instead of moving them smartly along to learn about psychology and pedagogy? How could I stop students from sharing their pain? Why should I shut them up so they could not express the things they really think and care about?

I believed then and believe now that the sharing of students' personal stories and experiences is critical in the process of becoming effective teachers. A teacher needs to understand herself, and from there she can start understanding society in a different way. I trusted my professional judgment three years ago and continued to listen and comfort. Often I begged students to see counselors and to work on their pain with individuals who had more expertise. Frequently they would dismiss this possibility because they lacked trust or because of experiences of betrayal at the hands of mental health professionals. I believe I made the right choice in continuing to listen and provide support, though I lacked the skill and understanding that someone like Elizabeth could bring to these experiences.

Another aspect of grieving is relevant to my experience as a Qallunaq. It relates to my own loss of culture and roots in being a stranger within Nunavut and Canada. In September 1995 I had lived in Canada for twenty years, thirteen of them in the north. What had happened to my own connection to Ireland, to my family, and to that culture? I had not stopped for long enough to consider this, though a vague longing would sometimes

come over me when I heard an Irish colleague read Irish literature aloud. I dismissed the longing as a typically Irish, romanticized, nostalgic hearkening back for what was lost. It seems to me now that the longing was too painful to be acknowledged and that I refused to examine the loss.

Naming cultural loss is not a process reserved for Inuit, refugees or immigrants. I believe that southern Canadians who move to the north suffer significant dislocation, confusion, and loss which goes unacknowledged or is dismissed as inability to acculturate. In the face of the cultural grief suffered by Inuit, the cultural dislocation of Qallunaat may seem trivial. This is not so. Acknowledging these feelings not only enables people to make connections, create community, and find continuity, it also fosters a better understanding of the experiences suffered by Inuit in Nunavut. Memmi tells us that "humanitarian romanticism is looked upon in the colonies as a serious illness, the worst of all dangers" (1967, p. 21). The macho rationalism so prevalent among Qallunaat in the north - "Only the tough survive you know" — must be named as denial and a relic of colonialism.

Fortes' cultural grief framework is based on an epistemology and ontology that fully recognizes the emotional and spiritual aspects of the self as part of our reality. It agrees with and has much in common with feminist and post-structuralist theory in that knowledge is socially constructed in the bodies and personal/collective history of individuals. It affirms the strength and spiritual quest of each person and sees individuals as actively engaged in making and creating meaning with themselves and others. It sees continuity and the connection with aspects of the constructed self and constructed others as leading to transformation. The approach builds a sense of community and believes that experiences are shared, lived, and understood together, something which seems to be fundamental to an Inuit view of the world

(GNWT, 1996). I hope that Elizabeth Fortes will soon find some time to write and share this framework with all of us. We need her work to help us, Inuit and Qallunaat, to name our pain, understand our grief, recover, and move on to be able to create positive communities of educators in Nunavut.

This approach is shared as <u>one way</u> for us to move out of pain and into the critical space that creates change. It is not <u>the way</u> or a new bandwagon, as I feel healing workshops are in danger of becoming in Nunavut. Elizabeth Fortes is a very valuable resource person, as are Jim Cummins, David Corson, and many others. She has the advantage of being a woman of color for whom English is a second language, a fact which creates a common bond with Inuit students. She has personally suffered cultural loss, oppression, torture, and trauma. Her training as a counselor is invaluable. Her teaching helps NTEP students and Qallunaat like myself to grow strong in very important ways. It has enabled me to locate a missing element in my critical framework, an aspect of epistemology and ontology which is related to feeling and spirituality, and has dramatically enriched and grounded my own perspective.

In speaking about the trauma experienced by students or by myself, it is critically important to understand that while pain is sometimes an obstacle to progress, or makes a person temporarily vulnerable, it does not totally handicap and maim us as educators working in Nunavut schools. Survivors of trauma demonstrate remarkable strength, determination, and an ability to live with a humor and dignity which is often inspiring. Many individuals who survive abuse and loss carry a wide range of responsibilities in their families, schools, and communities. I do not believe that we need to stop our lives in order to deal with our trauma. A person can stop for a little while to set down a load and talk, cry, or scream. They don't necessarily need to stay in

this place for a long time weeping, recovering, and healing. This is exhausting in itself and there is life to be lived. Many of us recover as we carry on with our daily lives. The acts involved in working, living, and learning with others sustain us. We all do need to stop from time to time when it gets to be a bit much. When we do stop or when someone like Elizabeth crosses our paths, we sometimes cry. But often we talk or laugh, sometimes we think, sometimes we read or write and sometimes we scream. We have all done many of these things over many years of our lives as we try to understand a world that sometimes seems to have gone totally crazy. I believe we do need to stop and often we do need to cry.

Students and educators have to fight to be able to do some of these things without having them turned into an elaborate process of grieving, recovery, or healing. We all need to be on guard that our willingness or need to share pain is not appropriated, psychologized, and used against us to prove our weakness yet again. That is why we should insist on sharing only when we can trust, or when we know we are strong enough to take the risk and become even stronger.

Connection and Support

Before closing this chapter I am sharing one more story which relates to my commitment to critical practice and maintaining strength. Lather refers to the danger that postmodern discourse is, "more theoreticism, more construction of theory unmoored in any specific cultural practice which could serve to ground the process dialectically and or deconstructively" (1991, p. 36). I do not believe we benefit from scholarly work which is sometimes, "a new form of abstract, disengaged radical chic, of 'nouveau smart'" (Lather 1991, p.

38, quoting Storr, 1987). What I am sure of; however, is that change is happening and that specific cultural practices within Nunavut demonstrate a wide range of positive and critical possibilities. My rejection of the dualism and binary opposition involved in the theory/practice debate and my affirmation of possibility is expressed in a very short story.

In February 1996 I was woken at 5:00 a.m. by a phone call to let me know that my friend Joanne Tompkins was being medically evacuated to Iqaluit. Later that day I watched as she was wrapped in a green army sleeping bag and strapped into a stretcher for the flight to Montreal. Her face peeped out at me, eyes full of fear for her unborn baby, for her family left behind in the community, and for herself. What a way to leave the north after positively touching the lives of so many students, educators and parents. Tompkins came north in 1982 and we worked together for many years as colleagues and friends. A skilled practitioner and gifted teacher, Tompkins accepted the position of principal in a very challenging location in north Baffin in 1987. Her four year experience is described in Anurapaktuq School: Change in a Cold and Windy Place, a masters thesis completed at McGill University (Tompkins, 1993).

Tompkins' ability to support the implementation of Inuit education is a testament to what is possible for Qallunaat educators working in Nunavut. With Inuit and Qallunaat colleagues, Tompkins started to translate into practice the dreams expressed in Our Future is Now (BDBE, 1988). Her work is critically informed and driven, but translates into practice which is full of humor, empathy, and understanding. Long conversations with Joanne into the early hours of many mornings over many years have shaped my own beliefs and affirmed that extraordinary positive change can happen in Nunavut schools.

Critical awareness takes on new meaning in the face of practice that humbly dismantles relations of dominance and defeats obstacles that drive many fine educators away from the north and into despair. Tompkins' support and unwavering, unselfish commitment to the possibility of change, keeps my critical sense alive in the face of cynicism which sometimes threatens to overwhelm my hope. Each of us needs a Joanne, a person whose practice grounds and supports the theory, a person whose loyal friendship can help to carry us past our doubt. Tompkins' work, which she acknowledges as incomplete, is documented evidence of the ability to apply critical practice effectively in a Nunavut school. Her writing provides all of us in Nunavut with an example of what is possible in the future and her humor reminds us that we can very easily take ourselves too seriously.

There are many others like Joanne Tompkins. Committed, thoughtful educators who work in Nunavut schools and in the Nunavut school system. These are people who each day reach students and other educators, who change lives and break down the cycles of failure experienced in the past. There are many insightful, dedicated, and clear-headed educators who reach out to each other for support, as I have reached out to Joanne and several other cherished friends on so many occasions. When educators start to feel alone, unconnected, or unsupported, they experience doubt. They start to feel their efforts are hopeless and often they are overwhelmed. Connecting with others and building a community of support for ourselves must become our highest priority, for without it we may lose sight of what is possible and without it we may lose the opportunity to experience happiness and joy in our work.

Conclusion

In discussing my position and in sharing aspects of myself, I have tried to use my experiences to describe the beliefs I personally hold and explore. Every educational initiative, including Pauqatigiit, reflects the beliefs of the individuals involved in the project, as their beliefs in turn reflect or reject the prevailing or dominant positions of the organization and the society itself. In Nunavut, a very small educational system, the beliefs of individuals can have a considerable impact on everyone. This raises serious ethical concerns, and means that revealing underlying beliefs and taking the time to examine the congruence between expressed philosophy and decisions and actions in our daily lives is critically important. It is also important to measure personal beliefs against prevailing practice. While an espoused philosophy may match one's critical position, the practices of those in positions of power may tell a very different story. Working in an organization that is losing sight of, or doubts, its mission, is certain to bring disillusionment and cynicism, not to mention wasted energy and endless frustration.

Fullan (1993), refers to the moral martyrs whose idealism and passionate commitment to educational reform may cause them to overlook the micropolitical realities present in an educational context. Those of us working as politically committed educators within Nunavut, and I speak to myself and others who share this commitment, need regular reality checks to ensure that we are not becoming moral martyrs, that we are still connected, committed, compassionate, and caring, and that our efforts are paying off. We do not need to bury any more educators in Nunavut. We need our educators to survive and gain strength, to speak out and to continue their work, knowing that they are not alone.

A recognition of injustice and pain led me to a critical position which I am continually refining. This position is often confusing and stressful. Confusion comes before clarity and is a necessary part of the struggle towards understanding. Having completed this chapter I feel a little more secure, at least for now. Writing the story of my evolving beliefs, sharing my own story, has helped me to clarify the range of powerful emotions: anger, love, doubt, fear, guilt, and joy that are part and parcel of my work, an integral part of my life. The connection to self, to self-understanding, and to others is critically important for our survival as educators. I am not a moral martyr. I am a person who is successfully recovering energy and strength and whose commitment is deeper than it has ever been in the past. This time it includes a deeper commitment to caring for myself, my family, my friends, and my work in a more balanced way for this can enable me to gain and hold on to freedom.

Supporting the emergence of an Inuit system of education in Nunavut involves complicated struggles that are plagued with inequality, hegemonic decision-making, manipulation, and power brokering. It is not a very clear path. To work in the post-colonial context of Nunavut involves avoiding the paralysis that McLaren refers to as "political inertia and moral cowardice where educators remain frozen in the zone of 'dead practice'" (1995, p. 79), recognizing in oneself and others the living practice of moral self-righteousness and refusing the temptation to rush headlong into changes that trample on borders and merely further colonial oppression. Above all it requires the ability to recognize and address hegemony, racism, and the pursuit of self-interest within oneself. This requires the kind of self-awareness referred to by Foucault.

In weaving through this maze over the last fifteen years, I have only

rarely succeeded in capturing a very clear picture of the situation, usually because I am enmeshed in one of many battles or controversies. I suspect I am not alone. Understanding comes slowly, especially when it is easier to pursue specific goals relentlessly than it is to listen, reflect, and wait. For a long time I raged at the lack of social justice which permitted the Canadian Government, the churches, and the Hudson's Bay Company to lead a cultural invasion which has resulted in so much pain and loss. My dismay at the situations I encountered in Baffin schools in the early eighties expressed itself loudly. It drove me forward, seemed to give me boundless energy, and helped me to work very hard to create changes within the school system. My passion, aimed at injustices that are suffered mainly by Inuit, involved elements of appropriation and "crusading rhetoric" (Lather, 1992, p. 131). A close examination of the position was required. "There are no social positions exempt from becoming oppressive to others ... any group — any position — can move into the oppressor role" (Minh-ha, 1986/1987, quoted in Ellsworth, 1989, p. 321). No one is exempt from "the sins of imposition" (Lather, 1992, p. 129). We all need to be aware of our contribution to the "general bulldozing of northern native life" (Crowe, 1974/1991, p. 199).

Dealing with and understanding pain and passion, anger, and the strength to act is at the heart of my efforts to work in Nunavut. I am convinced that my own struggles can enable me to become a more effective, critically conscious, feminist educator who chooses ethical practice carefully and intentionally and is connected and centered enough to reach out to others in a non-intrusive, supportive, and courageous way.

The years have gone by and I have very slowly curbed the enthusiasm, frenzy, and rage that drove my first few years of work in the north. I am developing a more icy determination to work hard and quietly on specific

projects, making small changes with other educators and moving slowly towards positive change. In the past I have sometimes worked with an energy and drive that can wear down people who like to work in quieter ways. A lot was accomplished, but at some cost to myself and others. Now I try, not always very successfully, to maintain some humor and gentleness, realizing there is a long way to go; that fatigue and burn-out lead to cynicism and that wearing, burning anger can destroy the love and trust that must characterize our work as educators.

The struggles in Nunavut need to be, are becoming, and soon will be, Inuit driven and owned. We Qallunaat have to learn our place in this new society. Recognizing, defining, and understanding this place in a deeper way is one of the possible outcomes of writing this chapter, this dissertation. It is part of my personal quest to find a more peaceful, yet critically dynamic, way to live and work in Nunavut.

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Appendix A

Statistical Report

Nunavut Boards of Education
STAFF DEVELOPMENT QUESTIONNAIRE
Survey Results

March 1995

The Report

This report contains the results of the Staff Development Questionnaire delivered to Nunavut educators in November 1994. Each question on the survey is presented here including a breakdown by ethnicity for each question. The data is consistently presented for Inuit and Non Aboriginals for two reasons. First, there are highly significant differences (both statistically and in their implications) in the responses for the two groups. Second, because of the need for better representation of Inuit as classroom teachers and in more senior positions, there is a need to know as much as possible about the staff development needs of Inuit educators.

The Respondents

The report refers to all respondents as educators, as the survey was intended to be completed by all Nunavut educators, including those in training, in classroom support positions such as Classroom Assistants, and those in leadership positions such as Principals, Consultants and Directors. However, the questionnaire was designed for teachers, and there were some questions which did not apply to some respondents. This is noticeable in questions such as number 12, which referred to 'the best training or staff development you have taken'. Many of the people who did not respond had no training or staff development experiences to report. The same is true for question 13, which refers to 'your teacher training'. Many respondents, particularly Inuit in classroom support positions, were not expected to answer this question. There is a correspondingly low er response rates on these questions. Response rates on specific questions may also be lower for respondents with low levels of formal education, as the questions were not always easy to understand, especially in one's second language.

POSITION	Number	Respondents	Response Rate
Teachers	370	332	90%
Principals/Assistant Principals	51	51	100%
S.N.A.s	55	50	91%
L/C. S.	76	71	93%
C.A.s	18	16	89%
PST/SST	35	26	74%
Consultants	17	8	47%
Directors	3	2	67%
Supervisors of schools	7	7	100%
School community counsellors	21	16	76%
Other/Missing	6	30	N/A
NTEP			
Instructors	11	6	54%
Students	79	57	72%
TOTAL	749	669	89%

Overall, the survey was very well received, and the response rate, at 89% is very high. The representation of Inuit and Non Aboriginal respondents, at 44% and 56% respectively, is believed to be very close to the total representation. Within the questionnaire the response rate to individual questions varies, and the 'N' is noted so readers know how many people have answered. In open ended questions the response rate varies from 84.5% to 59.9%, which is also high, particularly considering the length of the questionnaire. A very small proportion of the respondents expressed anger at having to fill out the questionnaire but most Nunavut educators did respond in a cooperative spirit, as the response rate shows. Anyone having the opportunity to read the responses on the questionnaires will see commitment to education and concern for students that has not been captured in.this quantitative exercise of tabulating the results.

This report was prepared by Barbara Guy, an independent contractor specializing in research, analysis, and evaluation. A social scientist with training in sociology and economic development, Ms. Guy has extensive research experience in the education field, including more than 5 years with the G.N.W.T. Department of Education.

Q. 1 (i) At present I am working as :

Teachers	332
Principals/Assistant Prin.	51
S.N.A.s	50
L./C. S.	68
C.A.s	16
PST/SST	26
Consultants	8
Directors	2
Supervisors of schools	7
School Community Counsellors	16
Librarians	2
School Counsellor	1
NTEP Instructors	6
NTEP students	57

27 responses are coded as missing .

(These results represent 89% of the people who were eligible to be surveyed. For more information on responses rates by board and positions refer to the data quality report.)

For purposes of analysis these positions are sometimes collapsed as follows:

Classroom teachers: (51% of all positions)

Leadership support: Principals, Assistant Principals, PST/SST's, Directors, Supervisors of Schools, Librarians and School Counsellors. (16% of all positions)

Classroom or student support and educators in training: S.N.A.'s, L./C.S's, School Community Counsellors, C.A.'s and NTEP students. (33% of all positions)

Inuit

Leadership Support 6.0%
Classroom teachers 26.0%
Classroom support 68.0%

Non Aboriginal

Classroom support 5.0%
Leadership Support 24.0%
Classroom teachers 71.0%

Although 44% of all Nunavut educators are Inuit, only 26% of classroom teachers and 16% of senior (leadership support) positions are held by Inuit. Most Inuit are in classroom/ student support and teacher in training positions.

Q. 1 (ii) When I am working I speak:

Inuit

English and Inuktitut 60.3%
English only 5.5%
Inuktitut only 34.1%

Non Aboriginal

English only 92.0%
Inuktitut 3.9%
English and French 4.1%

3.9% of Non Aboriginal people speak Inuktitut and their mother tongue.

Q. 1 (iii) I can speak, read and write in:

Inuit

English and Inuktitut 80.8%
English only 4.1%
Inuktitut only 15.1%

Non Aboriginal

English only 77.7%
Inuktitut 3.3%
English and French 18.9%

Q. 1 (iv) I am:
(N=655)

Total:	male 32%	female 68%
Inuit:	male 18%	female 82%
Non Aboriginal:	male 42%	female 58%

Classroom teachers:	male 37% female 63%
Leadership support:	male 45% female 55%
Classroom support:	male 17% female 83%

NOTE: unless otherwise specified. N=669

1

NOTE TO USERS

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UMI

Q. 1 (i) At present I am working as :

Teachers	332
Principals/Assistant Prin.	51
S.N.A.s	50
L./C. S.	68
C.A.s	16
PST/SST	26
Consultants	8
Directors	2
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Inuit — Leadership Support 6.0%, Classroom teachers 26.0%, Classroom support 68.0%

Non Aboriginal — Classroom support 5.0%, Leadership Support 24.0%, Classroom teachers 71.0%

Although 44% of all Nunavut educators are Inuit, only 26% of classroom teachers and 16% of senior (leadership support) positions are held by Inuit. Most Inuit are in classroom/ student support and teacher in training positions.

Q. 1 (ii) When I am working I speak:

Inuit — English and Inuktitut 60.3%, English only 5.5%, Inuktitut only 34.1%

Non Aboriginal — English only 92.0%, Inuktitut 3.9%, English and French 4.1%

3.9% of Non Aboriginal people speak Inuktitut and their mother tongue.

Q. 1 (iii) I can speak, read and write in:

Inuit — English and Inuktitut 80.8%, English only 4.1%, Inuktitut only 15.1%

Non Aboriginal — English only 77.7%, Inuktitut 3.3%, English and French 18.9%

Q. 1 (iv) I am:

(N=655)

Total:	male 32%	female 68%
Inuit:	male 18%	female 82%
Non Aboriginal:	male 42%	female 58%

Classroom teachers:	male 37%	female 63%
Leadership support:	male 45%	female 55%
Classroom support:	male 17%	female 83%

NOTE: unless otherwise specified. N=669

1

Q.1 (v)   I am aged: (%)

(N=646)

Total

```
349   40.4
            20.2
                  3.9   0.5
20-30 yrs  31-40  41-50  51-60  61+
```

Inuit

```
38.4  42.5
            17.3
                  1.3   .3
20-30 yrs  31-40  41-50  51-60  61+
```

Non Aboriginal

```
32.   38.7
            22.6
                  5.7   0.5
20-30 yrs  31-40  41-50  51-60  61+
```

The average age is 34 for total, 33 for Inuit and 35 for non aboriginals. The average age of classroom teachers in Nunavut is 33, compared to 42 for elementary and secondary teachers in Canada in 1992 (Statistics Canada 81-229).

Q. 1 (vi)   I have worked in N.W.T. education for: (%)

(N=651)

Total

```
43.7
     32.5
          19.5
               4.4
0-3 yrs  4-9  10-20  21+
```

Inuit

```
41.9
     29.6
          24.2
               5.1
0-3 yrs  4-9  10-20  21+
```

Non Aboriginal

```
45.6
     34.7
          15.8
               3.9
0-3 yrs  4-9  10-20  21+
```
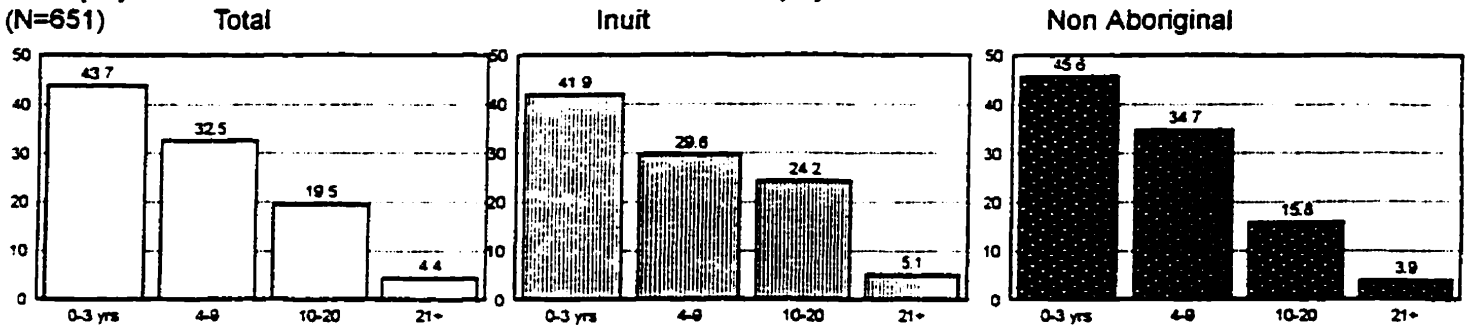
A very significant proportion of Nunavut educators (more than 40%) have less than 4 years experience in N.W.T. education.

Q. 1 (vii)   I have worked in education for a total of:

(N=650)

Total

```
38.9
     28
          14.8  11.5
                     6.4  3  1.5
0-4 yrs  5-9  10-14  15-19  20-24  25-29  30+
```

Inuit

```
45.4
     24.3
          13.6  11.1  5.7  0  0
0-4 yrs  5-9  10-14  15-19  20-24  25-29  30+
```

Non Aboriginal

```
30.5  27.1
          15.6  11.8  7.1  5.1  2.5
0-4 yrs  5-9  10-14  15-19  20-24  25-29  30+
```
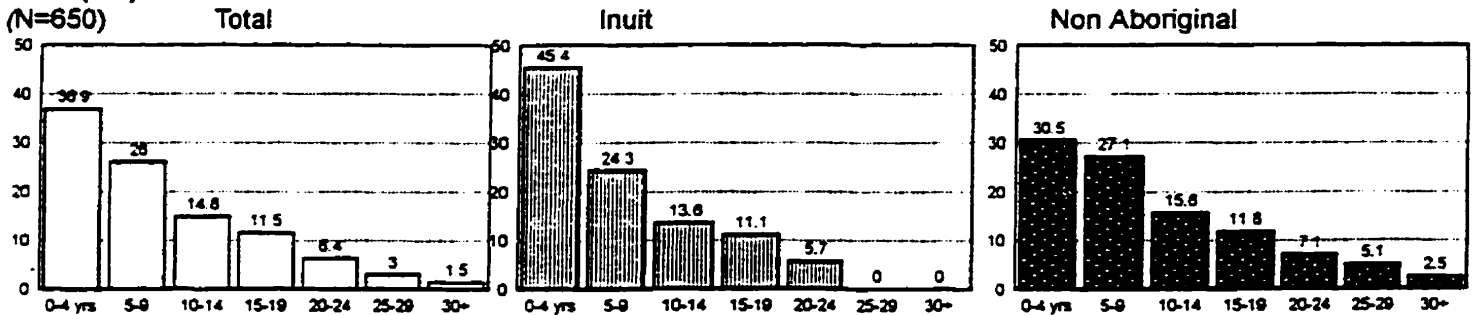
In addition to being slightly younger (on average) than their non aboriginal co workers, Inuit have fewer years experience in education. 54.6% of Inuit have worked in education for 5 or more years, compared to 69.5% for Non Aboriginals.

Q. 1 (viii)   My community size is:

3% of respondents lived in communities of 200 or less, 8% lives in communities of 201 to 400 people, 20% in communities of 401-700 people, 51% in communities of 701-2000 people and 18% in Iqaluit, the only community with 2000 or more people.

Q. 1 (ix)   I am:

44% of the respondents were Inuit and 56% were Non Aboriginal. 1 respondent is Metis and two are Dene.

Q. 2 *I have completed (or will complete this year):*
(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit , N=363 for Non Aboriginal unless otherwise stated)

NOTE: The part of question 2 concerning highest grade level completed was not completed by the majority of respondents (65%). Most people chose only to report their teaching qualifications or their highest level of schooling. Caution must be used in interpreting these results.

For all respondents:

Learning on the Land   6%
Elementary School 2%   Grade 7-9   14%   Grade 10 or 11   5%   Grade 12   14%   Missing 65%

Some NTEP courses	13%
N.W.T. Teaching Certificate	30%
B.Ed.	50%

Other degrees or qualifications:

M.Ed.	4%
M.A.	4%
working on Masters	1%
Ph.D.	.4%

For Inuit:

Learning on the Land   12%
Elementary School 5%   Grade 7-9   31%   Grade 10 or 11   10%   Grade 12   8%   Missing 46%

Some NTEP courses	27%
N.W.T. Teaching Certificate	36%
B.Ed.	13%

Other degrees or qualifications:

other	9%

For Non Aboriginals:

Learning on the Land   1%
Grade 12   19%   Missing 81%

Some NTEP courses	1%
N.W.T. Teaching Certificate	25%
B.Ed.	79%

Other degrees or qualifications:

M.Ed.	6%
M.A.	7%
working on Masters	2%
Ph.D.	1%

Most non aboriginals chose only to report their B.Ed. and higher qualifications. Most did not check that they have a N.W.T. teaching certificate although all teachers do.

Inuit educators have less formal education and training than their Non Aboriginal co-workers. This survey demonstrates the interest of the Inuit educators in acquiring more teaching skills to apply in their work and in receiving qualifications for credit. A belief in lifelong learning (for themselves) and a need for more training to meet the daily professional challenges they face in the classroom are also expressed (Question 11). Most Inuit (71%) agree that academic upgrading should be part of any training plan offered, (Question 11) and 63% express an interest in a university certificate and 50% express an interest in an M.Ed. (Question 18). Most respondents were looking into the future when they said they are interested in starting an M.Ed., and were able to identify both immediate training and development needs and long term interests, through the survey.

3

Q. 3 Career aspirations

Multiple responses mean that the total number of responses can exceed the number of respondents. The positions Language/Cultural Specialist, Special Needs Assistant and Librarian were not on the list and respondents rarely wrote them in.

Total (N=668)
In the future I would be interested in working as a:

50%	Elementary Teacher	12%	NTEP Instructor
25%	High School Teacher	11%	School Counsellor
20%	Program Support Teacher/S.S.T	7%	School Community Counsellor
16%	Principal	7%	Supervisor of Schools
15%	Board Level Consultant	4%	Director
14%	Assistant Principal		

Inuit (N=292)
In the future I would be interested in working as a:

63%	Elementary Teacher	8%	Principal
18%	Program Support Teacher/S.S.T	8%	Assistant Principal
10%	High School Teacher	6%	Board Level Consultant
10%	School Community Counsellor	3%	Supervisor of Schools
10%	School Counsellor	3%	Director
9%	NTEP Instructor		

Non Aboriginal (N=363)
In the future I would be interested in working as a:

40%	Elementary Teacher	14%	NTEP Instructor
37%	High School Teacher	12%	School Counsellor
23%	Principal	9%	Supervisor of Schools
21%	Program Support Teacher/S.S.T	5%	Director
21%	Board Level Consultant	4%	School Community Counsellor
19%	Assistant Principal		

Inuit in Senior positions (N=16)
In the future I would be interested in working as a:

37%	Principal	19%	Assistant Principal
31%	Program Support Teacher/S.S.T	13%	NTEP Instructor
25%	Director	6%	High School Teacher
25%	Supervisor of Schools	6%	School Community Coun-
25%	Elementary Teacher	0%	School Counsellor
9%	Board Level Consultant		

Inuit classroom teachers (N=71)
In the future I would be interested in working as a:

54%	Elementary Teacher	8%	Principal
23%	Program Support Teacher/S.S.T	8%	School Counsellor
11%	Assistant Principal	8%	School Community Counsellor
11%	Board Level Consultant	7%	Supervisor of Schools
10%	NTEP Instructor	3%	Director
10%	High School Teacher		

Inuit in classroom and student support positions and teachers in training (N=187)
In the future I would be interested in working as a:

70%	Elementary Teacher	5%	Principal
15%	Program Support Teacher/S.S.T	5%	Assistant Principal
12%	High School Teacher	3%	Board Level Consultant
12%	School Community Counsellor	2%	Director
12%	School Counsellor	0%	Supervisor of Schools
9%	NTEP Instructor		

NTEP students (N=67)
In the future I would be interested in working as a:

86%	Elementary Teacher	12%	Assistant Principal
23%	School Community Counsellor	9%	Principal
23%	High School Teacher	4%	Director
21%	Program Support Teacher/S.S.T	2%	Board Level Consultant
21%	School Counsellor	0%	Supervisor of Schools
19%	NTEP Instructor		

NOTE: NTEP students are also included in the classroom and student support positions and teachers in training category.

Nunavut Boards of Education Positions by Ethnicity

☐Classroom support ■Teachers ☐Leadership
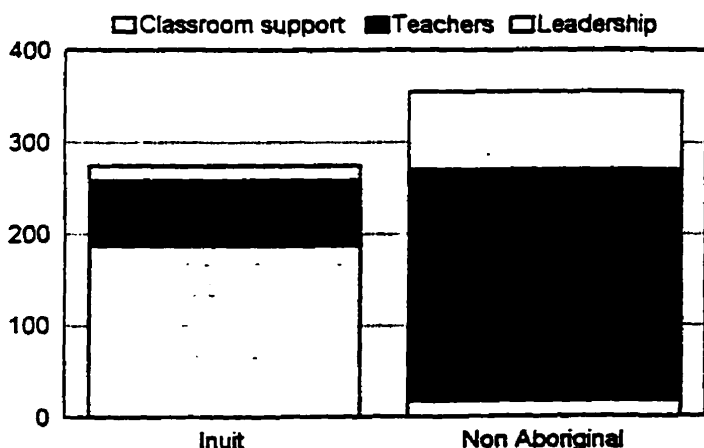
This chart shows the huge potential that remains within the Nunavut education system for Inuit to advance in the teaching and leadership support categories as these positions become available through turnover.

Many Inuit in classroom support positions (shown in the first bar in light grey) are interested in working as teachers, or in leadership positions.

Q. 4 *At the school level I would prefer:*

N=669 for total) (N=292 for Inuit) (N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

All respondents
□Total ⊐Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

Classroom teachers only
□Total ⊐Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

All respondents:

Category	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
Team teaching with another professional	47	52	42
Support from other teachers	40	44	38
Support from Board Level Consultants	30	21	37
P.S.T./S.S.T. Support	19	20	18
To be left alone to plan and teach	19	9	27
Principal support in my classroom	18	18	17
Daily support with my program	17	18	16
Support from Board level administrators	17	14	20
Weekly support with my program	16	21	13
The modelling of approaches in my class	10	10	11

Classroom teachers only:

Category	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
Team teaching with another professional	47	46	44
Support from other teachers	42	39	42
Support from Board Level Consultants	32	25	34
P.S.T./S.S.T. Support	21	21	21
To be left alone to plan and teach	29	11	34
Principal support in my classroom	18	20	17
Daily support with my program	19	15	19
Support from Board level administrators	13	12	14
Weekly support with my program	14	20	13
The modelling of approaches in my class	12	14	11

In addition to the closed ended response categories listed above 252 respondents had additional comments about how they would like to be supported in their work. The most common responses were 'sharing with colleagues' 15% (total) 13% for Inuit and 17% for Non Aboriginal. Call for additional materials and resources was the next request, made by 13% of respondents, 10% of Inuit respondents and 15% of Non Aboriginal respondents.

The strong statement being made about wishing to be supported by one's peers is demonstrated when the cumulative effect is measured. 64% of respondents wanted to be supported by team teaching or support from other teachers (70% of Inuit and 60% for Non Aboriginals).

The difference, whether in needs or in working styles, between the two ethnic groups is demonstrated in the responses to 'to be left alone to plan and teach'. Very few Inuit educators (9%) want to be left alone to plan and teach, although the percentage did increase with teaching experience. Only 5% of Inuit with less than 5 years experience wanted to be left alone to plan and teach, compared to 10% of those with 5 to 14 years experience and 19% of those with more than 15 years experience. For Non Aboriginal educators, 27% want to be left alone to plan and teach, and the percentage does not vary significantly by the number of years teaching experience. **5**

Q. 5 *I would like to take courses or workshops:*

(N=669 for total. N=292 for Inuit. and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order or response. Multiple response question.

☐Total ☐Inuit ▓Non Aboriginal

In the communities — 49, 56, 43

With colleagues pursuing the same training — 39, 34, 44

During the school year — 36, 22, 48

With other staff members — 34, 35, 34

At a southern university — 29, 13, 42

By distance education — 27, 7, 42

On a campus of Arctic College — 24, 26, 20

In the summer — 21, 13, 26

In small groups — 20, 15, 23

At summer school in a central location — 14, 10, 16

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

A variety of ways of delivering courses or workshops would be required to satisfy all staff members. as indicated by the diversity of responses to this question.

49% of respondents want courses in the communities and the percentage is high for both Inuit and Non Aboriginals. In Question 11 66% of Nunavut educators agreed that courses should be offered at the community level. (a further 26% had no opinion and only 8% disagreed).

The Nunavut Boards of Education have a strong commitment to the development of Inuit educators. who are needed in the classroom and at all levels of the education system to teach. reflect and explore the Inuit culture. values and language. In this question about how staff would like to take courses or workshops. many Inuit have expressed a clear desire to have access to staff development opportunities in their communities or on a campus of Arctic College and also show a preference for pursuing these experiences with colleagues. 52% of Inuit would like to take courses either with other staff members or with other staff members pursuing the same training. This interest. along with being supported by sharing their classroom experiences with colleagues. is prevalent throughout the questionnaire and is expressed strongly by both Inuit and Non Aboriginal educators.

Distance education and courses at Southern universities are popular choices with Non Aboriginals.

Q. 6 I would like to take my training/courses:

(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit. and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

☐Total ☐Inuit ☐Non Aboriginal

While on education leave	39 / 33 / 44
In two/four day workshops	30 / 18 / 44
At summer school for 2/4 weeks	28 / 24 / 30
In two week modules	24 / 34 / 21
By distance education with colleagues	19 / 14 / 27
By distance education on my own	19 / 5 / 30
At evening sessions in my community	16 / 14 / 18
In one week modules	16 / 10 / 26

0   10   20   30   40   50
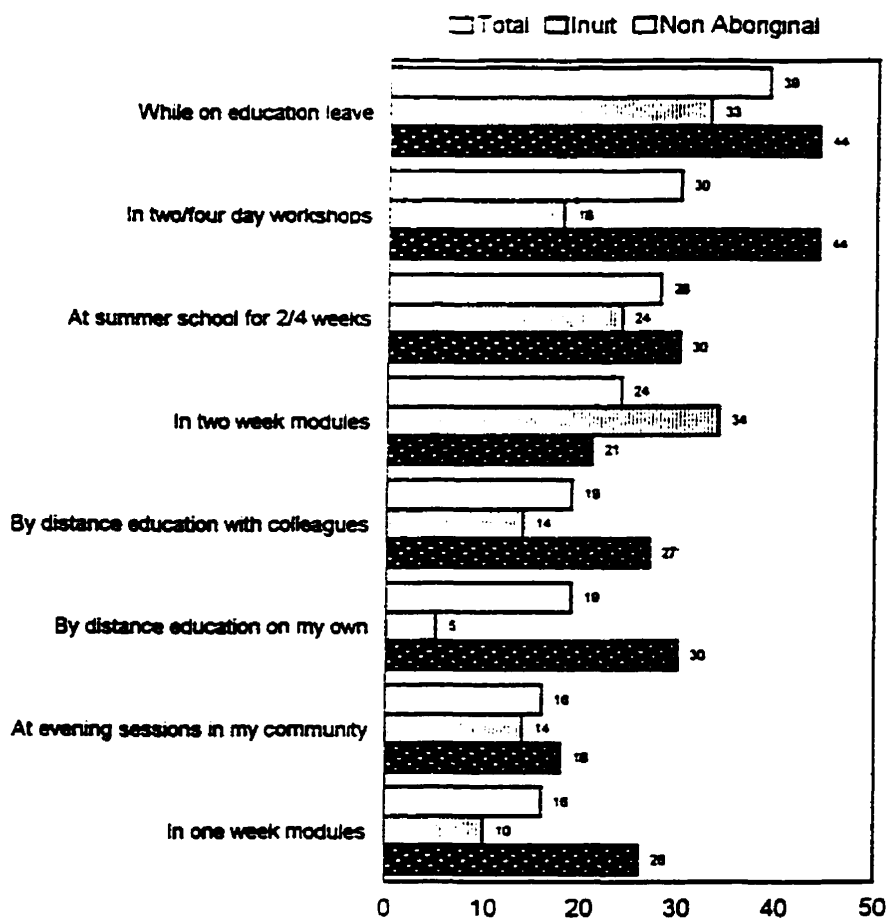
Again. respondents have indicated that a variety of ways of delivering courses is required to satisfy all educators. Education leave is a popular choice, followed by 2-4 day workshops and summer school courses.

There are significant differences between how Inuit and Non Aboriginal educators would like to take training. Differences were greatest in the responses to 2-4 day workshops and distance education (which Non Aboriginal educators are far more interested in than Inuit). Responses to distance education options are consistently low for Inuit, in questions 5, 6 and 7. However, in question 11 a much higher number indicated they would be **willing** to take distance education, although many agreed they would find it hard (question 17).

Inuit would like to take training/courses in two week modules, while on education leave, or at summer school for 2-4 weeks. Results suggest that the timing of summer courses would be important as 'in the summer' is ranked quite low in question 5, summer school for 2-4 weeks is quite high in question 6, and most educators were willing to take courses in the summer as indicated by question 11.

Q. 7 I would be interested in taking:
(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit, and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

☐Total ☐Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

Workshops at the school level	35 / 24 / 44
A graduate degree in the South	32 / 13 / 46
Workshops in other schools	29 / 25 / 31
Courses by distance education	25 / 8 / 39
Courses at NTEP	24 / 44 / 9
A degree on a part time basis	18 / 20 / 16

0   10   20   30   40   50

Inuit show an interest in taking courses (or taking more courses) through NTEP.

Distance education was again a far more popular choice for Non Aboriginals, as was a graduate degree in the South. Although few Inuit said they would be interested in taking a graduate degree in the South, there was a lot of interest expressed in starting a Masters in Education by distance education (question 18).

All Nunavut educators are interested in workshops at the school level either in their own schools or other schools. An interest in workshops at the school level reflects the interest in sharing with colleagues and taking courses with colleagues.

7

Q. 8   I would like to take my courses in:

(N=669 for total. N=292 for Inuit. and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.
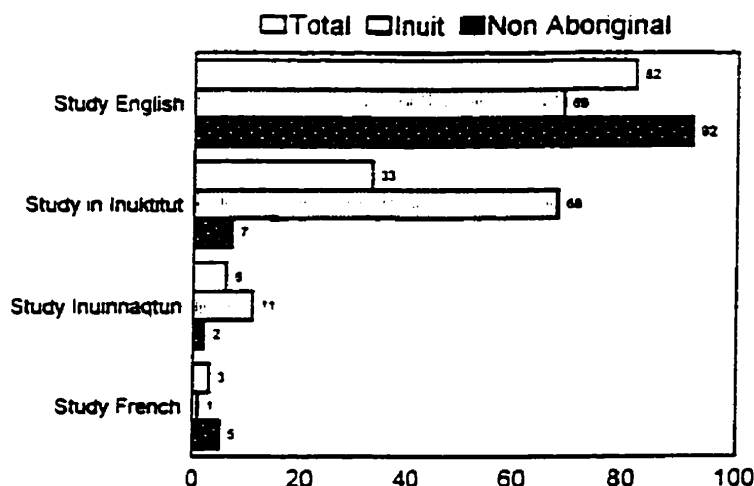
Most Inuit indicated on the questionnaire that they are bilingual in Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun and English. Inuktitut speakers have indicated a willingness to study either in Inuktitut or English.

Question 17 also asked respondents about the language they would prefer to have courses delivered in. Inuit generally agreed that they would prefer if courses were delivered in their own language. but it is Non Aboriginal people who are most interested in having courses delivered in their own language, as they are less likely than Inuit to be bilingual.

Q. 9   I am willing:

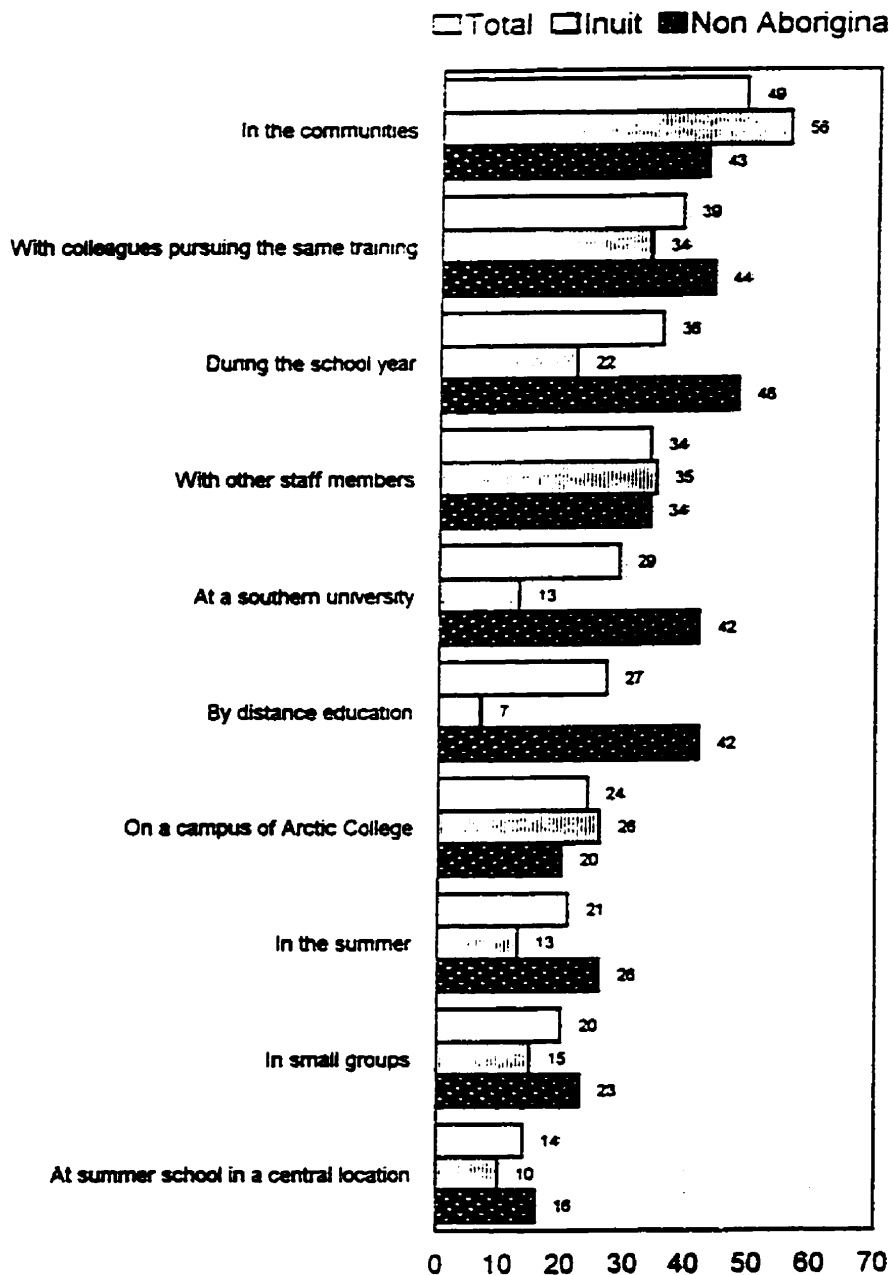Many people chose not to respond to the statements in this question. The column showing the 'N' value (#) indicates the number of respondents who answered yes or no. The remainder did not respond to the statement. The potential number of respondents was 669 for total. 292 for Inuit and 363 for Non Aboriginal.

	Total			Inuit			Non Aboriginal		
I am willing:	Yes (%)	No	#	Yes (%)	No	#	Yes (%)	No	#
to complete training on my own time in the evenings or during the summer.	71	29	543	59	41	232	80	20	300
to use professional improvement funds for courses I choose to take.	86	14	548	73	27	222	95	5	317
to pay for the education I choose to take.	69	31	507	46	54	206	86	14	291
to pay for courses I am asked to take by the Board.	30	70	470	50	50	207	15	85	265
to use professional improvement funding to take training suggested by Board.	85	15	543	90	10	229	82	18	314

There were two questions on the survey which indicated significant differences between Inuit and Non Aboriginal people towards control of their own careers, and having the skills and knowledge to plan their own careers. In question 9 , 50% of Inuit who responded to the question (and 104 of the 292 total respondents, or 36% of all Inuit) said they were willing to pay for courses I am asked to take by the Board", compared to 15% of Non Aboriginal people who responded to the question (or 40 of the total Non Aboriginal respondents, or 11% of all non aboriginals). The other question that indicated passivity among Inuit, towards their own careers, was the agree/disagree scale statement in question 11 'It is my responsibility to organize my own training. 37% of Inuit disagreed with this statement and a further 30% did not respond or had no opinion.

The implications of this finding is the need for a career development model that recognizes this lack of information and power to make choices.

Q.10   Who should coordinate the training that is provided to educators in Nunavut?

(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit, N=363 for Non Aboriginal) Multiple response question.

	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
	Yes (%)	Yes (%)	Yes (%)
Boards	43	35	49
NTEP/Arctic College	32	41	24
Department of Education	42	34	48

Other: 32 people said that teachers should be involved, 7 people wrote in that the N.W.T.T.A. should be involved, and8 5 people wrote in elders. The remaining 34 people said that all of the 3 organizations listed needed to be involved.

Q.11 Please circle your position on these statements: 1 = I don't agree. 5 = I really agree.

The mean (average) for each statement is reported. It indicates, *generally*, whether people agreed or disagreed with the statement. The N value indicates the number of people who responded to each question, for Inuit and Non Aboriginal. It is important to use both the chart and the table below in interpreting results for this question.

I have sufficient training to meet my daily professional challenges.
(Inuit N=261 Non Aboriginal N=345)

When I take a course I would like to get credit towards a degree.
(Inuit N=275 Non Aboriginal N=341)

Teachers are too busy to take courses.
(Inuit N=272 Non Aboriginal N=342)

Educators need to be involved in a continuous process of learning.
(Inuit N=274 Non Aboriginal N=348)

Courses at the Masters level could be offered in Nunavut.
(Inuit N=269 Non Aboriginal N=345)

Courses should be offered at the community level.
(Inuit N=269 Non Aboriginal N=343)

Inuit culture and traditions should be central in any training plan.
(Inuit N=266 Non Aboriginal N=347)

Northern educators should deliver courses whenever possible.
(Inuit N=267 Non Aboriginal N=345)

I would take courses by distance education during the school year.
(Inuit N=267 Non Aboriginal N=348)

I would take courses in the summer if they helped me in my work.
(Inuit N=270 Non Aboriginal N=344)

Taking training beyond the B.Ed. is a waste of time.
(Inuit N=264 Non Aboriginal N=347)

Academic upgrading should be part of any training offered.
(Inuit N=270 Non Aboriginal N=345)

It is my responsibility to organize my own training plan.
(Inuit N=272 Non Aboriginal N=343)
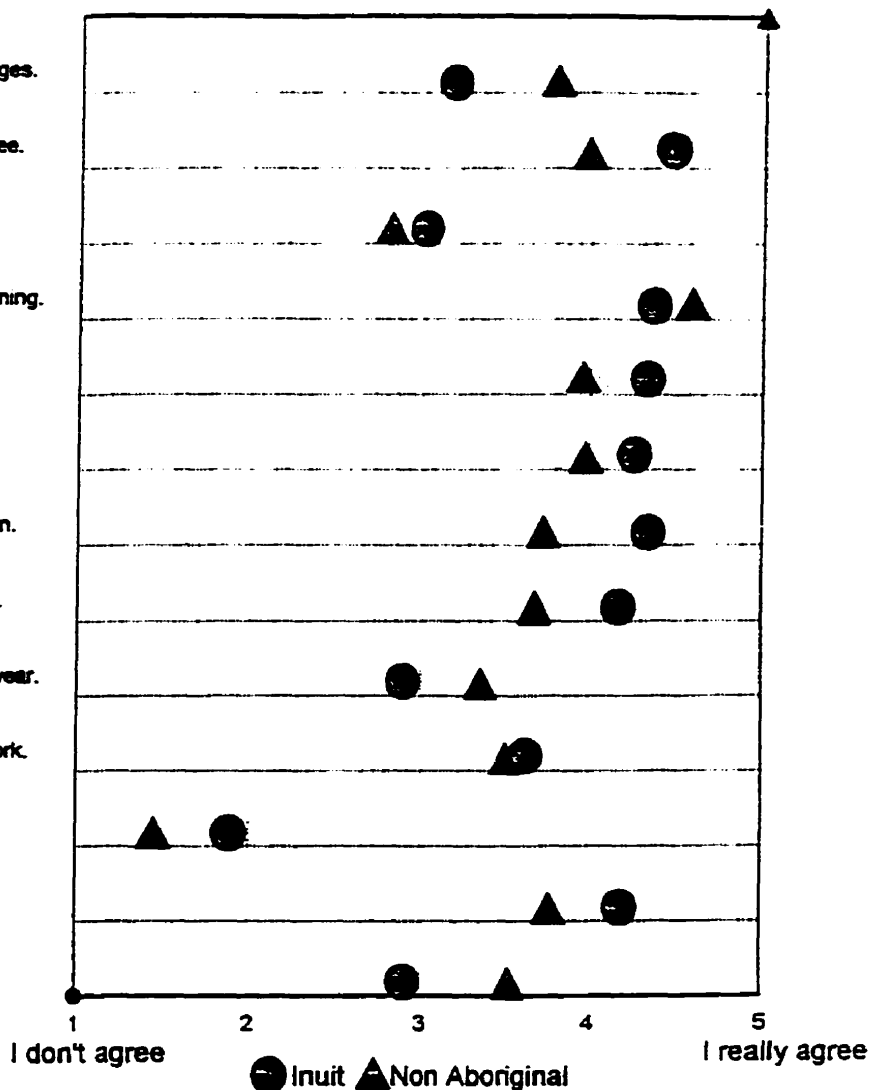
1   2   3   4   5
I don't agree   I really agree

● Inuit ▲ Non Aboriginal

	Total			Inuit			Non Aboriginal		
	Disagree	Agree (%)	No Opinion	Disagree	Agree (%)	No Opinion	Disagree	Agree (%)	No Opinion
I have sufficient training to meet my daily professional challenges.	13	55	32	22	37	41	6	69	25
When I take a course I would like to get credit towards a degree.	8	74	18	6	82	12	10	67	23
Teachers are too busy to take courses.	34	31	35	33	37	30	36	25	39
Educators need to be involved in a continuous process of learning.	3	85	12	6	80	14	1	89	10
Courses at the Masters level could be offered in Nunavut.	10	72	18	5	78	17	14	66	20
Courses should be offered at the community level.	8	66	26	8	69	23	7	65	28
Inuit culture and traditions should be central in any training plan.	8	68	24	6	76	18	10	62	28
Northern educators should deliver courses whenever possible.	9	62	29	7	71	23	11	56	33
I would take courses by distance education during the school year.	30	41	29	36	30	34	24	50	26
I would take courses in the summer if they helped me in my work.	20	56	24	22	56	22	19	57	24
Taking training beyond the B.Ed. is a waste of time.	77	8	15	65	12	23	86	5	9
Academic upgrading should be part of any training offered.	11	65	24	9	71	19	12	59	29
It is my responsibility to organize my own training plan.	24	42	34	37	33	30	13	49	38

9

Q. 12 *Please tell us about the best training or staff development experience you have taken? Why was it so positive?*

(N=669 for total. N=292 for Inuit. and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
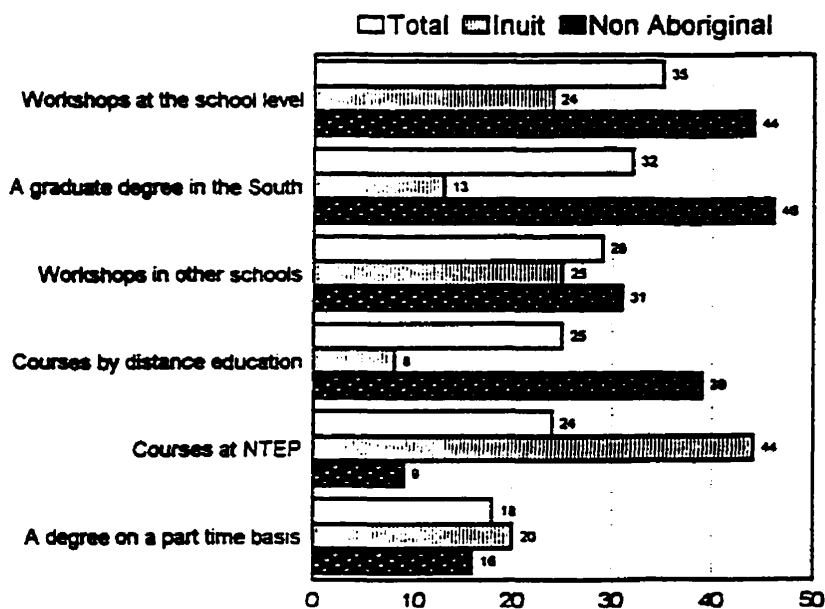Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

'BEST'

☐Total ☐Inuit ▓Non Aboriginal

'WHY'

☐Total ☐Inuit ▓Non Aboriginal
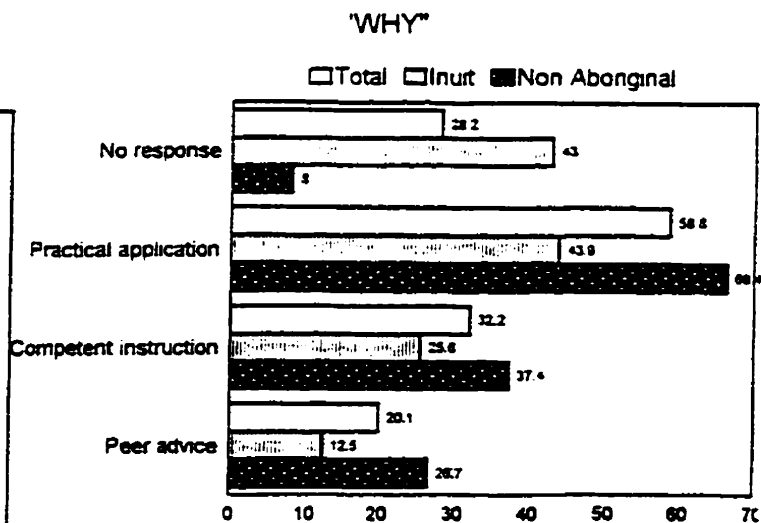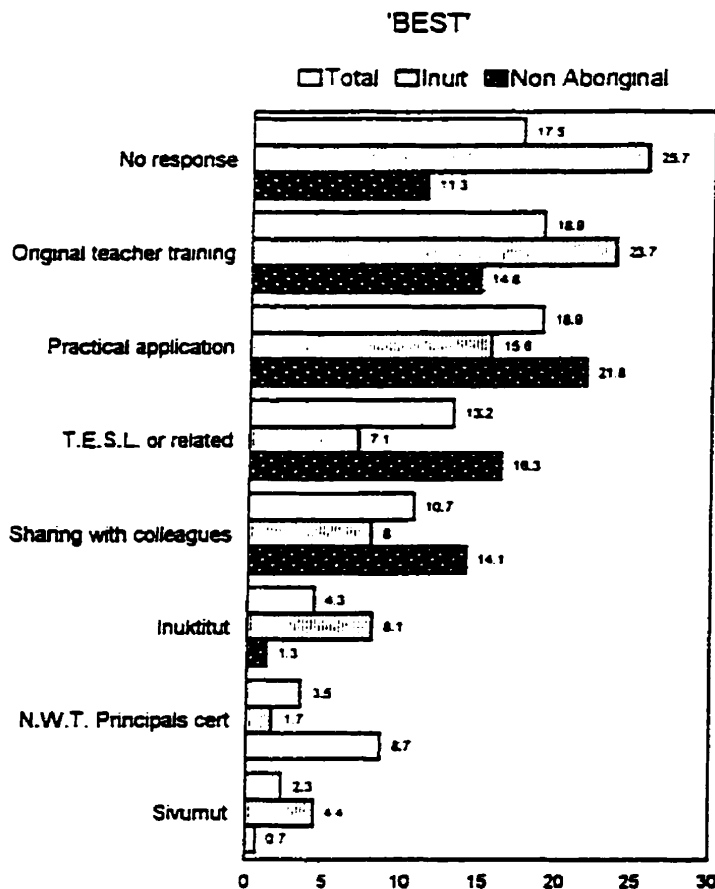
Acquiring and improving practical teaching skills were stressed by both Inuit and Non Aboriginal educators in response to questions about staff development. The importance of sharing with colleagues and peer advice are demonstrated once again in responses to this question.

Q.13 *What were some of the most helpful things you learned during your teacher training?*

(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit, and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

☐Total ☐Inuit ▓Non Aboriginal
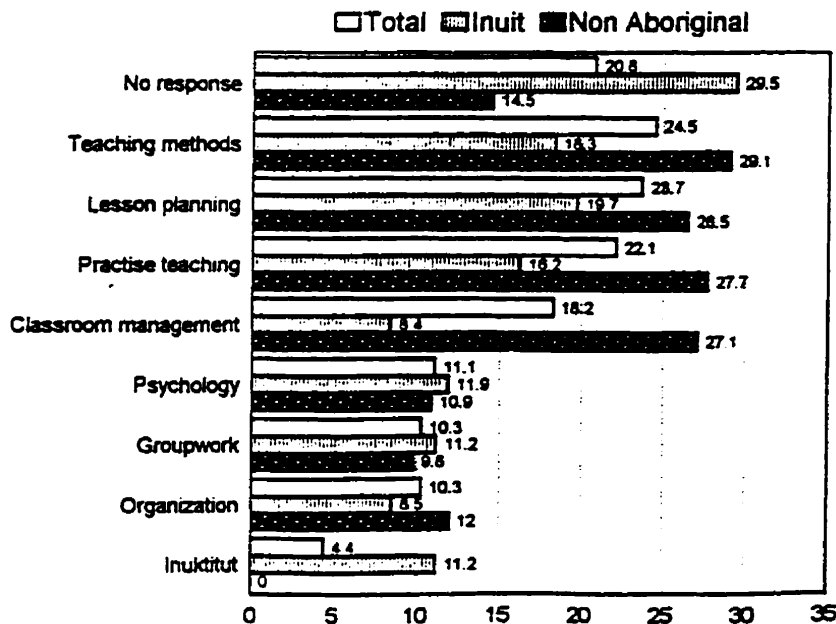
This is the first of several times where the need for classroom management skills is expressed, especially by Non Aboriginal educators.

Questions 12, 13 and 14 were not applicable to all respondents and had a correspondingly lower rate of response.

10

Q. 14 *Please share some of the things you felt were missing from your teacher training?*

(N=669 for total. N=292 for Inuit. and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

□Total □Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
No response	32.2	20.4	48
Realism	23	12.5	31.3
Practicum	16.9		27.5
Classroom management	15.5		24.9
Inuktitut/Inuit culture	11.5	19.4	2.4
Additional methods	6.6		10.2
Assessment	9.5		11.2
Planning	7.9		9.3
Materials and resources	6.2	9.4	
Multi level instruction	6.2		7.4
E.S.L	6		7.1

Insufficient practical experience. 'realism' (which indicated that teachers felt insufficiently prepared to deal with the real classroom environment. including the social problems that many students are experiencing) and classroom management are the three most common things that Nunavut educators thought were missing from their teacher training. It is interesting to note that Inuit educators share these concerns with Non Aboriginal educators, as they are amongst the most common responses for each group, but fewer Inuit have expressed the lack of preparation for the 'real' classroom.

This is the first of many instances in the open ended questions where both Inuit and Non Aboriginals express the need for more knowledge, use and understanding of Inuktitut and Inuit culture. Agreement on this need is also found in question 11, where 76% of Inuit and 62% of Non Aboriginals agreed that Inuit culture and traditions should be central in any training plan.

Q.15 *What do you feel are the most urgent training needs of classroom teachers in Nunavut?*

(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit, and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

□Total ▦Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
No response	15.6	25	7.8
Inuktitut/Inuit culture	42.2	58.5	36.6
Classroom management	21.9	15	28.3
In depth training	20.2	10.5	28.3
Academics (basic education)	14.3	5.1	20.5
Counselling skills	11.8	9	14.5
Multi level instruction	7.6	1.5	11.8
Materials development	7.2	8.2	7.9

Several themes in responses are now becoming evident: The need for more knowledge, use and understanding of Inuktitut and the Inuit culture was expressed more than any other 'urgent training needs of classroom teachers in Nunavut. The majority (58.5%) of Inuit educators see Inuktitut and Inuit culture as the most urgent training needs, and so do 36.6% of Non Aboriginal educators. Classroom management occurs as a statement of need again, along with counselling skills. There is also a concern, expressed again in question 21, about the need for more in depth teacher training, and a need for basic education (expressed more commonly by the Non Aboriginal educators). For Inuit educators, no issue mentioned in this survey surpasses the need they have expressed for more knowledge and understanding of their own culture and language. It is worth noting that this question (15 out of 21 in a long questionnaire) has a very high response rate of 85%, the highest response rate for all the open ended questions.

Q. 16 results are found on Page 13.

Q.17 Please circle your position on these statements: 1 =I don't agree. 5 = I really agree.

The mean (average) for each statement is reported. It indicates, *generally*, whether people agreed or disagreed with the statement. The N value indicates the number of people who responded to each question, for Inuit and Non Aboriginal. It is important to use both the chart and the table below in interpreting results for this question.

● Inuit ▲ Non Aboriginal

Chart statements (left labels):

It would be difficult for me to organize my own training plan.
(Inuit N=274 Non Aboriginal N=343)

It would be hard to leave my community to take training.
(Inuit N=274 Non Aboriginal N=344)

My family responsibilities leave little time for study.
(Inuit N=275 Non Aboriginal N=344)

I would be hard for me to organize a year of study in the south.
(Inuit N=272 Non Aboriginal N=341)

Training in the south might not meet the needs of Northerners.
(Inuit N=265 Non Aboriginal N=345)

My academic skills might prevent me from doing well on courses.
(Inuit N=271 Non Aboriginal N=340)

I would prefer if courses were delivered in my own language.
(Inuit N=275 Non Aboriginal N=336)

I often find it hard to speak out in groups.
(Inuit N=268 NonAboriginal N=341)

I would find it hard to take a distance education course.
(Inuit N=273 NonAboriginal N=339)

It is not really important to be involved in taking courses.
(Inuit N=273 NonAboriginal N=341)

Chart x-axis: 1   2   3   4   5

I don't agree   I really agree

	Total			Inuit			Non Aboriginal		
	Disagree	Agree (%)	No Opinion	Disagree	Agree (%)	No Opinion	Disagree	Agree (%)	No Opinion
It would be difficult for me to organize my own training plan.	44	26	30	27	43	30	59	12	29
It would be hard to leave my community to take training.	46	29	25	41	32	27	50	27	23
My family responsibilities leave little time for study.	41	29	30	34	38	28	46	22	32
It would be hard for me to organize a year of study in the South.	46	32	22	27	46	27	62	20	18
Training in the South might not meet the needs of Northerners.	32	35	33	31	39	30	33	32	35
My academic skills might prevent me from doing well on courses.	63	18	19	36	32	32	85	6	9
I would prefer if courses were delivered in my own language.	13	65	21	18	52	30	9	76	15
I often find it hard to speak out in groups.	50	23	27	35	36	29	62	12	26
I would find it hard to take a distance education course.	41	28	31	29	39	32	52	19	29
It is not really important to be involved in taking courses.	78	7	15	76	12	12	79	4	17

This question addressed barriers to further education and training. It shows (from the disagreement to the last question) that almost everyone agrees that it is important to be involved in taking courses. It is interesting to note that the only statement where the majority 'agreed' there was a barrier, concerns language, where 52% of Inuit and 76% of Non Aboriginals expressed a preference (which in many cases is a need) to have courses delivered in their own language.

Non Aboriginals feel fewer barriers to continuing their education than Inuit educators. However, the number of Inuit who agreed with the statements (which expressed a barrier) ranges from 32 to 52%, which is not high enough to suggest that their plans are overly clouded with self doubt and the perception of multiple barriers preventing them from continuing their education. Each statement and its results individually suggest that a significant proportion of Inuit perceive barriers to continuing their education. Taken together the questions certainly demonstrate that there are barriers. But there is not a lack of optimism, or barriers perceived to be so serious that they prevent opportunity, demonstrated in this question.

Q.16 What are your specific training needs at this point in your career?

(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit, and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response.
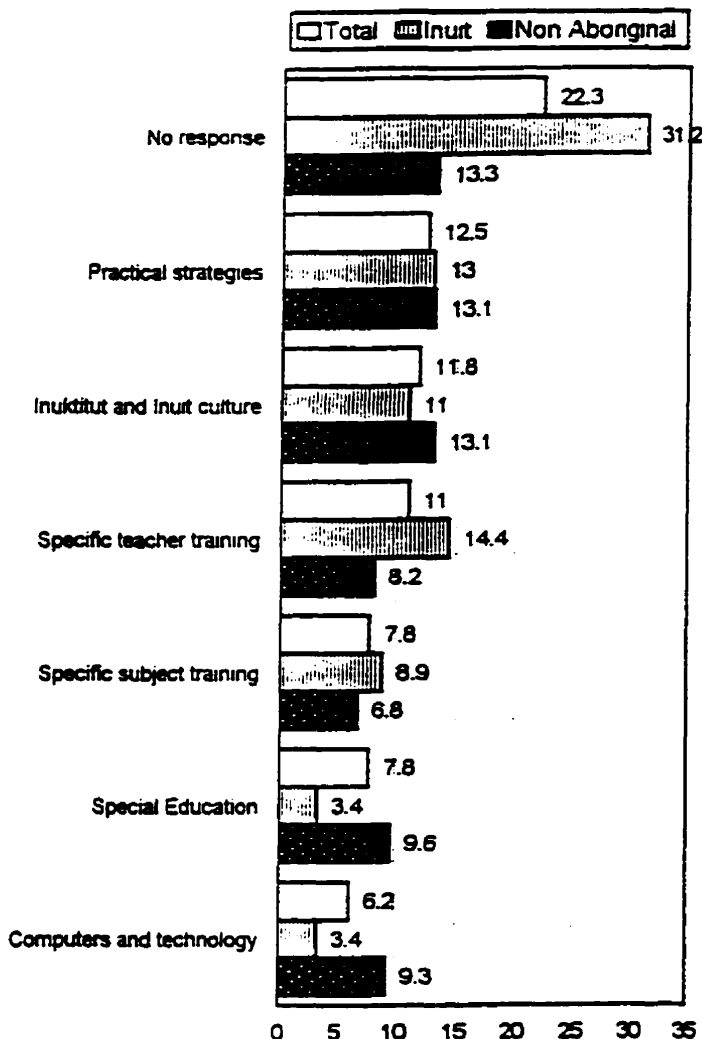
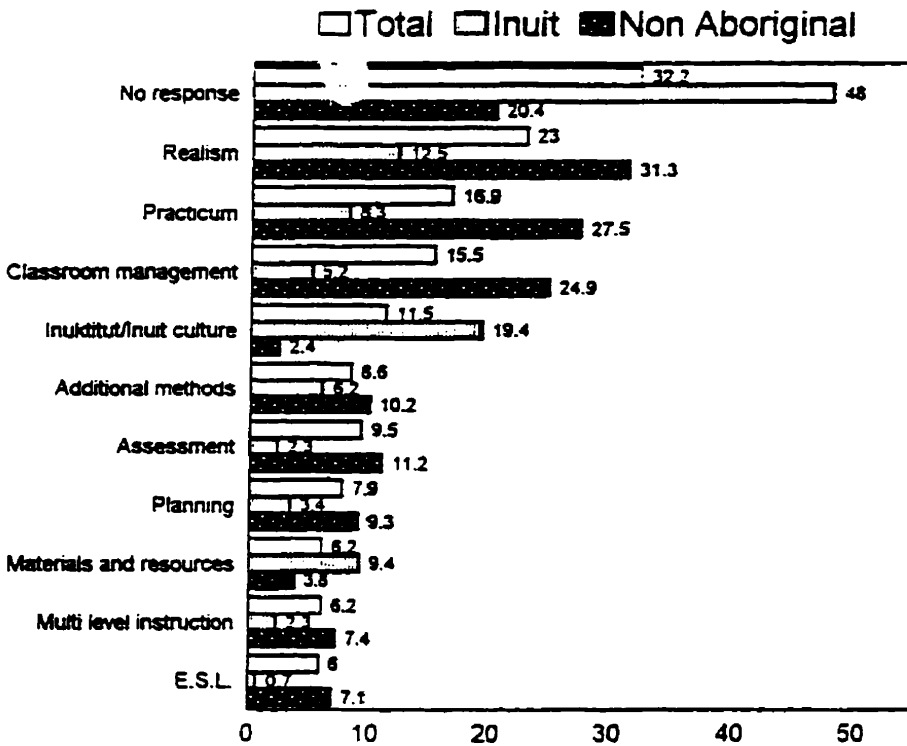There was only one response (for each respondent) coded to this question because the respondent was asked for their 'specific' training needs, and was allowed to check any number of interests from the checklist on the last page.

The results show an interest in gaining practical skills that are needed in the classroom; in fact 12.5% of respondents did not state a subject or type of training but responded that they need practical strategies to address day to day needs in the classroom.

Q. 18 I would be interested in:

Completing my B.Ed.

Total	29%
Inuit:	60%
Non Aboriginal	6%

Most Inuit who do not have a B.Ed. are interested in completing their B.Ed.
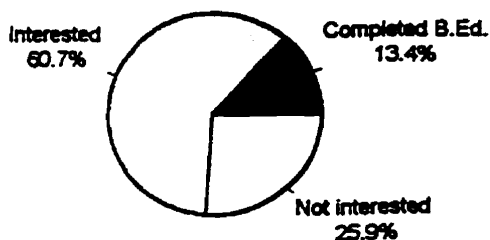
If Inuit educators are to access the more senior positions in the Nunavut education system, many of them will require further education and training as demonstrated by Question 2 on qualifications. Question 3, on career aspirations, showed that many Inuit are interested in positions more senior than those they currently hold. This question indicates that the interest in pursuing further education exists.

13

Q. 18 I would be interested in starting a university certificate by distance education in:

(N=669 for total. N=292 for Inuit. and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
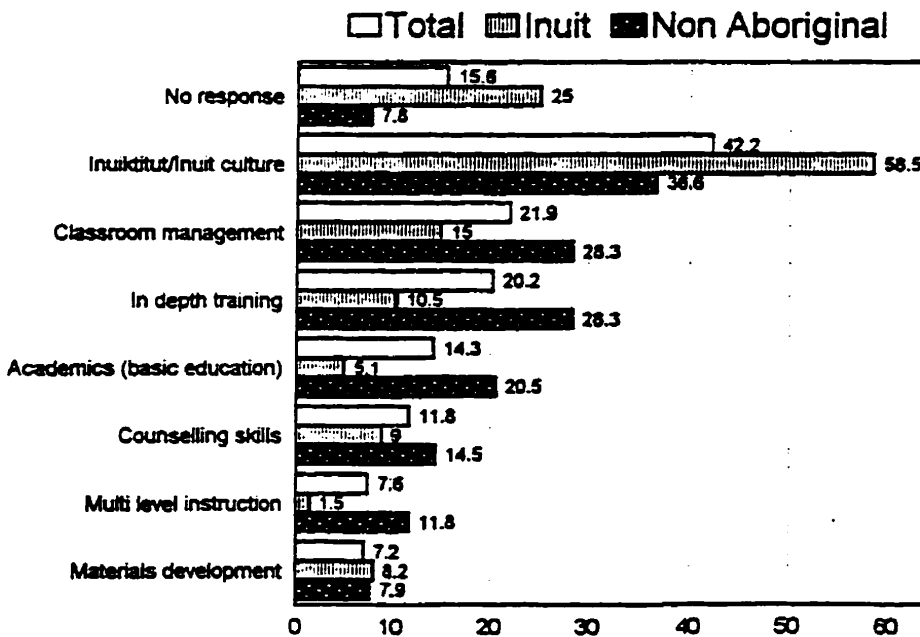Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.
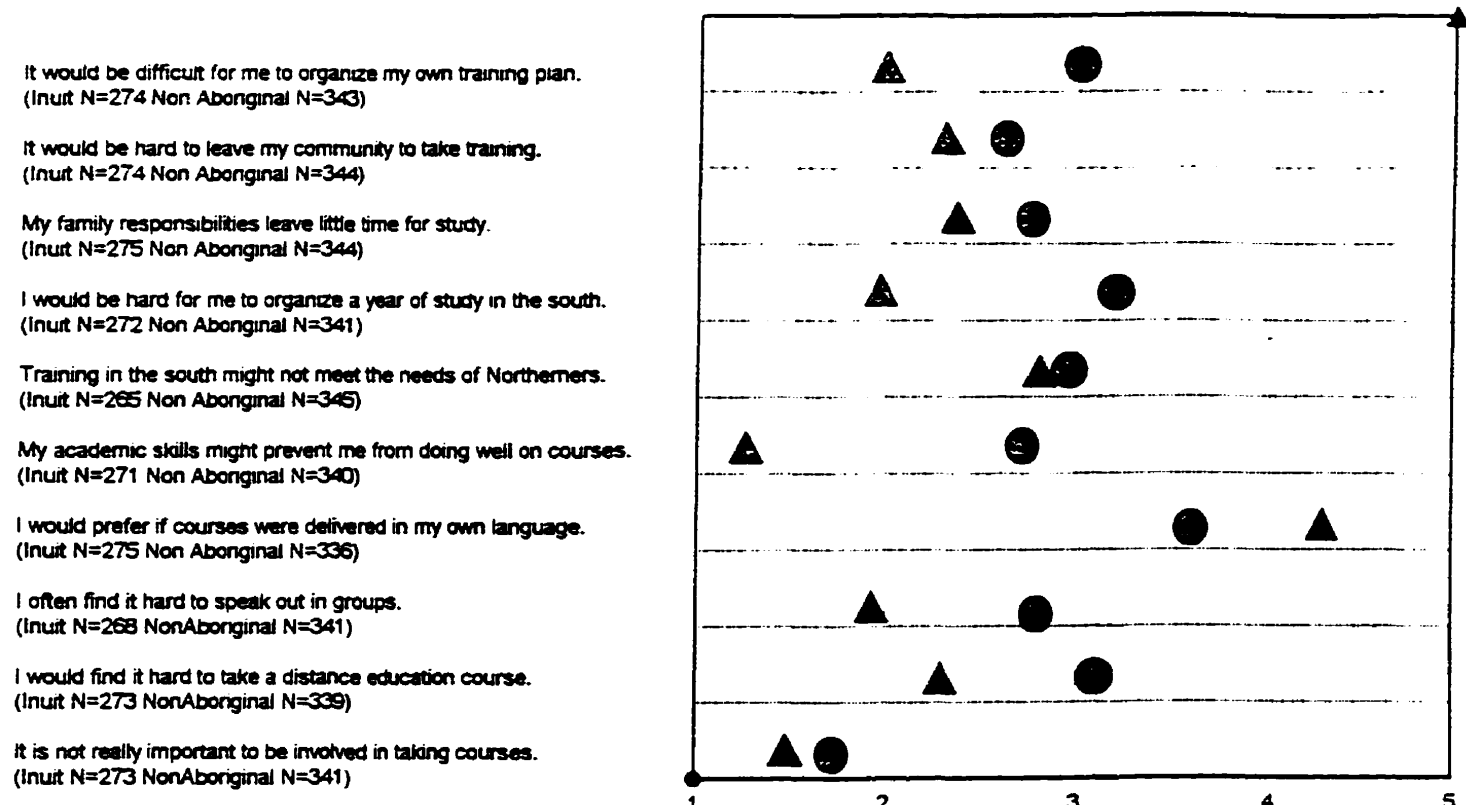
☐Total ☐Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

Category	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
Inuit Education	26	44	11.8
Counselling	16	14	17.9
Curriculum	16	19	14.9
Integrated Education	15	14	14.9
Educational Administration	12	12	10.7
Other	6	2	8.3
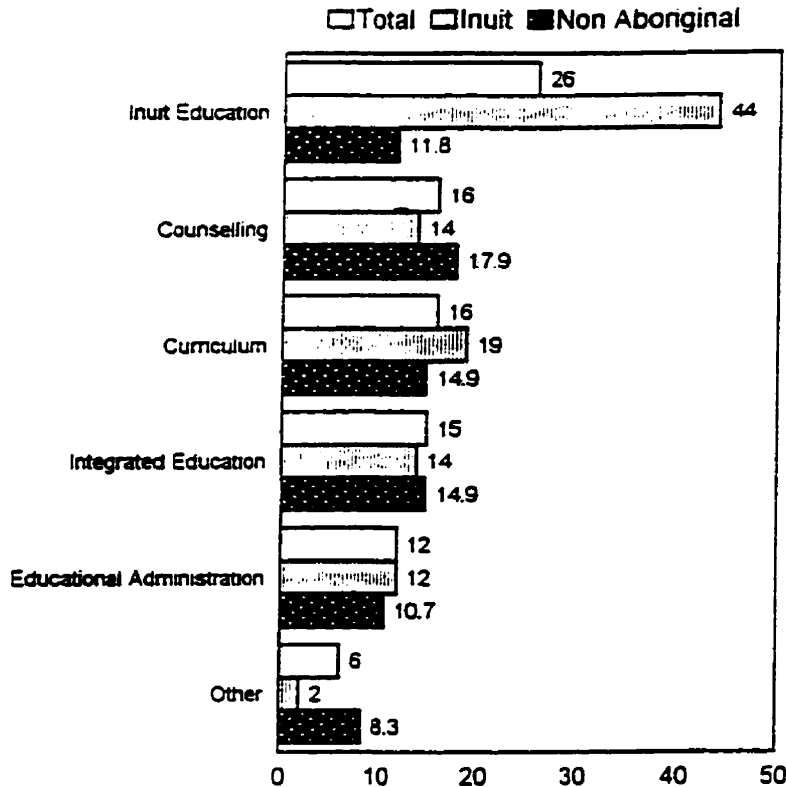
Responses to question 18 (parts i, ii, and iii) show the interest of Nunavut educators in continuing their education. 60% of Inuit were interested in completing a B.Ed., 63% are interested in a university certificate in one or more of the areas in question 18 (i) and 50% were interested in starting an M.Ed.

Inuit educators are very interested in studying their own culture: 44% said they would be interested in starting a university certificate by distance education in Inuit education and 33% said they would be interested in starting an M.Ed. in Inuit Education.

A significant proportion of Non Aboriginal educators share the interest in Inuit education: 11.8% of Non Aboriginal educators are interested in Inuit education at the certificate level and 12.4% at the Masters level.

39% of Non Aboriginal educators are interested in starting a university certificate in distance education.

Q. 18 I would be interested in starting an M.Ed. by distance education in:

N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit, and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

☐Total ☐Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

Category	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
Inuit Education	21	33	12.4
Counselling	13	8	18.2
Curriculum	18	11	22.6
Integrated Education	19	12	24
Educational Administration	15	8	18.7
Other	7	2	9.6
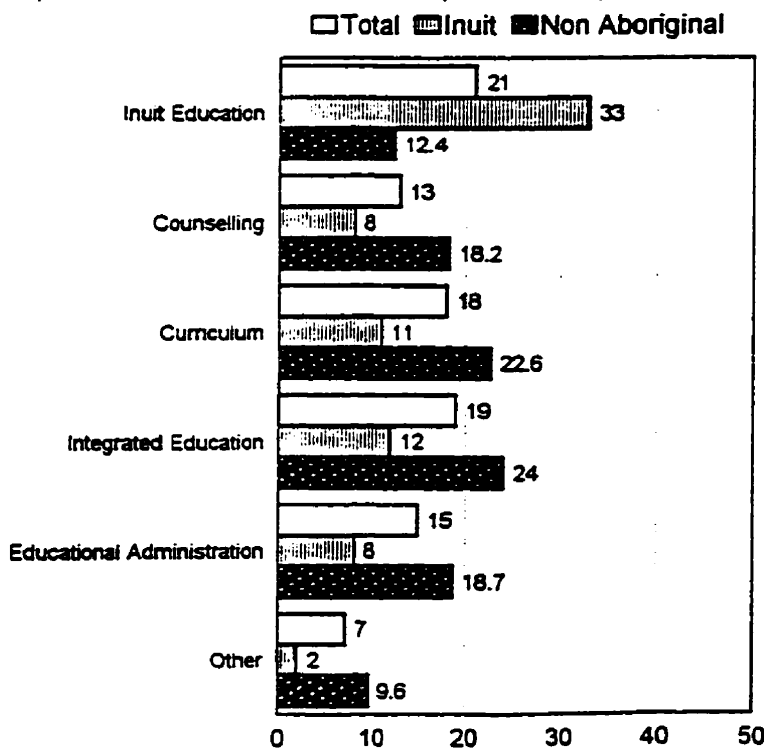
Nunavut educators also felt that courses at the Masters level could be offered in Nunavut (question 11) so distance education may not be the only option for pursuing graduate level courses.

Counselling and Integrated Education are subjects that stand out as important to Nunavut educators in various questions, and these questions indicate there is strong interest in these areas of study and work.

50% of Inuit said they would be interested in starting an M.Ed. by distance education in one of these areas of study. For most of these people, this is a long term goal with other steps preceding Masters level study, as demonstrated by the percentage of Inuit who currently have a B.Ed.

55% of Non Aboriginal educators are interested in starting an M.Ed by distance education. **14**

Q. 21 *Please share any general comments and ideas you feel might be important in planning to meet the needs of educators in Nunavut.*

(N=669 for total, N=292 for Inuit. and N=363 for Non Aboriginal) (Missing ethnicity coding = 14)
Responses are ranked in order of response. Multiple response question.

□Total □Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
No response	41.1	48.7	37.5
Inuktitut/Inuit culture	17.6	25.4	10.1
Planning for Nunavut	17.6	11.2	21.2
Teachers not fully qualified	13.5	5.8	21.5
Need for consistent standards	11.1	6.1	15.1
Access to learning	9.9	6.1	13.1
Basic education	5.9	2.7	9.3
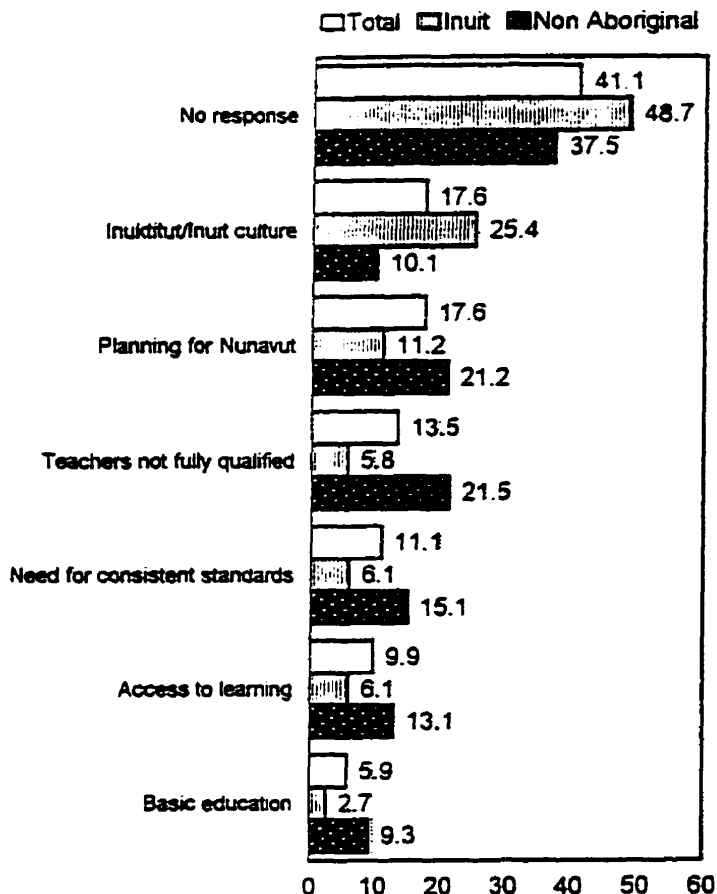
Although just under 60% of respondents chose to respond. this question provided an opportunity to address any issue that was not raised in the questionnaire, or to reiterate concerns or needs. Again, Inuktitut and Inuit culture are the main concern of the educators who responded to this question. The same number of people identified 'planning for Nunavut': these people were concerned that changes are happening at a rapid pace and planning is not keeping up.

The themes that emerged in question 15 recur: there are concerns about the need for consistent standards for teaching staff and that some teachers are not fully qualified.

Access to learning for Nunavut students of all ages and grade levels was also expressed.

The information in this chart was not derived from a survey question. An additional code was added to the questionnaire to capture the tone of responses. Very few people were angry, either at having to fill out the questionnaire or at some aspect of the Nunavut education system. Some were positive but impassioned in expressing their needs are educators, or what they saw as an urgent situation in Nunavut education. Two specific concerns were coded: the call for additional materials and resources, and the concern about applicability to the North (where the respondents consistently addressed this need throughout the questionnaire).

Emotional Index

□Total □Inuit ■Non Aboriginal

	Total	Inuit	Non Aboriginal
Angry tone	1.6	0	2.7
Positive but impassioned	12.5	2.7	20.9
Materials and resources	1.6	2	1.3
Applicability to North	14.3	19	11
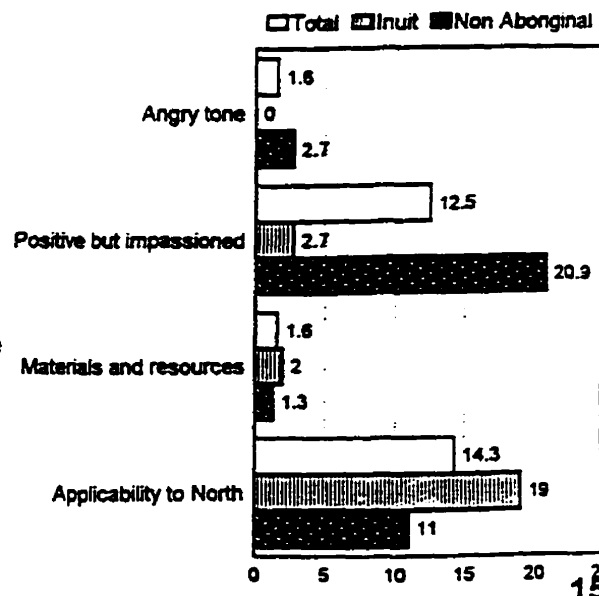
Q. 22 (N=669) (responses ranked from highest to lowest)

I would like to learn more about:

Note: each respondent chose, on average, 24 items from the list.

Inuit culture	456	curriculum and program implementation	198
evaluating students	357	communication skills	195
using computers	355	working as part of a team	194
traditional skills	350	teaching math	194
improving my Inuktitut/Inuinnuqtun	336	teaching Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun	192
building self esteem	330	preparing individual education plans	182
teaching thinking skills	324	teaching in the primary	181
preventive discipline	307	using community resources	178
behavior management	305	time management	177
anger management	303	teaching research skills	169
working with parents	281	drama	168
reading and writing in Inuktitut	270	questioning skills	161
program planning	270	teaching health	158
using more active learning	267	teaching practical programs	157
counselling students	261	teaching phys. ed.	157
coping with stress	261	teaching music	152
preparing individual programs	258	presentation skills	151
teaching science	257	dance	146
managing multi level instruction	256	authentic assessment	146
using local resources	254	personnel management	146
cooperative learning	244	assertiveness training	146
identifying special needs	244	telecommunications	143
cross cultural awareness	243	leading groups	137
theme planning	243	personal organization	136
assessing special needs children	242	teaching junior high	133
the writing process	242	retirement planing	132
teaching language arts	234	organizing small groups	131
E.S.L.	231	budget management	130
child sexual abuse	225	school community business entrepreneurship	129
outdoor skills	223	teaching in the intermediate	127
Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun as a second language	222	teaching high school	125
building partnerships in the community	221	staff evaluation	122
using centres	221	facilitation skills	123
teaching art	220	legal responsibilities	114
whole language	215	administrative tasks	109
teaching social studies	215	managing personal problems	104
using games with children	212	consensus building	97
using technology in the classroom	206		
conflict resolution	199		

The percentage who want to learn more about individual items on the checklist ranged from 68% for Inuit culture to 14% for consensus building.

16

Q. 22 for Inuit (N=292)(responses ranked from highest to lowest)

I would like to learn more about:

Note: each Inuit respondent chose, on average, 27 items from the list.

Inuit culture	191	curriculum and program implementation	·00
evaluating students	176	cross cultural awareness	34
traditional skills	175	presentation skills	39
building self esteem	169	teaching phys. ed.	87
using computers	166	teaching music	86
working with parents	151	questioning skills	86
teaching Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun	150	using community resources	85
teaching thinking skills	149	teaching junior high	85
program planning	148	time management	84
improving my Inuktitut/Inuinnuqtun	147	Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun as a second language	83
behavior management	145	E.S.L.	83
using more active learning	143	teaching practical programs	82
teaching science	143	managing multi level instruction	81
reading and writing in Inuktitut	138	leading groups	79
theme planning	137	preparing individual education plans	79
anger management	133	drama	79
teaching language arts	133	using technology in the classroom	77
coping with stress	132	personnel management	75
preventive discipline	130	teaching research skills	72
the writing process	127	organizing small groups	72
teaching in the primary	127	managing personal problems	71
teaching social studies	127	teaching in the intermediate	66
using centres	125	dance	66
using games with children	124	conflict resolution	64
whole language	123	personal organization	62
assessing special needs children	120	telecommunications	61
teaching art	119	teaching high school	61
counselling students	117	budget management	59
identifying special needs	117	school community business entrepreneurship	59
cooperative learning	116	assertiveness training	58
child sexual abuse	116	staff evaluation	56
teaching math	115	authentic assessment	55
using local resources	115	legal responsibilities	54
working as part of a team	110	facilitation skills	52
outdoor skills	108	retirement planning	50
preparing individual programs	104	administrative tasks	40
communication skills	104	consensus building	34
building partnerships in the community	106		
teaching health	106		

The percentage who want to learn more about individual items on the checklist ranged from 65% for Inuit culture to 12% for consensus building, for Inuit.

17

Q. 22 for Non Aboriginal people (N=363)(responses ranked from highest to lowest)

I would like to learn more about:

Note: each Non Aboriginal respondent chose, on average, 22 items from the list.

Item	Value		Item	Value
Inuit culture	256		using centres	92
improving my Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun	184		using community resources	91
using computers	183		time management	91
evaluating students	176		authentic assessment	90
preventive discipline	171		whole language	89
traditional skills	170		drama	88
teaching thinking skills	170		teaching social studies	86
managing multi level instruction	170		communication skills	86
teaching research skills	169		using games with children	85
anger management	167		assertiveness training	85
behavior management	156		working as part of a team	82
building self esteem	155		dance	78
preparing individual programs	149		retirement planing	78
cross cultural awareness	146		teaching math	77
E.S.L.	146		telecommunications	77
counselling students	142		teaching practical programs	73
using local resources	137		presentation skills	72
Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun as a second language	137		questioning skills	71
conflict resolution	131		facilitation skills	71
reading and writing in Inuktitut	128		teaching phys. ed.	70
cooperative learning	126		personnel management	69
working with parents	126		administrative tasks	67
using technology in the classroom	125		school community business entrepreneurship	67
coping with stress	124		teaching music	65
identifying special needs	124		budget management	65
using more active learning	122		staff evaluation	64
program planning	119		teaching high school	63
assessing special needs children	118		teaching in the intermediate	61
outdoor skills	112		consensus building	61
building partnerships in the community	111		organizing small groups	59
teaching science	110		presentation skills	58
the writing process	110		legal responsibilities	57
child sexual abuse	107		leading groups	56
theme planning	101		teaching in the primary	52
preparing individual education plans	100		teaching health	48
teaching art	99		teaching junior high	45
teaching language arts	98		teaching Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun	39
curriculum and program implementation	95		managing personal problems	32

The percentage who want to learn more about individual items on the checklist ranged from 71% for Inuit culture to 9% for managing personal problems, for Non Aboriginal people.

18

STAFF DEVELOPMENT QUESTIONNAIRE
NUNAVUT BOARDS OF EDUCATION
NOVEMBER 1994

DATA QUALITY

Representativeness

Staff and student teacher lists from the three Boards of Education and NTEP indicated that 749 people were eligible to be surveyed. 669 people responded to the questionnaire. The following table shows the number of people who responded compared to the number of people who were eligible to answer the questionnaire, by position and Board. The response rate was very high at 89.3% and the data (as a sample) is statistically representative within 2% of the value that would be obtained if everyone responded, if we assume there was no bias in who chose not to respond. However, as samples of smaller populations are used in analysis, such as by position or by Board, the error associated with the sample increases substantially.

POSITION	NUMBER	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE
Teachers	370	335	91%
Principals/Assistant Prin.	51	51	100%
S.N.A.s	55	50	91%
L./C. S.	76	71	93%
C.A.s	18	16	89%
PST/SST	35	26	74%
Consultants	17	8	53%
Directors	3	2	66%
Supervisors of schools	7	7	100%
School community counsellors	21	16	76%
OTHER	6		

NUMBER of responses coded as missing or other categories is 30.

BOARDS (without NTEP)	NUMBER	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE
BAFFIN	347	289	83%
KITIKMEOT	120	110	90%
KEEWATIN	192	169	87%

TOTAL RESPONSE RATE FOR BOARDS 87 8% (579/659)

Note that neither response rate (by Board or NTEP) will reach the 89% overall rate because some questionnaires had missing position and/or community codes and could not be coded to a Board or NTEP

NTEP	NUMBER	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE
Instructors	11	6	54%
Students	79	57	72%

TOTAL RESPONSE RATE FOR NTEP 70% (63/90)

Overall, the survey was very well received, and the response rate, at 89% is very high. The representation of Inuit and Non Aboriginal respondents, at 44% and 56% respectively, is believed to be very close to the total representation. Within the questionnaire the response rate to individual questions varies. In open ended questions the response rate varies from 84.5% to 59.9%, which is also high, particularly considering the length of the questionnaire. A very small proportion of the respondents expressed anger at having to fill out the questionnaire but most Nunavut educators did respond in a cooperative spirit, as the response rate shows.

NOTE: working with the staff lists from each Board was very difficult. The number of positions in these tables represents the best possible count that could be obtained from these lists. The lists here are reasonably accurate for the purpose of determining response rates but may not accurately reflect either number of positions, type of positions or accurate status with regards to vacancies. When specific problems were encountered between the staff lists and the questionnaire results, Board personnel staff or Directors were called for clarification.

Units of Analysis

For most of the questions in the survey the unit of analysis, or the person to whom the answer refers, is the respondent. For example, references to what type of training you need, or want, and the ways you would like to take it, refer to the respondent. Two questions (15 and 21) had a broader unit of analysis, either teachers, or educators. Question 11 has both units of analysis.

This does not create problems in interpreting data as long as the correct unit of analysis is reported when using the results. For example the statement in Question 11 'Teachers are too busy to take courses' should be interpreted as an individual's comment on whether teachers are too busy to take courses, not whether he or she (the respondent) is too busy.

Entry and Editing

The data entry was done with the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) Data Entry program. Errors are created during the data entry process. The data was edited using the following procedures:

>A random check of surveys to ensure responses were the same on the data base as on the questionnaire.
>A check for numbers (responses) within the range valid for that question (i.e. the question on gender should have only 1's , 2's and 9's (missing) as responses) was done for every variable. Errors were corrected using the original questionnaire.
>Incomplete records or records created in error were searched for and checked or deleted as necessary. No incomplete records were found. Three cases were created in error (keyboard error) and were deleted.

The overall rate of error detected using these procedures was about .05% (5/100). This means that for every 200 responses, 1 would be in error and the remainder would be valid. The overall rate of error still existing in the edited file is well under 1% and will have no impact on the reliability of statistical procedures. However, it could produce results that look odd such as an extra teacher in a school.

Validity of Questions and Responses and Coding

Generally responses to the questions indicted that the questions were understood, although in some cases the respondents demonstrated a lack of understanding of the question in their responses. In many circumstances this lack of understanding is assumed to be due to a lack of reading comprehension in English. Overall, the open ended questions were well responded to. For example, question 15, concerning the most urgent needs of classroom teachers in Nunavut, was answered by 85% of respondents. The response rate on open ended questions ranged from 59.9% to 84.5% , which is very high

Because the questionnaire was designed for teachers (although it was delivered to all educators) there were some questions which did not apply to some respondents. This is noticeable in questions such as number 12, which referred to 'the best training or staff development you have

taken' Many of the people who did not respond had no training or staff development experiences to report. The same is true for question 13, which refers to 'your teacher training' Many respondents, particularly Inuit in classroom support positions, were not expected to answer this question. There is a correspondingly lower response rates on these questions.

In many cases the respondent provided information in the open ended response sections that he or she would be able to provide later in a closed ended question. In some cases the respondent provided information to justify or substantiate his or her position. For example many people wrote in question 5 that they felt it was important to provide courses in the communities because people need to be near their families while they take training.

The Inuktitut questionnaire had three problems that occurred in translation and layout. One age category was missing in question 1, but most respondents wrote in their age. In question 4 two response categories were combined: Support from Board level consultants and Support from Board level administrators. This was handled in data entry by checking both responses unless the respondent clarified their need in the open ended part of the question, which some did. And on the checklist on the final page 'Carving' was added as an item on the list. It was added as a response category in data entry but since only about 70 people who filled out the questionnaire in Inuktitut had the opportunity to check it off, (5 of whom did) it has not been reported with the rest of the items in question 22.

Position

Respondents wrote in their own position which created a few coding problem. Where a person had two titles such as assistant principal/teacher, they were coded to the more senior of the two. Many school community counsellors were coded as school counsellors, either because they wrote this on the questionnaire, or the error could have occurred in translation. This error has been corrected. One final error has occurred in the coding of program support teachers/student support teachers...

Question 9

Almost all closed ended questions in the questionnaire were structured so that a check mark meant yes and nothing meant no, with the exception of question 9. Many respondents continued to use the same method and did not check 'no'. The questionnaires were coded so that a non response was distinguishable from a 'no'. However, in this question, a non response and a 'no' may be the same. A different set of instruction for this question, asking people to check 'yes' or 'no', may have helped.

Open Ended Questions

All open ended questions were coded. The response categories were created by Fiona O'Donaghue, after reading approximately 200 questionnaires, and by Barbara Guy (the researcher/contractor) and Debra King, who did the data entry. Ms. King is a recent B.Ed. graduate, and her skills were useful in knowing how to code responses and when to create new response categories. The open ended questions were coded to allow statistical procedures and tabulations with the results. The research, to date, has not exploited the information contained in the open ended questions to the extent that it could, and probably should, be used. There is considerably more information, useful for both planning and evaluation, in the open ended responses. Further coding and analysis of the responses is recommended, despite the fact that the qualitative research would be very time consuming. Further transcription, which would be much less time consuming, would also provide meaningful information. Question 15, referencing the most urgent needs of classroom teachers in Nunavut, contains the most useful and insightful information from the open ended questions. The system file containing the other data is structured so that the open ended questions, if recoded thoroughly for qualitative research, could be added.

Appendix B

Pauqatigiit Questionnaires

STAFF DEVELOPMENT QUESTIONNAIRE
November 1994

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. It will help to provide direction for your own training as a northern educator.
Please check one or more answers in each question.

(i) *At present I am working as a:* _____

(ii) *When I am working I speak:* Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun ___ English ___ French ___ Other_____

(iii) *I can speak, read and write in:* Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun ___ English ___ French___ Other_____

(iv) *I am:* Male ___ Female ___

(v) *I am aged:* 20 - 30 yrs ___ 31 - 40 ___ 41 - 50 ___ 51 - 60 ___ 61 + ___

(vi) *I have worked in N.W.T. education for:* 1 - 3 yrs ___ 4 - 9 ___ 10 - 20 ___ 21+ ___

(vii) *I have worked in education for a total of:* _____

(viii) *My community size is:* 1 - 200 ___ 201 - 400 ___ 401 - 700 ___ 701 - 2000 ___ 2001 - 4000 ___

(ix) *I am:* Inuit ___ Dene ___ Metis ___ Non-Aboriginal ___

I have completed (or will complete this year):
Learning on the Land ___ Elementary School ___ Grade 7 - 9 ___ Grade 10 ___ Grade 12 ___
Some NTEP Courses ___ N.W.T. Teaching Certificate ___ B. Ed. ___
Other degrees or qualifications: _____

In the future I would be interested in working as an:

___Elementary Teacher   ___High School Teacher
___Program Support Teacher/S.S.T.   ___School Counsellor
___School Community Counsellor   ___Assistant Principal
___Principal   ___Board Level Consultant
___NTEP Instructor   ___Supervisor of Schools
___Director   Other Positions _____

At the school level I would prefer:

___Daily support with my program   ___Weekly support with my program
___P.S.T./S.S.T. support with planning   ___Principal support in my classroom
___The modelling of approaches in my class ___Support from other teachers
___To be left alone to plan and teach   ___Support from Board level consultants
___Team teaching with another professional ___Support from Board level administrators

Please tell us how you would like to be supported in your work:
_____
_____

I would like to take courses or workshops:
___In the communities   ___On a campus of the Arctic College
___At a southern university   ___At summer schools in a central location
___By distance education   ___In small groups
___With other staff members   ___With colleagues pursuing the same training
___In the summer   ___During the school year

Please share any other ideas:
_____
_____

▶ *I would like to take my training/courses:*

___ in two/four day workshops   ___ in one week modules

___ in two week modules   ___ At a summer school for 2/4 weeks

___ At evening sessions in my community   ___ By distance education on my own

___ By distance education with colleagues   ___ While on educational leave

Please share any other ideas:

_____

_____

▶ *I would be interested in taking:*

___ Courses at NTEP   ___ A graduate degree in the south

___ A degree on a part-time basis   ___ Workshops at the school level

___ Workshops in other schools   ___ Courses by distance education

Please describe any other kind of studies you would like to take:

_____

_____

▶ *I would like to take my courses in:*

English ___ Inuktitut ___ Inuinnaqtun ___ French ___ Other: _____

▶ *I am willing:*

to complete training on my own time in the evenings or during the summer.   ___ Yes   ___ No

to use professional improvement funds for courses I choose to take.   ___ Yes   ___ No

to pay for the education I choose to take.   ___ Yes   ___ No

to pay for courses I am asked to take by my Board.   ___ Yes   ___ No

to use professional improvement funding to take training suggested by my Board. ___ Yes   ___ No

▶ *Who should coordinate the training that is provided to educators in Nunavut?*

Boards ___ NTEP/Arctic College ___ Department of Education ___ Other _____

Comment:

_____

▶ *Please circle your position on these statements: 1 = I don't agree. 5 = I really agree*

I have sufficient training to meet my daily professional challenges.	1	2	3	4	5
When I take a course I would like to get credit towards a degree.	1	2	3	4	5
Teachers are too busy to take courses.	1	2	3	4	5
Educators need to be involved in a continuous process of learning.	1	2	3	4	5
Courses at the Masters level could be offered in Nunavut.	1	2	3	4	5
Courses should be offered at the community level.	1	2	3	4	5
Inuit culture and traditions should be central in any training plan.	1	2	3	4	5
Northern educators should deliver courses whenever possible.	1	2	3	4	5
I would take courses by distance education during the school year.	1	2	3	4	5
I would take courses in the summer if they helped me in my work.	1	2	3	4	5
Taking training beyond the B.Ed. is a waste of time.	1	2	3	4	5
Academic upgrading should be part of any training offered.	1	2	3	4	5
It is my responsibility to organize my own training.	1	2	3	4	5

▶

▶ Please tell us about the best training or staff development experience you have taken? Why was it so positive?

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▶ What were some of the most helpful things you learned during your teacher training?

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▶ Please share some of the things you felt were missing from your teacher training.

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▶

► *What do you feel are the most urgent training needs of classroom teachers in Nunavut?*

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► *What are your specific training needs at this point in your career?*

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_____

► *Please circle your position on these statements:* 1 = I don't agree. 5 = I really agree

It would be difficult for me to organize my own training plan.	1 2 3 4 5
It would be hard to leave my community to take training.	1 2 3 4 5
My family responsibilities leave little time for study.	1 2 3 4 5
It would be hard for me to organize a year of study in the south.	1 2 3 4 5
Training in the south might not meet the needs of northerners.	1 2 3 4 5
My academic skill levels might prevent me from doing well on courses.	1 2 3 4 5
I would prefer if courses were delivered in my own language.	1 2 3 4 5
I often find it hard to speak out in groups.	1 2 3 4 5
I would find it hard to take a distance education course.	1 2 3 4 5
It is not really important to be involved in taking courses.	1 2 3 4 5

►

▶ I would be interested in:

   (i) Completing my B.Ed. ___

   (ii) Starting a university certificate by distance education in:
      Educational Administration ___ Integrated Education(Special Education) ___
      Curriculum ___ Inuit Education ___ Counselling ___ Other: _____

   (iii) Starting an M.Ed. by distance education in:
      Educational Administration _____ Integrated Education(Special Education) _____
      Curriculum ____ Inuit Education ____ Counselling ____ Other: _____

▶ Northern educators have many skills to share. We are interested in knowing if you would like to be involved in offering courses in the future. This may not happen for about two years but we would like to start a list of people who could help in the delivery of training across Nunavut communities. Please share your name and telephone number with the Committee or call one of us and add your name to the list.

_____

_____

▶ I would recommend that the following educators be involved in offering courses in the future:

_____

_____

▶ Please share any general comments and ideas you feel might be important in planning to meet the needs of educators in Nunavut.

_____

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▶

▶ *I would like to learn more about:*

___ Inuit culture

___ program planning

___ traditional skills

___ the writing process

___ teaching science

___ teaching art

___ teaching social studies

___ teaching health

___ teaching Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun

___ teaching thinking skills

___ using local resources in your program

___ cross-cultural awareness

___ theme planning

___ curriculum and program implementation

___ teaching mathematics

___ teaching music

___ teaching phys. ed.

___ teaching language arts

___ teaching practical programs

___ evaluating students

___ preparing individualized programs

___ behaviour management

___ building self-esteem

___ preventive discipline

___ assessing special needs children

___ managing multilevel instruction

___ identifying special needs

___ preparing I.E.P. s

___ counselling students

___ anger management

___ child sexual abuse

___ organizing small groups

___ working as part of a team

___ improving my Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun

___ E.S.L.

___ using computers

___ using technology in the classroom

___ using centres

___ outdoor skills

___ dance

___ reading and writing in Inuktitut

___ Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun as a Second Language

___ telecommunications

___ cooperative learning

___ questioning skills

___ drama

___ teaching research skills

___ using more active learning

___ authentic assessment(portfolios)

___ teaching in the primary

___ teaching at the junior high

___ whole language

___ using games with children

___ teaching in the intermediate

___ teaching high school

___ personnel management

___ working with parents

___ leading groups

___ communication skills

___ consensus building

___ assertiveness training

___ retirement planning

___ coping with stress

___ personal organization

___ staff evaluation

___ school/community business entrepreneurship

___ presentation skills

___ using community resources

___ administrative tasks

___ facilitation skills

___ conflict resolution

___ budget management

___ time management

___ managing personal problems

___ legal responsibilities

___ building partnerships in the community

Others:

_____

_____

_____

_____

▶

ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᖅᑏᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᑎᑕᐅᓂᖏᓐᓄ ᐊᐱᖅᑯᑏᑦ ᓄᓇᐅᑉ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᕆᔩᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᖏᑦ ᖁᔭᓐᓈᒥ ᑭᐅᓂᖃᕝᕕᖏᑦ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᑕᐅᕙᑦ.

ᖁᔭᓐᓈᒥ ᑭᐅᓂᖃᕝᕕᖏᑦ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᑕᐅᕙᑦ. ᓇᓗᓇᐃᒃᑲᕐᒥᔪᑎᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᕘᓇ.

► ᓇᓗᓇᐃᔭᕐᓂᖅ ᑐᑭᓯᑎᑕᐅᑎᑦ:

(i) ᓕᐅᐅᕐᓯ ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᓂᒧᑦ ᐊᒥᓱᒍᒥ: _____

(ii) ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᓯᒥ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔭᕆᑦ: ᐃᓄᖕᑐᑎ/ᐃᓄᐊᐃᑦᑐᑦ__ ᖃᓪᓗᓇᑐᑦ__ ᐅᐃᐱᓐᑐᑦ__ ᐊᓯᖏᑦ__

(iii) ᐅᖃᕋᓱᒃᑐᑎ, ᐅᖃᓕᒪᕋᓱᒃᑐᑎ ᑎᑎᕋᕋᓱᕐᓗᒍ   ᐃᓄᖕᑐᑎ/ᐃᓄᐊᐃᑦᑐᑦ__ ᖃᓪᓗᓇᑐᑦ__ ᐅᐃᐱᓐᑐᑦ__ ᐊᓯᖏᑦ__

(iv) ᐊᕐᓇᐅᑎᕆᑦ__ ᐊᖑᐅᑎᕆᑦ__

(v) ᐅᑭᐅᖃᕐᑐᑎ: 20-30 ᐊᕐᕌᒍᐃᑦ__ 41-50__ 51-60__ 61-70__

(vi) ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᓚᕐᑐᑎ ᓄᓇᓕᕐᒋᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᕆᓂᕐᒥ ᐊᕐᕌᒍᒥ -3__ 4-9__ 10-20__ 21-30__

(vii) ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᓯᓚᕆᕋᓗᑎ ᓄᓇᓕᕐᒋᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᑲᑎᓱᕆᑦ ᐊᕐᕌᒍᑦ:_____

(viii) ᓄᓇᓕ ᐃᓄᖑᑦ ᐅᓄᕐᓂᖅᒥ: 1-200__ 201-400__ 401-700__ 701-2000__ 2001-4000__

(ix) ᐊᒥᓱᑎᕆᑦ: ᐃᓄᒃᑎ__ ᐃᖅᑉᓯᐅᑎᑦ__ ᐃᓚᑎᕆᕐᒥ__ ᓄᓇᖃᖅᑲᐅᓯᕐᑎᑐᕐ__

► ᐱᐊᓂᕐᓯᓚᕐᒥ:

ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᓂᕐᒧᑉ ᓄᓇᐅᐊᖕᒥᒥ__ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᒥ ᖁᑎᖑᕐᓂᒥ 7-9__ ᖁᑎᖑᕐᓂᒥᐅᑦ 10__ ᖁᑎᖑᕐᓂᒥᐅᑦ 12__
ᐃᓚᒌᓗ ᓄᓇᒥ ᐃᓴᕐᕕᖅᐱᐅᑐᒍᑦ__ ᓄᓇᓕᕐᒋᑦ ᐃᓴᕐᕕᖅᐱᐅᑐᒍᑦ ᐃᓕᒐᓯᐅᑐᕐᔪᑕᒍ__ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᕆᓂᒍᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᒥᐊᕐᒥ__
ᐊᓯᖏᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᓕᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᕐᑕᓯᒥ ᓇᓗᓇᐃᒃᑯᑎᖅᑳᖅᑎᑎᕐᓯᓚᕐᑦ_____

► ᓯᕐᔪᖕᒥ ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᖁᑭᓕᓯᐅᑐᑎ ᐊᒥᓱᒍᒥ:

__ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᑐᑐᓚᒥ ᐃᓴᕐᕕᖅᐱᑎᓗ   __ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᐊᑐᕐᒥ ᐃᓴᕐᕕᖅᐱᑎᓗ

__ ᐃᓴᕐᕕᔭᓂᕐ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓯᐊᕐᑐᑎᓗ   __ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᑐᕐᒥ ᐅᖃᐅᕐᔭᕐᕿᐊᕐᑦᑐᑎᓗ

__ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᑐᕐᒥ ᓄᓇᖅᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᕐᔭᕐᕿᐊᕐᑎᖕᑐᑦ   __ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᐊᑦ ᐊᕐᓚᕐᖕᖁᖕᓚᑕ ᑑᖅᑕ

__ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᐊᑦ ᐊᕐᓚᕐᖕᖁᖕᓂᑦ   __ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᕆᓂᕐᓯᓚᕐᔭᖕ ᖃᐅᔨᓕᐊᕐᑦ

__ ᓄᓇᐅᕐᒥ ᐃᓴᕐᕿᐱᕿᕐᑦᑐᓂᕐ ᐃᓴᕐᕿᐱᑎᓗ   __ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᐊᕐᒥ ᒦᖕᐊᕐᕿᐊᕐᑦᑐᑎᓗ

__ ᐊᐅᓚᑎᐱ   ᐊᓯᖏᑦ ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᑦ_____

► ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᒥ ᐊᒥᓱᑐᓚᕐᒥ:

__ ᖃᐅᑕᒪᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓯᕐᑕᐅᑐᒍᓚᕐᔭᕐᓗ ᐱᓯᓇᐊᕐᕿᑦ   __ ᐱᓇᕆᐊᕐᕿᓚᕐ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓯᕐᑕᐅᕐᑐᑎ

__ ᐃᓴᕐᕕᔭᓂᕐ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑲᕐᑎ   __ ᐊᕐᓚᕐᖕᖁᔭᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓯᕐᑕᐅᖅᑳᖅᑎᓕᕐᔭᕐ

__ ᐊᕐᔪᕐᕿᓱᖕ   __ ᐅᕐᑐᖅᑕᐃᖕᖏᓴᕐ ᐃᓴᕐᕿᐊᕐᑎᕐᕿᕐᖕᔭᕐᒥᑦ

__ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓯᕐᑕᐅᑐᒍᓚᕐ ᐊᕐᕿᒥᐊᑦ ᐃᓴᕐᕕᖅᐱᐅᑦ   __ ᐱᖕᖏᕐᖕᔭᕐ ᐃᓴᕐᕿᐊᕐᕿᖕᑐᑦ ᐱᖕᖏᕆᕿᔭᕐ ᖃᐅᔨᓕᕐᔭᕐᕿᐊᕐᕿᕐ

__ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓯᕐᑕᐅᑐᒍᓚᕐ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᓕᕆᓂᕐᓯᓚᕐᔭᕐᕿᐊᕐᑎ

ᐅᖅᑲᕐᑐᖕᑎᑦ ᖃᓄᕐ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓯᕐᑕᐅᕐᒋᓂᕐᓯᒥ ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᓯᓗᑦ

_____

_____

_____

► ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕿᐱᓕᕐᔭᕐ ᐅᕐᑲᔪᕐᓯᓂᕐ ᑲᑎᒪᔭᕐᓗ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕿᕐᖕᐊᑦ:

__ ᓄᓇᖕᑐᓂ   __ ᓯᕐᑐᕐᖁᖕᑲᐅᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕿᐊᕐᕿᓂ

__ ᖃᓪᓄᐊᑦ ᓄᓇᐅᑦᓂ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᐊᕐᕿᐊᕐᒥ   __ ᐊᐅᕐᕈᕐᑎᐊᕐ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕿᕐᔭᕐᓚᕐ ᖃᓂᕐᕿᕐᕿᐊᕐᒥ

__ ᐅᕐᓚᕐᕿᐊᕐᒋᕐ ᖃᓕᑕᐅᕐᔭᕐᕿᐊᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕿᑦᖕᐊᕐᓚᕐ   __ ᐊᕐᕿᔭᕐᖑᕐᕿᑦᓂᐊᕐ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑲᕐᓂᕿᕐᔭᕐᓚᕐ

__ ᐱᖕᖏᕐᖕᐊᕐᒋᕐᑦ ᐊᕐᕿᓂᕿ ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᓯᖕᓂᕿ   __ ᐃᖅᑲᐃᔭᕐᕿᖕᑲᕐᖕᕿ ᑖᕐᓯᕈᕐᓯᓚᕐᖕᐊᖅᑲᕐ ᐱᓯᓇᐊᕐᓂᐊᕐᑦ

__ ᐊᐅᕐᕈᕐᑎᐊᕐ   __ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕿᐊᐱᓕᕐᔭᕐᔪᒍ

► ᐃᓯᒪᔭᖕᑕᕿᑕᐅᕐᔭᕐ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᔪᕐᓯᕐᕿ_____

► ◄

► ᐃᓕᓴᕆᐊᓪ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖅ ᒎᒃᖢ ᐊᑐᓲᑎᒋᓯᒪᔭᑦ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᓕᒃᓯᒪᔪᖕᓂ:
  __ ᐅᖃᖅᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᓂᖅ/ᕐᐸᐃᓗ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᓂᒃ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᐸᓂᐊᑦ   __ ᐱᓇᓱᐊᖅᒋᓂᐅᖅᑎᒻ
  __ ᐱᓇᓱᐊᖅ/ᒋᓂ ᑲᑎᖅᓂᖅ   __ ᐊᐅᓚᔾᔪᒃ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖕᓂᖅ 2/ᔾ ᐱᓇᓱᐊᖅ/ᑦ
  __ ᐅᖅᔭᖅᐅᑦ ᓄᓇᒃᖕᓂᖅ   __ ᔪᑕᖅᕐᐅᑎ ᖃᓄᑕᐅᖅᔭᑦ ᔾᖠᒃᖢᒃᖢᖕ
  __ ᐅᖅᑭᖅ/ᐅᑦᖠ ᖃᓇᑕᐅᖅᔭᑦ ᐱᖕᖃᑎᖅᖢᒃᖢ ᔮᖅᖃᐊᔾᖅᖃᓄᖓ   __ ᔪᖕᖃᐊᔾᖅᖓ ᔪᖅᖢᖤᐊᖠᒃᖢᖕ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅ

∩∩ᕐᔪᓂ ᔪᕋᖅ/ᔮᖅ:
_____
_____

► ᐃᓕᐅᓂᖅᖤᖠᓕᖅᔪᖕᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᔾᖕᖤ:
  __ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᔾᖕᖤ ᓄᖅᒋ ᐊᖅᖠᐊᔾᖅᖅᔾᔪᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖕᖤᐊᖓ   __ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖓᔾᖕᖤ ᖃᖠᓇ ᓄᖅᖠᖓ
  __ ᓄᓄᖅᖠᐊᖅᑦᖤᔾᖕᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᔾᖤᔾ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖅᖠᔾᖕᖤ   __ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖓ ᖃᓇᑕᖅᖠᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᐊᖤᖕᖨ
  __ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᔾᖕᖤ ᖃᓇᑕᖅᖠᖤ ᔾᔾᖓ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖤᖤᐊᖤ   __ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᔾᖕᖤ ᐅᖤᖠᖅᖠᖤᖤ ᖃᓇᑕᐅᖅᔭᑦ

∩∩ᕐᔪᖤ ᔾᔾᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᓕᖅᖤ∩∩:
_____
_____

► ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᓕᖅᔪᖕᖤ ᐅᓇ ᐅᖅᖤᖤᖓ ᔾᔮᖤᔾ:
  ᖃᖕᖤᓇ∩ᖤ__ ᐊᔾᖕ∩ᖤᖤ__ ᐊᔾᖕᖤᔾᖤᖤ__ ᐅᔾᔾᖕ∩ᖤᖤ __ ᔾᔾᖤᖤ__

► ᔾᒪᔾᔾᖤᔾᖕᖤ:
  ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖓᖠᔾᖤᔾᖕᖤ ᖤᖠᖕᖤᖤ ᐅᖤᖤᖕᖤ ᐅᖅᖤᖤᖓᖕᖤ ᔾᐅᖅᖕᖤᖤ.   ᐊ__   ᔾᖤ__

  ᔾᖤᖤᖤᔾ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᓕᖕᖤ.   ᐊ__   ᔾᖤ__

  ᔾᖤᖤᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᔾᖤᖅᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖕᖤᖠᖅᖤᖠᖤᖤ∩ᖤᖕᖤᖤ   ᐊ__   ᔾᖤ__

  ᔾᔾᖤᖠᖤ ᓄᖤᖤᔾᖤᖤ ᐊᖅᖠᐊᔾᖤᖤ ᖤᔾᖤᖤᖕ∩ᖤᖤᖤ ᖠᖤᐅᖤᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᔾᖤᖤᖤᖤᖤᖓ
     ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖕᖤᖠᖅᖤᖠᖤᖤ∩ᖤᖤ.   ᐊ__   ᔾᖤᖤ__

  ᔾᔾᖤᖠᖤ ᐊᖤᖃᖤᔾᖤᖤ ᐱᖤ/ᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᐊ∩ᖤ∩ᖤᖠᖤ ᖠᖤᐅᖤᖤᔾ∩ᖤᖤᖤᖤ
     ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅ∩ᖤᖠᖤᖤ ᔾᖤᖤᖅᖤᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖕᖤᖠᖅᖤᖠᖤᖤ   ᐊ__   ᔾᖤ__

► ᖠᖤᖤᖤ᷂ ᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤᔾᖤ ᔾᖤᖤᖤᖤᖤᖓ ᐊᖤᖤᐊᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅ∩ᖤᖤᖤᖤᖠᖤ ᓄᖤᖤᖠ?
  ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖕᖤᖠᖅᖤᖠᖤ__ᓄᖤᖤᖠ ᐊᖅᖠᐊᖅᖤᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᐊᔾᖤᖤ/ᖠᖤᔾᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤᖕᖤᖤ__ᖠᖠ᷂ᖠᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖕᖤᖠᖅᖤᖤᖤᖤ__ᔾᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ____

ᐅᖅᖤᖤᖕᖤᖤ: _____

► ᓄᖤᐊᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤ ᖃᖤᐊᖤᖤᖠᖓ∩ᖤ ᔾᖤᖃᖤᖤᖤᖠᖓ: 1 ᐟ ᔾᖠᖤᐱ∩ᖤᖤᖤᖕᖤᖠᖕ. 5 ᐟ ᔾᖠᖤᐱ∩ᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤ

	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖠᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤ ᖠᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤ ᔾᖤᖤᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤ ᖃᖤᖤᖠᖠᖤᖤᖤᖤ.	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᓕ ᖠᖤ᷂ᖤ∩ᖤᖤᖤᖤᖠᖤᖠᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᖤᖠᖤᖤᐅᖤᖤᖠ∩ᖤᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤ᷂ᖠᖤᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᖅᖠᐊᔾᖤᖤᖤ ᐱᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤᖤᔾᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᐊᖤᖤᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᖅᖠᐊᔾᖤᐅᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤᖤᖤᖤᖤ ᖠᖤᖠᖤᖤᖠᖤ᷂	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᐅᖤᖤᖤ ᔾᔾᖤᖤᖠ∩ᖤᖤᖠᔾᖤᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤ ᔾᖤ∩ᖤᖠᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ					
(Master's) ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤᖠᖓᖤ ᓄᖤᖤᖠ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖤᖠᖤᔾᖤᖤᖤ ᓄᖤᖠᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅ∩ᖤᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᐊᖤᖠ∩ᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᖤᐊᖤ ᐊᓕᖤᔾᖠᔾᖤᖤ ᔾᖤᖤᖠᖤ ᐱᖤᔾᖠᔾᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᐅᖤ∩ᖤᖤᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤᖤᖤᖤᖓᖤ					
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖅᖕᖤᖠᔾᖤᐅᖤᖤᖤᖤ ᔾᖤᖠᖠᖤᖤ∩ᖤᖠᖤᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐅᖤᖃᖤᖤᖤᖤ ᐊᖅᖠᐊᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤᖤ ᔾᖤᖠᖤ᷂ᖤᖠᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖠᖤ ᐊᖅᖠᐊᖤᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖕᖤᖤᖠᖤ ᐅᖤᖠᖤᖤᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ ᖃᖤᖤᑕᐅᖤᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖠᖤᐱ∩ᖤᖠᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖕᖤᖤᖠᖤ ᔾᖤᖠᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ ᐊᖤᔾ∩ᖤᖠᔾᖤᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ ᔾᖤᖃᖤᖤᖤᖠᖤ᷂ᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖤᖠ᷂ᖤ ᔾᖤᖠ᷂ᖤᔾᖤ∩ᖤᖠ᷂ᖤᔾᖤᖤᖠᖓᖤ (B. Ed.)ᖤᖠᖤ ᖤᖠᖤᖤᐱᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᖃᖕᖤᓇᐅᖤᖤᖤᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ᷂ᖤᖤ ᐊᓕᖤᖠᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ᷂ᖤᖤᖤᔾᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤ᷂ᖤ	1	2	3	4	5
ᖠᖤᖠᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤᖠᔾᖤ᷂ᖤ᷂ᖤ ᔾᖤᖠᖤᖤ᷂ᖤᖤᔾᖤᖤ᷂ᖠᖤ ᐊᓕᓴᕆᐊᖤᖤᖠᖤ᷂ᖤ᷂ᖤ	1	2	3	4	5

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▶ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒧᑦ ᐱᐅᓂᖅᓴᑦᑐᒥᒃᑐᖅᑐᓂ ᒍᑎᓭᐊᖅᑕᒪᓂᖑ ᕐᐊᕐᓴᑕᑎ ᐱᓴᓂᐊᔭᐃ ᐊᒻᕼᐊᑕᒥᑖᖅᑕᒋᑦ ᖃ ᓯᓯᒃ ᐱᐊᓴᕼᐊᕐᓯ

▶ ᑭᓯᐊᑕᕐᒃᑦ ᐃᐱᔪᓂᕕᕐᑦ ᐃᓴᓯᐊᑦᓂᖑ ᐃᓀᕿᐊᕐᐹᓇᒍᑦ ᐃᓴᓯᐊᕐᑎᓕᓂᑦ

▶ ᓂᓂᕆᔮᒋᑦ ᐱᑦᖃᐊᐅᕐᒃᑦᑕᑐᑦ ᐱᑦᖃᕐᐊᖅᑕᕿᓐᕆᕐᒐᒍᑦ ᐃᓀᕿᐊᕐᐹᓇᒍᑦ ᐃᓴᓯᐊᕿᐊ.

▶

▶ ᑭ�579ᐱᖅ ᑐᐊᐱᖃᕐᒍᕐᒥ ᐃᓕᓴᕆᐊᑉᑕᑐᕐᕿᐅᖃᐃᔭᒃ ᓄᐊᖓᐃᑐᓃᐊ?

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▶ ᑭᔪᖅ ᐃᓕᓴᖃᑉᑎᕆᓴᑉᖃᖅᓇᖅᑎᖅ ᒫ ᓕᓇᑉᓂᖅᓕᖏ ?

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▶ ᓇᓄᐃᔪᖏ ᖃᐅᐃᓕᓃᖏᑉ ᑕᔪᖅᓇ ᑎᑎᕐᒥᑕᖅᓇ: 1 - ᐊᑉᔭᑎᖏᓃᖅᑕᔾ, 5 - ᐊᖅᔭᑎᖏᓕᖅᑕᔾ

ᐊᔭᖃᐅᑭᓕᔪᖅᑐᖅ ᐅᖏᐱ ᐊᖏᖓᖅ ᐃᓕᓴᐊᖃᖃᐊᑉᖃᖓᖅ ᐊᖅᑭᔫᐃᒥᔪᐱᒪ   1   2   3   4   5
ᐊᐅᖅᒍᔭᖏᔭᖅᖓᖅᒍᖏᒡ ᓄᐊᑎᑉᖏᖅ ᐃᓕᓴᐊᖏᐊᖓᖅᖏᒡ   1   2   3   4   5
ᖃᑕᖅᖓᑎᖏᖓᖅ ᖃᒡᑭᐊᑉᖃᖓᔾᖏ ᐃᓕᓴᐊᑉᖃᔭᖅᖏᖅᖏᒡ   1   2   3   4   5
ᐊᔭᑎᖏᖃᔭᖅᖅᒍᖏ ᐊᖅᑭᔫᐊᑉᖃᔾᖏ ᐊᖅᔪᖅᐊᒡ ᐃᓕᓴᐊᖃᔭᑉᒪ ᖃᖅᔮᖅ ᓄᐊᐃᖓ1   2   3   4   5
ᐃᓕᓴᐊᖃᔾᖅᖃᖓᖅ ᖃᖅᔮᖅ ᓄᐊᐃᖓ ᐃᐸᐊᖅᖃᔾᖅᒡᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᐸᖅᖅᑕᐅᖅ
   ᑎᖃᖅᑉᖃᖃᔭᐃᖓᖅ ᐅᑉᐅᖅᑕᖅᑐᖏᒡ   1   2   3   4   5
ᖃᖅᖅᐅᖅᔭᖃᐊᑉᔭᑉᖏᖅᖓ ᐃᓕᓴᐊᑉᔭᑉᖃᔭᖅᖃᔾᖏᑕᖏ   1   2   3   4   5
ᐃᓕᓴᐊᖃᐸᐅᖃᔾᖏᒡ ᐅᖅᑕᐅᔾᖃᓇᒡ ᐊᑐᖅᒍ   1   2   3   4   5
ᐊᔭᖏᔾᖃᐅᖃᖅᖅ ᐊᒡᖃᓇ ᐃᓄᖅᓇ ᐅᖅᑲᖏᓕᒪᖃᔾᖅ   1   2   3   4   5
ᐊᔭᖏᓕᖅᖃᖅ ᐃᓕᓴᐊᖃᔭᖅᑐᖃᓇᔾᖅ ᐅᖅᓕᖏᒡᖅ ᖃᓇᖏᑐᖅᔭᖅᒡ   1   2   3   4   5
ᐱᒡᓕᖅᐅᔭᓇᓕᖃᖅᖅᖅᒪᖅᑯᖏ ᐃᓕᐅᖅᐊᔾᖏ ᐃᓕᓴᐊᖃᓇᔾᖏ   1   2   3   4   5

▶ ᐃᓄᐃᖃᒻᑉᓕᐅᕐᑐᖕᒃ ᐅᑕᓗᓯ:

    (i) ᐱᐊᓯᐅᕐᐊᕐᑐᖕᒃ ᐸᑯᐦᖕᑕᕐᐊᖕᑭᕐ ᵇᑺ. ᓱᐊ.)__

    (ii) ᑐᒃᒻᐊᔅᖃᖏᕐᕐᐊᒪ ᐸᑯᐦᖕᑕᕐᐊᖕᑭ ᒍᒪᑦᑐᖕᑕ:
          ᒐᑦᒻᐊᖕᑐᑕᓗᒻᖕᑉ ᐊᐸᑕᖕᐹᑐᑕᓗ__ ᐊᔅᑐᓪᑕᒻᑐᖕᑕ ᒐᑦᑐᐊᑐᑕᓗᖕᒃ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᑉᐹᑐᓱᖕᒃ__
          ᒐᑉᓱᐊᕐᑉᖕᑭᖕᑐᐅᑦ᠍ᑐᑕᓗᖕᒃ__ ᒐᓱᖕᑐᑦ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᐸᑐᓱᖕᒃ__ ᐅᕐᑯᐊᑉᐸᑐᑦᑐᑕᓗᖕᒃ__ ᑺᐸᑕᖕᑭ᠍_____

    (iii) ᐱᑕᕐᑕᒍ ᐸᑯᐦᒪᐸᑕᕐᐊᖕᑭ ᐅᖕᑕᕐᕐᑐᒻᑦ ᑐᒃᒻᐊᕐᐊᖕᑕ ᖃᓇᑦᐹᑕᖕᑤ ᐅᑕᓄᖕᑭ:
          ᒐᑦᒻᐊᖕᑐᑕᓗᒻᖕᑉᑭ ᐊᐸᑕᖕᐹᑐᑕᓗ__ ᐊᔅᑐᓪᑕᒻᑐᖕᑕ ᒐᑦᑐᐊᑐᑐᑕᓗᖕᒃ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᑉᐹᑐᓱᖕᒃ__
          ᒐᑉᓱᐊᑦᖕᑭᖕᑐᐅᑦ᠍ᑐᑕᓗᖕᒃ__ ᒐᓱᖕᑐᑦ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᐸᑐᓱᖕᒃ__ ᐅᕐᑯᐊᑉᐸᑐᑦᑐᑕᓗᖕᒃ__ ᑺᐸᑕᖕᑭ᠍_____

▶ ᐅᑭᐅᖕᑦᒻᑐᒻᒐ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᐸᑕᐸᑦ ᖃᐅᐸᑦᒪᓚᐊᑐᑦ ᐊᑺᑉᑕᕐᕐᐊᓴᖕᑕᐊᓗᖕᑭᖕ. ᖃᐅᐸᒍᓪᓘᑦ ᐃᓄᐅᓂᖃᒻᑉᓕᐅᕐᑐᕐᒻᓂᕐᖕ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᖃᑉᒐᐅᑐᖕᑭᑦ ᓯᒻᖕᐊᕐᖕᒻ. ᑲᓪᓚ ᓴᖕᑉᖕᑐᑕᖕᐊᓇᑯᖕᑭ ᓴᓱ ᐊᕐᓱᑦᑕᖕᑭ ᒪᑺᑦᑕᖕ ᐸᖕᑤᖕ ᐊᖕᐸᖕᔅᑕᐸᓘᑦ ᖃᓇᕐᐊᒐᑦ ᐊᖕᑕᐅᑦ ᐊᑺᑉᒪᑺᕐᖃᑦᑐᑕᖕ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᖕᑐᖃᑦ᠍ᐊᖕᑯᕐᑦ ᑐᐸᑦ ᑐᐸᑯᐊᖕᑭᕐᑕᕐ. ᐊᖕᑕᕐ ᖕᖕᑭᕐᓱᑦᒐ ᐊᑦᒪ ᐅᒃᒐᑉᐹᑕᕐ ᑐᖕᑺᑐᐊᒐᑤᑐ ᑲᓇᓚᐹᑐᑕᖕ ᐅᑺᑺᑤᖕ ᐊᓇᕐᑐᑕᖕᑤᕐᑭᕐᑭ ᐊᑦᒪ ᐊᖕᑯᕐ ᐊᓇᑦᐹᑐᖕᑕᕐᐊᕐᑦ ᐊᖕᑕᑺᖕ ᖕᖕᑕᖃᕐᕐᑺᑕᕐᕐ.

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▶ ᐊᑐᑦᒪᐸᑕᕐᕐᑐᖕᒃ ᒪᑕᐊ ᒐᑉᓱᐊᑕ ᐊᑺᑺᑕᓱᑦᑭ ᒐᑦᑐᕐᐊᖕᑭᕐᕐᑕᕐᕐᑭ᠍᠍ᖕᑕᖕ ᖕᑺᓇᖕᑺᑭᕐᑕᕐ:

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▶ ᖕᑭᕐᕐᑕᕐᕐ ᐅᕐᑉᑐᑺᕐᕐᑕᕐ ᐊᑦᒪ ᐊᔅᒪᕐᐸᑭᕐ ᐹᒥᖕᐸᑦᑭᕐᑦ ᑲᒍᒪᑦᒻᖕ ᑺᖕᑕᕐᓂᑦᑺ ᐊᑺᑺᑕᓱᑦ᠍ᑐᖕᑭ᠍᠍ ᒐᑦᑕᕐᐊᕐᐸᑺᖕᑭᖕ ᓱᑕᒻᑦ.

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▶ ᐃᓄᐅᓂᖃᒻᑉᓕᐅᕐᑐᖕᒃ ᐅᑕᓗᓯ:

▶ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕆᐊᓕᕐᔪᑦ ᔪᓪᒋᑦᑕᓂᕐ:

___ ᓚᓂᔾ ᓚᓇᕿᕐᖕᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕈᐱᐱᖕᕚ ᐸᕓᓚᕈᐟ
___ ᓚᓂᕿᕐᓂᔭᔭᕚ
___ ᑎᑎᓯᓇᑐᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᑭᒍᐃᓇᓪᕚ ᕽᑲᐅᕐᐸᔪᕚᑦ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᑎᑎᕽᑲᐅᕝᔪᕚ ᓴᕚᒍᐊᓂᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᓚᔨᕚᔪᐱᐟᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᐊᕐᓂᐊᕽᓭᓂᕐᑐᓂᐟᒪᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᐃᓚᒍᑎᔾᐃᓇᐊᓭᔪᕚᑦ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᐃᐁᐸᐳᕚᕈᓂᕐᒪᕚ

___ ᕽᑲᐅᔭᕚᕚ ᓚᑐᔕᕚᑎᓇ
___ ᐸᕓᓚᕚ ᓚᑐᒍᑦ ᓚᑐᔕᕚᑐᕽᑐᔕᕚᑐᓂᕚ
___ ᓚᑐᕽᑐᕚᕚ ᐊᑐᔾᓚᕚ
___ ᓚᕚᓇ ᐅᐱᓂᑎᕚᕚᕚᓚᕚ
___ ᓚᓂᑎᓇᕚ
___ ᕽᑲᐅᔭᕚᕚ ᐊᕐᓂᐊᓂᕚ ᓚᑐᑎᕚᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᐊᕐᓂᕈᕚᕐᕚᑐᓂᕚ ᕽᑐᑎᕚᓇᕚᕐᓂᕚ ᐊᕽᑐᕚᑎᕐᔾᑦ

___ ᐊᕽᕚᓂ ᓚᔭᓚᕚ ᑭᑐᔕᕚᑎᑦ ᐊᕽᕚᕚᑐᓂᕐᒪᕚ
___ ᑎᑎᕽᕚᕈᓇᕚ ᕽᑲᐅᔭᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᓚᑐᔕᕚᓂᕚ ᕽᔾᕐᕚᕚᕚᑦ 3
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᓚ ᐊᕚᑐᕚᓇ ᓚᑐᕚᕚᑎᕚᕚᕚ

___ ᐃᕽᑲᓚᔾᕚᑎᕚ ᕽᒪᓂᕚ
___ ᕚᔕᑐᕽᑎᑐᓇ ᐱᕽᑎᕚᑐᓇ
___ ᑐᕽᕽᑲᐅᑎᑎᓇᓚᔾ ᕽᑲᐅᔭᕚᕈᕚ
___ ᐊᕚᕐᕽᑎᑎᕚᕚᕚᑦᑐᑎᑦᕚᑎᕚᕐᒪᕚ ᐊᕽᕚᕚᔕᓇᕚ
___ ᐊᔾᕽᑐᕽᑐᕚᓂᕚᕚᕚᕚᑐᔾᕚ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ
___ ᐃᕽᑲᓚᔭᕚᑦ ᓇᕽᕚᐊᕚᕚᕚᓇ ᕚᓚᕚᕚ
___ ᐊᕈᓚᔾᕚᑕᐊᕚᓚ
___ ᓚᓚᔾᕚᑐᓚᕚ ᓚᓚᕚᕚ ᑭᑐᔕᕚᑎᑦ
___ ᐃᕽᑲᓚᔭᕚᑎᕚ ᓚᑐᕚᑐᕐᕚᕚᑦ ᕽᑲᐅᔭᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᑐᕚᑐᕚᕚᕚᕽ ᓇᕚᕚ ᕚᑐᕚᕚᔾᕚᕐᕚᕚᕚᑦ ᓚᕚᑐᕚᑦ

___ ᐊᑐᔾᕚᕚᕚ ᓇᓚᕚᓚ ᐃᕽᑲᐸᓚᕚᑦ ᓚᕚᕚᕚᔾᕚ
___ ᓚᕽᕐᔾᕚᕐᕚᕚᕚᕚ ᓚᕿᕚᕈᕚᕚᕚ ᕽᕚᐅᔭᕚᕐᕚᕚᕚᕚ
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___ ᓇᕽᕚᓚᑐᒪᕚ ᐊᑐᔾᓚᕚ
___ ᓇᕽᕽᕚ ᕚᑐᕚᕚᑐᕚᑐᕚᕚᕐᕚᑦ ᐊᕚᔕᑐᕚᑐᕚᕚᕐᕚᑦ
___ ᐊᕽᕚᕚᔾᕚᕚᕚᑦ ᐊᕽᕚᕚᔾᕚᕚᕚᕚ ᕚᑐᕚᕚᕚᑦᕚᕚᓇ
___ ᓚᕽᓚᕚᕚᓚᕚ ᐃᕽᑲᐱᕚᕚᕚᕚ

___ ᓚᕽᕚᑐᑦ ᕽᕚᓚᑐᕚᕚᓚᕚᕚ ᑎᑎᕽᓇᕚᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᕽᕚᑐᓚᕚᕚᕚᕚ/ᓚᕚᓚᕚᕚᑦ ᕽᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚᕈᕚᕚ
___ ᕽᕚᑐᕚᑐᕚᓇᕚ, ᕽᓇᕽᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚ ᐊᕚᕚᕐᕚᕐ
___ ᐊᕽᕚᑎᕐᕚᕚᕚᕚᑦᕚᓇ ᓚᑐᕚᑐᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᐊᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᑭᕚᔕᕚᕚᑐᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᕚᓇᕽᕚᕈᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᕽᕚᕚᕚᕚᕈᕚᕚᒪᕚ

___ ᕽᕚᑐᕚᕈᕚᕚᒪᕚ
___ ᐊᑐᔾᕚᑐᕚ ᓚᕚᕚᔕᑐᕚᓇᕚ ᓇᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᕽᔾᕚᕚᕚᕚᕚ 4, 5 ᐊᕚᒪ 6
___ ᓚᕿᕚᓚᕚ ᓚᑐᕚᑐᕚᕚᕚᕚᓇ

___ ᐊᑐᔾᕚᑐᕚ ᓇᕚᕚᕚᕚ ᐃᕽᑲᐸᓚᔾᕚᕈᕚᕚ
___ ᐊᕚᓚᕚᔾᕚ ᓚᕚᕚᓚᕚ
___ ᐊᕚᕈᔾᕚᓚᕚᑐᕚᔾᕚ ᕽᕚᐅᔭᕚᕐᕚᕚᑦ
___ ᐊᕽᑐᕚᕐᕚᑐᕚᕚᑎᕽᕚᕚᑐᓇᕚ ᐊᕈᔾᕚᓚᕚ
___ ᑭᓇᕚᔕᕚ ᐊᑐᔾᑐᕚᕚᑦ ᕚᓚᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᓚᕽᕚᔾᕚᕚᕚᔾᕚ ᕽᕚᓚᕚ
___ ᐊᑐᕚᕚᑦᕚᕚᕚ ᐊᕽᕚᕚᔕᕚᕚᑦᕚᕚᕚ ᕽᕚᑐᕐᕚᕈᑐᕚᑐᕚᕚᕐᔕᕚᕚᕚ
___ ᓚᕚᓚᕚᕚᑦ ᕽᕚᓚᕚᕚᕚᕈᕚᑦ
___ ᐊᕽᕚᕐᕚᕚᕽᕚᕚᕚᕚᕈᕚᕚᕚᕚ ᓇᕚᕚᕚᕚᕐᕚᓇᕚ

ᐊᕚᕚᕚᕚᑦ:

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▶

COMMISSIONS SCOLAIRES DU NUNAVUT QUESTIONNAIRE
PORTRAIT SUR LA FORMATION DU PERSONNEL
Novembre 1994

Merci de remplir ce questionnaire. Ceci nous aidera à orienter votre perfectionnement comme éducateur nordique.
S'il vous plaît, cochez une ou plusieurs cases pour chaque question.

(i) Je travaille présentement comme:

(ii) Au travail, je parle: __ inuktitut/inuinnaqtun __ anglais __ français __ autre

(iii) Je peux parler, lire et écrire: __ inuktitut/inuinnaqtun __ anglais __ français __ autre

(iv) Je suis de sexe: __ masculin __ féminin

(v) Je suis âgé(e) de: __ 20 - 30 __ 31 - 40 __ 41 - 50 __ 51 - 60 __ 61 - 70

(vi) Je travaille en éducation dans les T.N.-O. depuis: __ 1 - 3 ans __ 4 - 9 __ 10 - 20 __ 21 - 30

(vii) Je travaille en éducation depuis: _____ ans

(viii) Nombre d'habitants dans ma communauté: __ 1 - 200 __ 201 - 400 __ 401 - 700 __ 701 - 2000 __ 2001 - 4000

(ix) Je suis: __ Inuk __ Déné __ Métis __ Non-aborigène

J'ai complété (ou compléterai cette année):
__ Apprentissage dans la lande __ École primaire __ 7o - 9e années __ 10e année __ 12e année
__ Certains cours du NTEP __ Cert. d'enseignement des T.N.-O. __ Bacc. Ed.
__ Autres cours et qualifications _____

Dans l'avenir, je souhaiterais travaillé comme:
__ Enseignant au primaire
__ P.S.T./S.S.T.
__ Conseiller scolaire communautaire
__ Principal
__ Instructeur au NTEP
__ Directeur
__ Enseignant au secondaire
__ Conseiller scolaire
__ Assistant principal
__ Consultant au niveau de la comm. scolaire
__ Superviseur des écoles
__ Autre poste _____

Au niveau de l'école, je préférerais:
__ Support quotidien pour mon programme
__ Support et planification P.S.T./S.S.T.
__ Des modèles d'approche dans ma classe
__ Être seul(e) pour enseigner et planifier
__ Enseignement par équipe avec un autre professionnel
__ Support des administrateurs de la comm. scolaire
__ Support hebdomadaire pour mon programme
__ Support du principal dans ma classe
__ Support d'autres enseignants
__ Support des consultants de la comm. scolaire

S.v.p., indiquez-nous comment vous souhaiteriez être supporté dans votre travail:

J'aimerais suivre des cours ou des ateliers:
__ Dans les communautés
__ À une université du sud
__ Par éducation à distance
__ Avec d'autres membres du personnel
__ Durant l'été
__ À un campus du Collège de l'Arctique
__ À une école d'été d'une localité centrale
__ En petits groupes
__ Avec des collègues suivant la même formation
__ Durant l'année scolaire

S.v.p., partagez avec nous toute autre suggestion:

▶ *J'aimerais suivre ma formation/mes cours:*

__ Ateliers de deux/quatre jours   __ Modules d'une semaine

__ Modules de deux semaines   __ À une école d'été durant 2/4 semaines

__ Cours du soir dans ma communauté   __ Éducation à distance par moi-même

__ Éducation à distance avec des collègues   __ Alors que je suis en congé pour études

S.v.p., partagez avec nous toute autre suggestion

_____

_____

▶ *Je serais intéressé(e) par*

__ Cours du NTEP   __ Diplôme universitaire dans le sud

__ Diplôme sur une base de temps partiel   __ Ateliers au niveau de l'école

__ Ateliers dans d'autres écoles   __ Cours d'éducation à distance

S.v.p., décrivez tout autre type d'études que vous aimeriez faire:

_____

_____

▶ *J'aimerais suivre mes cours en:*

anglais __ inuktitut __ inuinnaqtun __ français __ autre _____

▶ *Je suis prêt(e) à:*

compléter ma formation par les soirs ou durant l'été.   Oui __ Non __

utiliser les fonds de formation professionnelle pour des cours que je choisis de suivre.   Oui __ Non __

payer pour l'éducation que je choisis de suivre.   Oui __ Non __

payer pour les cours que ma commission scolaire me demande de suivre.   Oui __ Non __

utiliser les fonds de formation professionnelle pour suivre les cours suggéréspar ma commission scolaire. Oui __ Non __

▶ *Qui devrait coordonner la formation fournie aux éducateurs du Nunavut?*

Commissions scolaires __ NTEP/Coll. de l'Arctique __ Ministère de l'éducation __ Autre _____

*Commentaires:*_____

▶ *S.v.p., cochez le nombre approprié: 1 = pas d'accord, 5 = tout à fait d'accord*

	1	2	3	4	5
Je suis suffisamment formé(e) pour faire face à mes défis professionnels sur une base quotidienne	1	2	3	4	5
Lorsque je prends un cours, j'aimerais qu'il me soit crédité en vue d'un diplôme	1	2	3	4	5
Les enseignants sont trop occupés pour suivre des cours	1	2	3	4	5
Les éducateurs doivent être impliqués dans un processus continu d'apprentissage	1	2	3	4	5
Les cours au niveau de la maîtrise pourraient être offerts dans le Nunavut	1	2	3	4	5
Les cours devraient être offerts dans les communautés	1	2	3	4	5
La culture et les traditions inuit devraient être au centre de tout plan de formation	1	2	3	4	5
Les éducateurs nordiques devraient dispenser des cours à chaque fois que cela est possible	1	2	3	4	5
Je prendrais des cours à distance durant l'année scolaire	1	2	3	4	5
Je prendrais des cours d'été s'ils s'avéraient utiles pour mon travail	1	2	3	4	5
La formation au-delà du Bacc. est une perte de temps	1	2	3	4	5
L'amélioration académique devrait faire partie de toute formation offerte	1	2	3	4	5
Il est de ma responsabilité d'organiser ma propre formation	1	2	3	4	5

▶

► S.v.p., parlez-nous du meilleur perfectionnement ou expérience de formation du personnel que vous avez vécu? En quoi cela a-t-il été si positif?

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► Citez quelques-unes des choses les plus utiles que vous ayez apprises durant votre formation à titre d'enseignant.

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► Citez certaines des choses qui vous ont manqué lors de votre formation à titre d'enseignant.

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►

Quels sont, selon vous, les besoins les plus urgents en matière de formation des enseignants dans le Nunavut?

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Quels sont vos besoins spécifiques de formation à ce moment de votre carrière?

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S.v.p. cochez le nombre approprié: 1 = pas d'accord, 5 = tout à fait d'accord

Il serait difficile pour moi d'organiser mon propre plan de formation	1 2 3 4 5
Il serait difficile de quitter ma communauté pour une formation	1 2 3 4 5
Mes responsabilités familiales me laissent peu de temps pour les études	1 2 3 4 5
Il me serait difficile de planifier une année d'études dans le sud	1 2 3 4 5
La formation dans le sud pourrait ne pas répondre aux besoins des gens du nord	1 2 3 4 5
Mes habiletés académiques pourraient m'empêcher de bien me débrouiller dans les cours	1 2 3 4 5
Je préférerais que les cours soient offerts dans ma propre langue	1 2 3 4 5
Je trouve souvent difficile de m'exprimer devant un groupe	1 2 3 4 5
Je trouverais difficile de prendre un cours d'éducation à distance	1 2 3 4 5
Il n'est pas vraiment important de s'impliquer à suivre des cours	1 2 3 4 5

▶ Je serais intéressé(e) à:

    (i)   compléter mon baccalauréat ___

    (ii)   m'inscrire à un certificat universitaire en:

          administration éducative ___ éducation intégrée (spéciale) ___

          curriculum ___ éducation inuit ___counselling ___ autre _____

    (iii) entreprendre une maîtrise par éducation à distance en:

          administration éducative ___éducation intégrée (spéciale) ___

          curriculum ___ éducation inuit ___counselling ___ autre _____

▶ Les éducateurs nordiques ont beaucoup d'habiletés à partager. Nous sommes intéressés à savoir si vous aimeriez vous impliquer à offrir des cours dans le futur. Ceci pourrait ne pas se produire avant deux ans. mais nous souhaitons dresser une liste de gens qui pourraient aider à dispenser de la formation dans les communautés du Nunavut. Veuillez s.v.p. fournir au comité, vos nom et numéro de téléphone ou communiquez avec nous afin d'ajouter votre nom à la liste.

_____

_____

▶ Je voudrais recommander que les éducateurs suivants soient invités à offrir des cours dans le futur.

_____

_____

▶ S.v.p., partagez avec nous certaines idées et commentaires qui permettraient, selon vous, une meilleure planification dans le but de répondre aux besoins des enseignant(e)s du Nunavut.

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▶

J'aimerais en apprendre davantage sur:

___ culture inuit

___ planification de programme

___ habiletés traditionnelles

___ E.S.L.

___ processus de l'écriture

___ enseignement des sciences

___ enseignement des arts

___ enseignement des études sociales

___ enseignement des soins de santé

___ ens. de l'inuktitut/inuinnaqtun

___ ens. des habiletés de penser

___ utilisation des ressources locales dans votre programme

___ conscience pluriculturelle

___ planification de thèmes

___ inuktitut/unuinnaqtun langue seconde

___ établissement de curriculum et de programme

___ enseignement des mathématiques

___ enseignement de la musique

___ enseignement de l'éducation physique

___ enseignement des habiletés langagières

___ ens. des programmes pratiques

___ évaluation des étudiants

___ préparer des programmes individuels

___ gestion des comportements

___ développement de l'estime de soi

___ abus sexuels chez l'enfant

___ organisation en petits groupes

___ travail d'équipe

___ améliorer mon inuktitut/inuinnaqtun

___ identification des besoins spéciaux

___ préparation des I.E.P.

___ comment conseiller les étudiants

___ gestion de la colère

___ évaluation des enfants avec des besoins spéciaux

___ gestion de l'enseignement à multiniveaux

___ planification de thèmes

___ lire et écrire en inuktitut

___ ordinateurs

___ utiliser la technologie en classe

___ utilisation des centres

___ habiletés de plein air

___ arts ___ danse

___ télécommunications

___ apprentissage coopératif

___ habiletés interrogatives

___ théâtre ___ la musique

___ enseignement des habiletés de recherche

___ utiliser un apprentissage plus actif

___ évaluation authentique (portefolios)

___ enseignement au primaire

___ enseignement au secondaire/junior

___ approche globale du language

___ utilisation des jeux avec les enfants

___ enseignement intermédiaire

___ enseignement au secondaire/sénior

___ gestion du personnel

___ travailler avec les parents

___ diriger des groupes

___ habiletés de communication

___ établissement de consensus

___ formation en affirmation de soi

___ planification de la retraite

___ composer avec le stress

___ organisation personnelle

___ évaluation du personnel

___ entrepreneur en affaires d'école/de la communauté

___ techniques de présentation

___ utiliser les ressources de la communauté

___ tâches administratives

___ habiletés de facilitateur

___ résolution de conflits

___ gestion budgétaire

___ gestion de temps

___ gestion des problèmes personnels

___ responsabilités légales

___ développer des partenariats dans la communauté

Autres:

_____

_____

_____

Veuillez retourner ce questionnaire au:
Comité de formation du personnel Commission scolaire de division de Baffin
C.P. 1330, Iqaluit, T.N.-O., X0A 0H0

HAVAQTUNIN ILIHAGUMAJUNIN NAUNAIGUMAPLUTA APIHUJUGUN.

Cuanacutin una inigangni. Iqajuqniaqtaatin ajuihagaaguvin ilinianim micnaanun navagaaguvin.
Taiguqlugu. atauhiqmiq. avataanuniuuniin titigainagianiujutin.

▶ *Ilihimajumajugun qinaucgavin/hulivacianaangniqlu*

  (i)   Haja navaaga _____

  (ii) Havaamni uaacpaqtunga: Inuqutut/Inuinnaqtun__ qabiunaqtun__ Wewiitun__ Atla__

  (iii) uqajuqtunga. Taiguqnunga. uuigaqnungalu:Inuqutut/Inuinnaqtun__ qabiunaqtun__ Wewiitun__ Atla__

  (iv) uvanga: Angut__ Angnaq__

  (v) Uqiukaqtunga: 20 - 30__ 31 - 40__ 41 - 50__ 51 - 60__ 61 - 70__

  (vi) Havaqnimajunga Nunatiami uqiuni: 1 - 3__ 4 - 9 __ 10 - 20__ 21 - 30__

  (vii) Havaqnimajunga iliqnianim miqhaanun ____ uqiun.

  (viii) Nunatiaq navaqviga Inuqaqtuq: 1 - 200__ 201 - 400__ 401 - 700__ 701 - 2000__ 2001 - 4000__

  (ix) Inuunimajunga: Inuinaq__ Itqiliq__ Itqiliq/atlalu__ Nunatiam Nanminigingitaanga__

▶ *Hapqua Ilihimajatqa/ajuitatqalu:*

        audlaagiahamniq ajungittunga__ Miqiplunga Iliniaqhimajunga__ Tiqitaga 7 - 9 __
        Tiqitaga 10__ Tiqitaga 12__ NTEP ajuihaqhimajaaga__ Nunatiami
        Ilihaijamni Titigaqaqtunga__ ausaimit Ilihaqhimajunga Titigaqaqtunga __
        Aatlanlu titigan pihimajatin_____

▶ *Hivunimnun Ihumajunga havaagijumajaga:*

        __ Nutaqat ilihagumajatqa tiqitinagin 7
        __ Iqajuqtiulunga Ilihaijumun/S.S.T.
        __ Siquqviq/nunamnilu Ihumaalutiqaqtain
        __ Siquqvium Atangujaata Tuqligijumagijaga
        __ Iliniaqniqmun miqhaanun qatimajiit tuhiagaiqpata
            iqajuqpagumajunga havaagilugu
        __ Atangujaujumajunga Siquqviqnun
        __ Atlan Havaagijumajatqa

        __ Ilihaqtiujumajunga Inulgangniq
        __ Ihumaluutiqaqata uqaqtiujumajunga
        __ siquqtun angajuqanginiuuqaqtiujumajunga
        __ Siquqviqmi Atangujaujumajunga
        __ Nunavutmi Ilihaqtitijumajunga Siquqtitiujumajunun
        __ Atangujaujumajunga Ilinianim miqhaagun
        __ Katimajiinun havaqtiulunga

/

▶ *Ilihaqtitlunga hapqua piumajatqa:*

        __ ubluq tamman iqajuqtaujumajunga
        __ P.S.T/S.S.T Iqajuqtaujumajunga upalungaiJaguma
        __ ilihailigaiguma
        __ Atlanin Iliniaqtitijuunin iqajuqtaujumajunga
            Iqajuqtaujumajunga qatimajiit
        __ Iqajuqtaujumajunga Iliniaqtuaqhimajumin

        __ Sundaangniq tammaniqajuqtaujumajunga
        __ Iqajuqtaujumajunga atangujaqun
        __ Ilihaigaiguma ilihaqnimnun iqajuqujunga
        __ uvamniq upalungaijagumajunga Ilihailungalu
        __ Havaqtiiniq
        __ Iqajuqtaujumajunga Katimajiit havaqtiannin

Hamunga titigagin qanuk iqajuqtaujumajagiahangniq:

_____

▶ *Ilihagumajunga:*

        __ Nunalanni
        __ Ilihaqviqmi Aosaimi
        __ nunamnun Aquiqtuqlugin ilihaqtahatqa
        __ Havaqatitqalu
        __ Aojami

        __ Ilihaqviani auqtiq qollage
        __ Aojagaiqpan qanittumi
        __ Iqitluta iqajuqatgiiqluta
        __ Atlan ilihagiahimajun ajiqutamiq ilihaqtamniq
        __ Atlan ilihaqtitlugin

Hamunga atlan titigajavatin ihumajatin:

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▶ Uqautigiqin iliniaghimajatin naqungniujuq, ilvit ilihaqpaqtan? Huuq naquungniuva?

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▶ Hunauva ajuiqtan iliniatiunahuaqhutin ilingnun iqajuqtuq?

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▶ Ilihagavin huna ihumaviuq ilijahagaluit?

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Huna ihumavigit ajuihaqtahagaluangit iliniaqtihanun Nunavutmi?

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▶ *Haja hunauvat ilijahatın?*

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▶ *Ihuagijan titiqlugu:* 1 = Ihuagingittaga 5 = ihuagiqpiaqtaga

Uvamniq ilihaqtahaga ayungnaqniaqtuq titigangnahuagupqu	1	2	3	4	5
Ajunangniaqtuq aulaqlunga iliniagiaqtuqlunga	1	2	3	4	5
Ilihangnahuagaluaguma nutakatka ilatkalu ajuhaqtiniaqtanga	1	2	3	4	5
Ausaimun aulagaluaguma ajuhangniaqtunga	1	2	3	4	5
Ausaimi iliniagumiq nunatiam piumajain ayuilimaittungaqhijavun	1	2	3	4	5
Ilihaqluaqhimainama ajuqhangniagungnaqhijunga ilihagiatugumma	1	2	3	4	5
Ihuagitqijagijaga ajuihaguma ukauhimni	1	2	3	4	5
Ajuhaqpaqtunga ukagiamni innugiagangat	1	2	3	4	5
Ajungnagijaga iliniagiamni aquiqtuqhugin	1	2	3	4	5
Ilihagiami hunuangittuq iluangitqaluaqlunga	1	2	3	4	5

Uvanga ilihagumajatqa hapkua:

(i)   Iniqlugu Bachelor Degree___

(ii)   Titigaqagumajunga ausaimin:
Ilinianigum miqhaanun titigaqniq___ Qatitlugin ilihangnigin (miqnaanun ajunaqiuaqtunun)___
Titigagumajatqa ilihuatihat___ Inuit ilihaqtitlugin___ Ukaujijumajunga___ Atlan_____

(iii) Ilihaligumajunga Master's miqnaanun:
Iinianigum miqhaanun titigaqniq___ Qatitlugin ilihangnigin (miqhaanun ajunaqiuaqtunun)___
Titigagumajatqa ilihuatihat___ Inuit ilihaqtitlugin___ Ukaujijumajunga___ Atlan_____

Nunatiamı ilihaqtitijun amigaitumiq ilihimajun. Ilihimajumajugut iiaani ilihaqtitijumagaluaqqin. Haja pihagunaittuq qihimı atiqniq titigaliqtugun ilihaqtitijumajungniq, qaqugu Nunavutmı ilihaqtitijuhailiuligupta atqin pihimajaptingnı. Katımayıınun atqın, ukautınıa nambaa tunilugu immalunniin hivajaqiuta atkin titigaqulugin.

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Hapkua ilihaqtitijun ilihaqtitijuhaugaluin qaqugumı:

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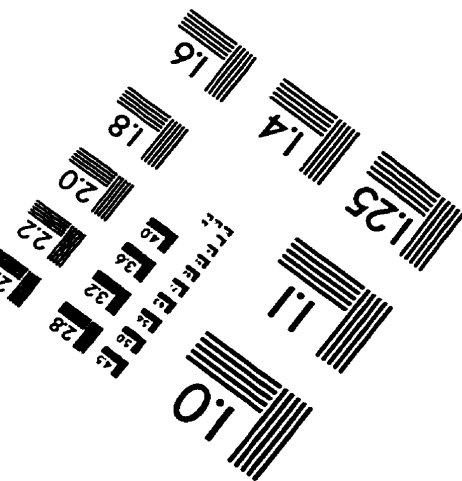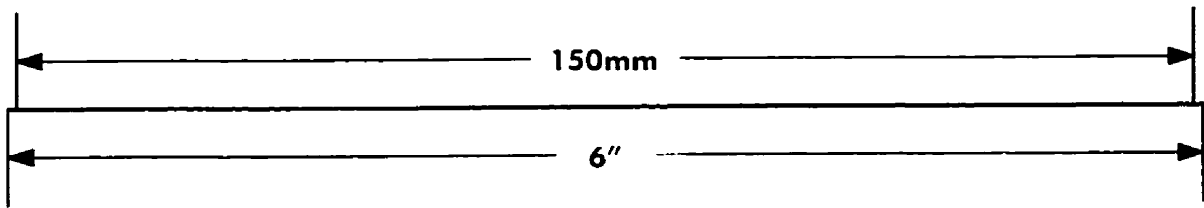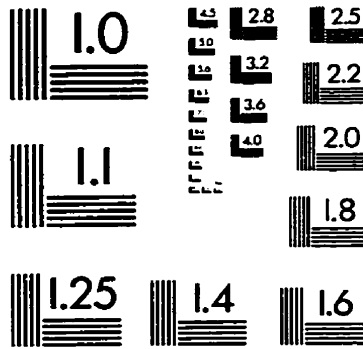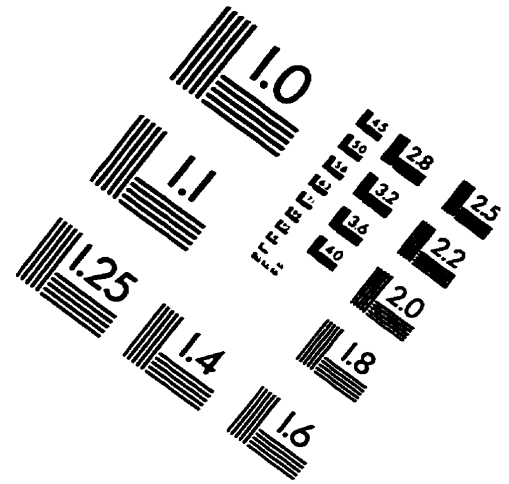Hunaliqaq titigainagialiq hamunga ihumagijangniq miqhaagun ilihaqniqmun Nunavutmı.

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Ilihatiagumajunga:

___ Inuit inuuhiinniq
___ Upalungaijagiamni ilihaijutinamniq
___ Nunamiutut ajuigumajunga
___ Ilihaijumajunga qiqiisiangniqun
___ Ilihaijumajunga hananiqmun, minguqniqmun
___ Ilihaijumajunga attuqniqmun/hanagaitlu
___ Innuuvagianaita
___ Ilihaijumajunga timipta pitnaninganun
___ Ilihaijumajunga Inuktitut/Innuinaqtun
___ naqujumiq

___ Ilihaijumajunga Ihumaningningmun
___ Iliniaqtun uuqtuqlugin iligiahaita
___ Atauhim ajuihautihainiq
___ Ihuaqhailunga I.E.P niq
___ Ukautilugit iliniaqtun
___ Qunniaqqaqlugin nutaqan ajuhaqtun/ajuhautiqaqtunlo ilihaliqtinnagin
___ Upalungaijangniqmon atauhingmiq ihumajautiqaguvin
___ Ilihaijun havaqatigilugin

___ Innuinaqtun/Inuktitutlo ajuijumijumajunga
___ E.S.L
___ ukauhimnun
___ Ukautin
___ attugumajatqa
___ Attuqlugin ilihaqviin
___ Nunamiuttun
___ Attungniq

___ Hananiq/minguqniq
___ Numiqniq
___ Ilihaktun atuqlugin ajuihainahuaqlunga
___ Nanminiq Uuqtuhimajun(hanajutin)
___ Ilihailunga ajuilihaaqtunnun

___ Havaqtiqaguma qanuq ukautinniagaluaqigit
___ Ihuiguhuqquma qanuq ihuaqhiniagaluaqqa
___ Angajuqaan havaqatigilugin
___ Nunatiamni innuin attuqlugin
___ Havaahan havaqvingmi ajuiqlugin
___ Upalungaijangniqmun ajuigumajunga
___ qanuq qanguhuiqniagaluaqqinga
___ Iningninguguma qanuq upalungaijaqniagaluaqiq
___ Iqaqniq atuqnia ihuaqtumiq ajuigumajunga
___ ihumaaluutiqaqtugut uvaptingniq
___ Innuhiga ihumaaluutiqagaluaqhuni, havaamni
___ Havaamni titigaqhimajun havaqtahatka
___ Havaqtitqa havauhiit nalunaijagumajatqa havaahaqhiulutiq

___ nungniq atulunga ilihaqtamniq nunamni
___ Qanuq inuit/Qablunaat Inuuvagianaita
___ Titigauniit
___ Ilihaiumajunga uattuqtautiniqmi
___ piqsaliungniqmunlu
___ Ilihaijumajunga Inuniqmiq, pittia naqniqmi/kanuqlu atlan Inuin
___ Ilihaijumajunga ulaqqiniqqut
___ Ilihaijumajunga uqauhiqniq
___ Ilihaijumajunga qanuq inuniagaluaqitta

___ Titigauhiq/ilihangniq qanuq piniagaluaqqa
___ Naunaijaqlugin iliniaqtun attuqtahainiq, ilaani Iliniaqtun ajuhautiqangmata
___ Qanuq naalaqtitiniagaluaqinga
___ Iliniaqtun inmingniq naqugipqainahuaqlugin
___ Nuttaqan qahaqtaugaiqpata huliniagaluaqqin
___ Iqqittuniq inungniq havaqtitilunga iliniaqtun ajiqingitkangata ilihautain, qanuq
___ ilihaaniagaluaqigin

___ Taiguqlunga/titigaqlungalu Inuktitut
___ Ajuigomajaga Innuinaqtun/Inuktitunlu tuqliulugo
___ Kagitaujan
___ Ilihaqlunga kagitaujan/ukautin
___ Ilihagomajunga havaqatigiiqlugin atlan
___ Apihuiningmun
___ Piqsasuliuqtutun
___ Ilihaijumajunga ilihaqtahamniq qiniqhianiqmun

___ Ilihailunga iniqjuqittunnun
___ Ilihailunga ajuihaqhimajunun
___ Uqauhiit tammapqiqlugit qangiqhianahuaqlugu
___ Ulapqiujaniq atuqlunga nutaqanun
___ Ilihailunga Inulgangnun

___ Innungnun amigaitunun ukagiamni ajuigumajunga
___ Sikuqviqmi/Nunaptimni qiinaujaliugumagumiq
___ Illani ukagumavagaluaqtunga, qanguhuinaqtunga
___ Innugiaqpan Uqaqtiujangni
___ Ukagaiguma ukatiagumajunga
___ apihuitigilimaitatka
___ Kiinaujaqut munagitianiqut
___ Nunamni havaqatigiiqluta
___ Ihuumaaluliguma qanuq ihumaluguiqniagaluaqingallaani
___ qanuq ihuaqhiniagaluaqqa
___ ulapiqutigijumangitaga

Atlanlo:

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IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA−3)

150mm

6"