

AAJIQATIGINGNIQ



A REPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF NUNAVUT

DECEMBER 2000



**AAJIIQATIGIINGNIQ
LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION
RESEARCH PAPER**

**A REPORT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF NUNAVUT
IQALUIT, NUNAVUT
CANADA**

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DECEMBER 2000

COVER IMAGE:

**TWO MEN DISCUSSING COMING HUNT, KAVAVOA/ELIYAH, STENCIL, 1961
REPRODUCED WITH THE PERMISSION OF DORSET FINE ARTS**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Discussion Paper has been commissioned to offer Education Nunavut a number of options for discussion on the topic of language of instruction (LOI) in Nunavut schools.

The main option which the paper advocates is a major twenty-year effort to develop a strong bilingual (Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun - English) education system for the territory.

There are parts of Nunavut where the Inuit language is seriously endangered. In itirmiut, it is no longer normally transmitted from parents to children and grandparents are being cut off from grandchildren. In Iqaluit, a fourteen-year-old high school student writes that she wants to pass on her language to her children, but feels that her own control of the language is not firmly anchored, and she doubts that she has much to pass on. In the same Iqaluit school, a student writes that he feels ashamed not to be able to understand his grandparents and other elders, and wonders why the school does nothing to help.

Although Qitirmiut and Iqaluit are “unique situations”, and, as such, receive separate treatment in this study, the long-term threat to Inuit language (this language refers to both Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun) from English is found everywhere, and current school language policies and practices on language are contributing to that threat.

In our judgement, the main option facing the Department is to evolve beyond the weak bilingual model inherited from the NWT - a model which almost by definition cannot produce confident bilingual, biliterate speakers, which seriously infringes on young people’s linguistic human rights (which we define), and which fails to respond to the present and future human development needs of Nunavut.

The present model - an early-exit transitional model - requires Inuit students to become English-speakers if they wish to continue their education beyond the Grade 4-5 “transition point”, since the only language of instruction in Nunavut schools thereafter is English. In our judgement, the ideological orientation of this system is seriously flawed, for four main reasons:

1. It is not a true bilingual system; it replaces the child’s first language with an imperfectly learned second language, and rather than allowing both languages to develop to a high level, too often neither language develops to its full potential. This is typically the case for “weak models” of bilingual education, including the “early-L1 exit” type dominant in Nunavut schools.
2. It is an infringement upon the individual and collective linguistic human rights of the Inuit people. Many other rights are accessible only through the guarantee of linguistic rights. The right, for example, of access to the cultural resources of one’s group – the heritage of Inuit Qaujimaqatugangit is primarily accessible only to those who command a sophisticated knowledge of Inuit language.

3. It does not respond to the present and future human resource needs of Nunavut, which will require an educated, bilingual population able to exercise all available means of self-determination, both in Nunavut, and in Nunavut's relations with Canada and the outside world.
4. Language loss is connected to a whole web of social and economic problems, and language promotion and revitalization are as much a part of a holistic community wellness strategy as health, economic development, self-esteem and identity, and a clean environment - to which language and education are intimately connected.

Language loss is connected to a whole web of social and economic problems, and language promotion and revitalization are as much a part of a holistic community wellness strategy as health, economic development, self-esteem and identity, and a clean environment - to which language and education are intimately connected.

Consequently, the Discussion Paper offers the following options for discussion:

- that the Government re-affirm and clarify for the field of education the commitment made in the Bathurst Mandate, that by 2020 Nunavut will be a “fully functional bilingual society, in Inuktitut and English”.
- and that, recognizing that Nunavut schools have an important role to play in building this bilingual society, the Government mandate, through a new Education Act, that the schools put in place a “strong” model of bilingual education, the only model which is likely to ensure that the 2020 goal be reached.
- that the Department engage in a consultation process on a limited set of “strong” options (we offer four, and propose Nunavut applications of each). Since there are a variety of community language situations, there won't be a single model for every situation. Yet, the long-term outcome of every model would be comparable in terms of preparing young people for a bilingual society, where Inuktitut in all its forms would be the main working language of government (and consequently the main language between the government and its citizens).

In Qitirmiut, where the communities want and need to reverse language shift, we consider L2 Inuinnaqtun immersion; in Iqaluit, a mixed-population community, we consider a two-way/dual-language model, and for predominantly Inuit communities, a bilingual maintenance model.

The goal of all these models is to build strong elementary school programmes, where the language of instruction policy of the school arises out of a careful consideration of the relationship between the child's first and second languages, and well-established language of instruction principles designed to facilitate children's cognitive development, self-esteem, relationships to elders, and bilingualism/biliteracy through strengthening their first language, Inuktitut. This option essentially eliminates the many “problems around transition”, by eliminating transition, first as an appropriate concept for Nunavut (and this may require some

“real talk” between Inuit and Qallunaat, since both parties have been shaped by the “shadow” of colonial relations which might see transition as “normal”) and secondly as a set of policies and practices.

The elementary school language policy options we offer would, we anticipate, allow both English and Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun to be used equally (or unequally, according to community desires, but always retaining at least a “bilingual core set” so that two periods a day - one Language Arts [L1 or L2] period plus one period in which the language is used as the LOI) as a language of instruction at the high school level throughout Nunavut.

The special difficulty in Nunavut with implementing community-appropriate strong bilingual models lies in its underdeveloped infrastructure. While there have been significant initiatives in curriculum development and learning materials, much remains to be done so that Inuktitut could be the main LOI to the end of elementary school and an equal LOI in high school.

But the most critical constraint of all is the development of a strong new generation of Inuit teachers. In order to meet NIC hiring targets of 85% Inuit staff in the schools by 2020, (and our “strong model” is entirely in harmony with this target), and in order to deliver an increased presence of Inuit language teaching and subject teaching through the medium of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun, major reform and significantly increased funding will be needed.

Included in our options are the following new initiatives:

- the creation of an Inuit Educators Associate, made up of all practising Inuit teachers, administrators, support staff, materials and curriculum developers;
- the setting up of a multi-function amalgamated structure including a Nunavut College of Education to bring all infrastructure development components of the new bilingual system under one roof, inside the Department of Education;
- the creation of an Inuit Language Commission, reporting to CLEY, and mandated to recommend language planning initiative, protection and promotion, on behalf of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun.

Our option of adopting a strong model of bilingual education in Nunavut cannot be accomplished overnight. And, as we repeat again and again in our report, an in-depth community consultation process is necessary, involving appropriate input from CLEY, the NSDC, Inuit Associations, elders associations, and these three new proposed entities.

Our strong bilingual education system option would go through these stages:

- Stage I: (2000-2003) Preparation period. Consultations, community planning, promotion and information campaign on community-based bilingual education, focus on teacher development and other infrastructural components.
- Stage II: (2003-2010) Selection of a community-appropriate model and building toward implementation and first delivery of strong model in elementary school (K-7) by 2005; in Grades 8-12 by 2007. The strong model would be in place, properly staffed, and with infrastructural support no later than 2010.
- Stage III (2010-2020) Ten-year stable implementation of the strong bilingual system, with assessment procedures at territory and community levels, evolution of a Nunavut high school matriculation programme.

This paper offers options for new language in the Education Act with respect to language of instruction, which would set out in a preamble the vision for a bilingual society; state the joint responsibility of schools, with other elements in society to build toward that bilingual society and to preserve and promote the Inuit language for future generations.

In this context, the Act could present the main lines of the strong bilingual model. We also suggest options which would set out the language rights of non-Inuit residents of Nunavut and state that the Minister will attempt to ensure that the LOI preferences of non-Inuit speakers will be respected, where numbers warrant, on the condition that the exercise of non-Inuit residents' rights can be delivered without detriment to the language education of Beneficiaries, for whom the Minister has a fundamental responsibility.

Such language, it seems to us, represents a just balance between the rights of the English-speaking minority (rights which have significantly been extended to Nunavut's French-speaking community of Iqaluit) and the collective rights of the majority Inuit community which, for many reasons, justly are the prime responsibility of the Nunavut government.

We are also able to say that the suggestions given above would, we believe, be supported by the broad majority of high school students, parents and key community actors we interviewed in the course of our research.

There are three main documents which were produced by the LOI project:

- Document I - Discussion Paper
- Document II - Sources and Issues (a background paper)
- Document III - Report on Research Project

1. INTRODUCTION

This *Discussion Paper* has been commissioned to offer Education Nunavut a number of options for discussion on the topic of Language of Instruction (LOI) in Nunavut Schools. This document has two supporting documents:

1. Sources and Issues (S&I), an annotated background paper,
2. Report of Research Project: *Factors most likely to affect Inuit language planning and promotion for education: an assessment based on selected Nunavut communities*

The *Discussion Paper* can be read in two possible ways. First, it can be read on its own. Second, it can be read while referring to the background paper, *Sources and Issues*. S&I began life as an annotated bibliography, but evolved into something more. Since language is connected to so many other parts of life, S&I tries to identify and discuss some of the many issues surrounding LOI.

The third part is the *Report of the Research Project*, in which we (the main researcher and the regional and community research associates) report on findings about language attitudes from a variety of community actors in seven Nunavut communities, using semi-structured interviews. The communities were: Qurluqtuuq (Kugluktuk), Naujaat (Repulse Bay), Kangiq&iniq (Rankin Inlet), Kangiqtugaapik (Clyde River), Pangnirtung, Iqaluit, Kimmirut, and Sanikiluaq. We also gathered valuable questionnaire information, both statistical data and written comments, from high school students and from parents in the seven communities. These data are analysed in the study.

2. A DEFINITION OF “LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION” (LOI)

When children grow up in a small community like, for instance, Kangiqtugaapik, they learn Inuktitut, in the dialect of their parents or of the community, before they learn any other language.

Inuktitut is the first language they hear and speak, so it is called their *first language* or *L1* or *mother tongue*. Children talk to their parents and grandparents, relatives, and brothers and sisters in Inuktitut, and we can say that Inuktitut is the children’s home language. They play with their friends in Inuktitut, and we can say that Inuktitut is the community language.

When these children go to kindergarten, or pre-school, the teachers speak to them in Inuktitut. Since teachers teach (instruct) the children in Inuktitut, we say that *the language of instruction is L1 Inuktitut*. It is important not merely to *name* the LOI, but also to specify whether it is the child’s L1 or not.

It makes good sense to teach children in their strongest language. Usually, this is the child’s first language, or home language.

Some people use the term *medium* of instruction. They would say that the kindergarten class in Kangiqtugaapik is an *Inuktitut-medium* kindergarten. The word *medium* here means the same as the word *language*.

Not all communities are as strong in Inuit language as Kangiqtugaapik. Even though the children may hear English in the home at times, on TV often and in the community, and may even come to school with some passive knowledge of English, Kangiqtugaapik, like many smaller communities, is an *Inuktitut-dominant* community.

In Qurluqtuuq, on the other hand, most Inuinnit children come to school speaking English. English is the language of 85% of the homes in Qurluqtuuq. When the children come to

school, they are taught in the medium of English. English is their L1. Although it must be said that their relationship to this L1 is not the same as the Kangiqtugaapik children's relationship to their L1. Many Qurluqtuuq parents want their children to know Inuinnaqtun and, if there are teachers, there are classes every day for the children to learn Inuinnaqtun as a second language. *Second language* (or *L2*) is the language, which the child learns after learning his or her first, or home, language. It is second in order of learning. In Qurluqtuuq (and in Iqaluktuuttiaq and Umingmaktuuq), children learn Inuit language as an L2: Inuinnaqtun (called *IL2*). In the rest of Nunavut, when children learn an L2, it is English that they learn (called *EL2*).

In some Qitirmiut communities, Uqsuqtuuq, Taloyoak, and Kugaaruk, home of the Natsilingmiutut dialect, and in the Kivalliq and Qikiqtani regions, a dialect of Inuktitut is the first language (L1) and English is the second language (L2) for most Inuit children. In the early grades of school, Inuit children all over Nunavut are taught in their first language as the language of instruction (LOI = L1). This makes sense, because the L1 is the child's strongest language. It is the language in which the child can learn best, other things being equal. Generally speaking, students in the Inuinnaqtun-heritage communities continue learning through the medium of English as long as they stay in school. English is the only language of instruction in these communities in the junior grades of elementary school (kindergarten to grade 3) in the senior grades of elementary school (grades 4 to 6), and in high school (grades 7 to 12).

But in the rest of Nunavut, as everybody knows, Inuktitut remains the language of instruction only in the junior elementary years (usually K-3). Beginning in grade 4, on average, there is a "*transition*" from *Inuktitut to English as the language of instruction*. After this transition, English remains as the *dominant* language of instruction for the remainder of the students' formal education.

This situation can be shown in the following table:

TABLE 1. Language of Instruction in Nunavut Schools (General Picture)

	Inuktitut Communities (Some Qitirmiut, all Kivalliq, all Baffin)	Inuinnaqtun Communities (Western Qitirmiut)
Pre-school	Inuktitut (L1)	Inuinnaqtun (L2)
Junior elementary (kindergarten - 3)	Inuktitut (L1)	English (L1)
Transition (grade 4-6)	Inuktitut (L1) phased out as LOI English (L2) phased in as LOI	English (L1)
Junior High School (grade 7-9)	English (L2)	English (L1)
High school (grade 10-12)	English (L2)	English (L1)

This is the general picture of LOI, and it is important, as we have mentioned, to know if it is a child's L1 or an L2. In specific communities, Inuktitut might continue for as much as 50% of the school day in grades 5-6, the transitional period. After that time, in all communities, Inuktitut remains at most *a subject* (or a marginal single-period LOI for sewing or shop, as in the case of Inukshuk High School in Iqaluit).

So, there are two languages used as languages of instruction in Nunavut schools: Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun and English. Whenever there are two languages used as languages of instruction in a school system, the system is called *bilingual*. A system which uses one language as the language of instruction and teaches another language as a subject is *not* called bilingual.

Therefore, the present system after the grade 4-5 transition phase is a *monolingual English-medium* system, although the whole system can be called bilingual, of a specific kind.

3. THE NWT'S EARLY-EXIT TRANSITIONAL MODEL

The whole system which Nunavut inherited from the NWT is a particular model of bilingual education. It is called an *early-exit transitional bilingual education model*. The reason for this name comes from the following general characteristics:

1. “*early*” because the children *just* as they are beginning to feel comfortable in school and in writing their own language are *transitioned/mainstreamed/bridged* (all these terms are used) into English and required to learn mathematics, social studies, science, and all other subjects in a language other than their strongest one (their L1) and in which they have not, as a rule, had time to develop the competency necessary to learn efficiently.
2. “*exit*” because after transition the children stop having their L1 supported, cherished, developed and valued as their strongest way to learn. They spent three or four years building a foundation for learning, thinking, reading and writing in Inuktitut, but instead of being allowed to build on this strong foundation, they “*exit*”, often abruptly, and are often, in the words of one Iqaluit teacher, “dumped” into English. As many parents and teachers have said, their abilities in L1 stop growing. A sad result is that they even may be judged to be weak in their L1.

For an early-exit model to function with minimal damage, assuming that bilingualism and biliteracy (that is, strong reading and writing skills in both languages) are not a goal, a five-to-seven year ESL/Sheltered English/ESL-sympathetic instructional programme would be required. *ESL sympathetic* refers to classes which teach curriculum content through a process in which the teacher is acutely aware of the students’ language development needs and gears classroom tasks to promote language learning as well as content learning. For a discussion of the theory, developed and popularized by Cummins, see S&I pp. 47-50. Unfortunately, such long-term

commitment to ESL-based language-developmental instruction does not appear to be typical of schools in the communities we studied, so students are often “instructed” in English by teachers who are unaware of language development, and the system becomes a sink-or-swim system, where the language of instruction is not the language the students need for learning.

It will be the position of this discussion paper that *the present early-exit transitional model, inherited from the NWT, is seriously flawed*. There are a number of reasons for this judgement:

- it does not help students learn either language, English or Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun, at a high level of bilingualism and biliteracy,
- it contributes to the marginalization of Inuit traditional knowledge, which is principally expressed in Inuit language,
- it cuts young people off from their heritage and prevents them from passing on this heritage to their own children,
- it prevents a cultural negotiation between Inuit and Canadians on a level playing field of mutual respect and knowledge of one’s own and the other’s culture and values,
- it denies the linguistic human rights of the Inuit people, and linguistic rights are the foundation of the exercise of many other rights,
- it contributes to the cultural gap between schools and Inuit communities, and sets schools apart as foreign intrusions,
- it does not correspond to the present and future human resource needs of Nunavut, whose main working language, Inuktitut in all its forms, requires a work force with a high level of knowledge, professionalism, bilingual/bicultural skills and awareness,
- it fails to address the need for the building of a new generation of high-level bilinguals, an Inuit “intelligentsia” of writers, philosophers, teachers, artists, information technologists, political scientists, lawyers, historians, linguists, grounded in traditional knowledge, and capable of carrying forward the process of decolonization, of which the creation of Nunavut is a key milestone.

4. TERMS OF REFERENCE (TORS) OF THIS PAPER: SEVEN PROBLEMS AND EIGHT QUESTIONS

This paper was one of two papers commissioned by the Department of Education in early 2000. The Department asked the papers to “outline the possible directions that the new Government of Nunavut might take with regards to Language of Instruction policy”.

The TOR said that under the NWT system, Inuit students had *extremely low graduation rates and a general lack of academic achievement*. The LOI options presented in this report are intended to reduce these problems, to the extent that language is a factor.

The TORs also said that there had been a long debate between “those who feel that lack of academic achievement is language-based and that more instruction in English is needed”, and “those who believe that Inuit will succeed when the school system truly reflects the culture and the environment in which it exists.”

The LOI study will suggest that the “common sense” call for “more instruction in English” is true to the extent that, if our LOI recommendations are understood, and followed, students will stay longer in school and consequently have the opportunity of increasing their exposure to English, and the result of taking Inuit language seriously will be to produce students with high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy in both languages. We agree with the second statement, although we also imagine that, with the Internet now present in schools and students’ imaginations and interests spreading beyond the immediate environment of the local community, that the school must be grounded in the community, and in inuuqatigiit/communal values and Inuit language, and, with this foundation, can begin a true “cultural negotiation” (Arlene Stairs’ term) with the outside world.

The TOR also identified *serious specific problems* with the current system:

PROBLEM #1

There is a *limited quality and quantity of materials and resources, curricula and programmes* to allow Inuit language to serve as a language of instruction in higher grades.

This is a serious problem, but a concerted, long-term plan can produce materials and resources to allow Inuit language to be taught as a subject and as an LOI all through the education system, if the community so wishes.

PROBLEM #2

There is insufficient teacher training and lack of trained staff.

This is a very critical issue. Without an overhaul and restructuring of the NTEP programme, focussed on preparing Inuit teachers capable of teaching K-12, all other reforms will fail.

PROBLEM #3

There is a debate over ideological orientation toward Inuktitut and English.

There should be a right extended to all Nunavut citizens to be informed about the consequences of language choice and language loss. If the Department moves toward strengthening bilingual education, it must also move to in-depth consultation with communities and engaging in the debate. Debate is a sign of a healthy democracy, but this is a very complex question, involving people's attitudes and beliefs, requiring a frank discussion of the "colonial shadow", which touches both Qallunaat and Inuit.

PROBLEM #4

There is lack of research into language-and-dialect issues, in Inuit language.

The paper will recommend the establishment of a Nunavut Inuit Language Commission, which, among other activities, would have the power to propose, and funds to support, research in all areas of importance for the health and promotion of Inuit language in all its forms. There should also be university-level study available to create a generation of Inuit researchers.

PROBLEM #5

There is lack of leadership and language planning.

In the NWT, language was very much on the “back burner”. Under Nunavut, there is a designated lead ministry on language - Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (CLEY), and in conjunction with Education Nunavut and NSDC, an “ecological language plan” could be considered, focussed on consultations with communities around how a strong bilingual education policy will help with social development in each community. We suggest the option of forming an Inuit Educators Association which, with the (proposed) Nunavut Inuit Language Commission, could work alongside existing government departments. This would ensure that those with expertise and those responsible for implementing policy will have a hand in shaping it.

PROBLEM #6

There is a continuing problem with the skill level of school administration.

When there is a general path to follow, it will be easier to identify the level of skill and attitudinal orientation among school administrators. Once there is a commitment to pursue a strong bilingual system, hiring criteria and professional development will

have clearer goals than at present. Pauqatigiit-type community-based mutual-professional support throughout the system will also have a common set of tasks to address.

PROBLEM #7

There is a low level of community awareness of language issues.

The Paper will suggest options for a three-year consultation and pre- planning period prior to a major reform in bilingual education from a weak model to a strong model. During this period, a community awareness and consultation process must be put in place, involving NSDC, CLEY and Education Nunavut in a leadership role to raise community awareness. The paper offers a suggestion for a six-stage strategic plan for Iqaluit.

Next, the TORs announced *Eight Tasks*, and one called “other options”, for the paper to address and *Eight Questions* for the study to try to answer. The eight tasks will be described in the Research Report. Here are the eight questions, followed by a short answer.

QUESTION #1

What *issues* surround the language of instruction?

The Sources and Issues paper identifies a large number of issues, identified in

BOLD CAPITALS beside each point in the S&I paper.

QUESTION #2

What *resources* need to be improved within the administration, teacher and teacher training, curricula, funding, resources and programmes that are delivered in Nunavut to address Inuktitut and English language of instruction?

The paper attempts to identify problems and suggests improved structures and roles that would be needed to support a strong model of bilingualism.

QUESTION #3

What *Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun language programmes* exist in each region? What delivery model is used? Is it seen as effective? What on-going evaluation strategies are in place?

The Research Paper didn't catalogue all communities. In fact, we only looked at seven communities in detail. The general delivery model which is the early-exit transitional model, is not seen as effective. The only evaluation strategies in place are informal.

QUESTION #4

What should the major priorities be in improving and addressing the bilingual programmes?

The Paper offers a General Option to build toward a "strong model" of bilingual education. This model is going to require a solid infrastructure. The most critical priority appears to be the need for more Inuit and bilingual teachers.

QUESTION #5

What *questions and concerns* do parents, students, staff and education councils have on teaching of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun?

The Research Paper transcribed all statements made by parents, students and some staff (Iqaluit staff in particular) on the teaching of Inuit language.

QUESTION #6

Options will include how the issue of Language of Instruction can be *separated from the issue of achieving excellence* in our school system.

Every school system wants to achieve excellence. But this abstract ideal - especially if measured by southern provincial (Alberta) exams - is not really helpful. Nunavut needs to achieve as high quality an education system as it can, and addressing language of instruction issues is part of that task.

QUESTION #7

What role can *the greater community* play in language awareness instruction and cultural promotion, over and above what is done in the K-12 system? The greater community would include elders, families, hamlets and territorial governments, libraries, college, business and private sector, agencies, various Inuit organizations and other groups that make up Nunavut society.

The greater community is essential in any improvement in the school system, and the school system could be important for overall social development of Nunavut communities.

QUESTION #8

What could the role of *elders* be in protecting, preserving and promoting Inuit culture and Inuktitut language? Whose responsibility is it to implement this? How can we train and support individuals to best facilitate the transfer of knowledge?

Elders must be involved in a very important way - they have a vital role to play in working with Inuit educators to enrich their knowledge of language and culture.

Together, elders and Inuit educators can produce material and resources and engage in joint research projects which are essential to bringing Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit to living contemporary reality.

5. LANGUAGE SHIFT AND SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALISM (S&I PP. 36-7, 81-3)

In Table 1, on page 4, we presented a simple model of the general picture of language of instruction in Nunavut schools today. Two languages, Inuit language and English, are in contact. There is always a risk in education, and in society, when two languages are in contact, that one of the languages will be replaced by the other. We saw in Table 1, that after grade 4 or so, English replaces Inuktitut as the language of instruction in schools. But what about Inuktitut outside the school? Is it being replaced there too? The short answer is, “yes”, and the school, rather than resisting this trend, contributes to it and in fact ensures that the trend toward language loss is passed on to the next generation. The school, then, is an active agent in language shift.

Language shift, a community replacing its home and community language with another, usually majority mainstream language, has already happened with Inuinnaqtun. It has happened with just about every aboriginal language in Canada. In fact, according to one recent federal government study, only three languages, Ojibway, Cree and Inuktitut, were said to be strong enough, or have enough “*vitality*”, to survive for the time being.

Many of the regional varieties of the Inuit language are either *extinct*, like Alaskan Inupiaq, *almost extinct*, like Siglitun or Inuvialuktun in the Mackenzie Delta, or *endangered*, like Inuinnaqtun. People throughout Nunavut know that there is an increase in English use and a decrease in Inuktitut use from one generation to another. Everybody we spoke to in this study -of all ages and generations and communities, but especially in Qitirmiut and Iqaluit, is acutely aware, and deeply concerned, about what this loss means. They are aware that “our language is being lost” and they want to know what to do to *reverse* the trend, turn the tide and “get our language and culture back before it’s too late.” People are seriously worried about the future of Inuktitut language and are not comforted to know that it is not on Statistics Canada’s

“endangered” list. The Research Project used interviews, open questions on questionnaires, and statistical methods, to confirm that there is a perception that Inuktitut risks being eroded by English if something isn’t done.

Based on the self-assessment given by high school students in five communities of their relative abilities in English and Inuktitut, *English-Inuktitut bilingualism for high school students is clearly “subtractive.”* This means that, instead of “adding” a new (second) language to a solidly anchored first language, which is what happens when an English-speaking child learns French at school, enriching his/her language skills by adding another language, these students are experiencing just the opposite. As they gain more English, they lose some of their first language. Here are the statistics, based on the analysis of the student questionnaires:

TABLE 2. Negative Correlation Between Inuit Language and English Abilities
 (As self-assessed by high school students in Kangiq&iniq, Kangiqtuqaapik, Iqaluit, Pangnirtung and Qurluqtuuq)
 (N = 256)

	Fluency in English	Literacy in English
Fluency in Inuktitut	-0.327	
Literacy in Inuktitut		-0.314

Both scores are negative. This means that a high score in English is correlated with a low score in Inuit language. The scores are negative in both fluency (speaking and listening) and literacy (reading and writing). These scores are slightly more negative than the scores from a similar study done in Nunavik 1999 (S&I pp. 70-1). Therefore there is a general pattern of *subtractive bilingualism* among Nunavut high school students.

Since we are talking “mathematically” about adding and subtracting languages, we should mention that many people, including parents, students, teachers, and other writers, have commented that many Inuit students, even when they are able to use both languages, in the judgement of some people, don’t speak either of their two languages very well.

In the March 1998 NIC Language Policy conference, the Discussion Paper on Education and Communication said that:

The language is disappearing rapidly in the West (Qitirmiut). Even in the East, we are finding more and more young people lacking fluency in what should be their mother tongue. The first stage in the loss of a language is when people do not realize what is happening. The last stage is when they don't care.... and when a language goes, it goes forever.

It is the position of this paper that not only are young people all over Nunavut at risk of “lacking fluency in what should be their mother tongue”, but that *because they are in a subtractive weak-bilingual education system, they are not compensating the lost Inuit language with new gains in English*. Many of the students are ending up “semilingual” - without high fluency or, especially, literacy skills in *either* language. There are problems associated with the term, and the concept, “semilingualism”. (S&I pp. 21, 38, 66)

6. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF GOALS AROUND BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE ARCTIC

This situation is the result of what happens, and what doesn't happen, in language in the schools. Similar unfortunate results are found all over the world when a weak model of bilingual education is used. But schools, and language policy in schools, reflect decisions made by education administrators and politicians who, like all of us, have certain beliefs and values about language. For instance, during a long period of time, Canadian education authorities and politicians believed that bilingualism was bad because it was not seen as "modern" and because it was seen as a threat to the country's unity. They had a very strong belief, which came from Europe, that each country should have only one language. "England" should speak only "English", France should speak only "French", Spain should speak only "Spanish", Norway should speak only "Norwegian", and until the 1970s, that Canada should speak only "English". Too bad if you were a person who spoke Welsh (in England), Breton (in France), Basque or Catalan (in Spain) or Sami (in Norway). In order to be a "good citizen" of these countries, minority-language speakers were told to "shut up (in their home language) and assimilate". These beliefs can be called "*the European monolingual nation-building belief package*". *Monolingual* means "one language only".

This belief package motivated the attempted language-replacement policies of the "black period" of residential schooling (1945-1970). The phrase "belief package" has the same meaning as the phrase "ideological orientation", mentioned in Problem #3, p. 8 above. Rather than looking at the current language of instruction situation only from a negative point of view as a weak model which doesn't live up to the highest ideals, we should look at it historically, as a strongly positive evolution away from the monolingual, assimilationist belief package which

dominated the NWT (and Canadian) education in the days before the Tagak Curley commission, publicly and powerfully, began to voice alternatives in the 1980s.

Using a well-known table, first used by one of the leading European researchers and advocates for linguistic justice, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (University of Roskilde, Denmark) henceforce referred to as TSK. We can present the evolution of bilingual education in the NWT as a product of changing societal goals. This following table, which illustrates this evolution, was first used by TSK. See S&I pp.88-97 for a summary of TSK's most recent presentation of her ideas.

TABLE 3. Historical Evolution of Language of Instruction Models in NWT Schools (after TSK)

Language of Instruction	Programme Type	Societal Goal (Package of Beliefs)	Goals for Language, Culture and Knowledge for Children
<i>I. PRE-1945, BEFORE SETTLEMENTS AND FORMAL SCHOOLING</i>			
Monolingual Inuit language	No formal programme: family, kin, traditional child-rearing	Health, skill, survival, <i>isuma</i> , land-skills, gender-appropriate knowledge, interpersonal skills, stories, wisdom to understand human and natural environment, as passed on by elders	Full, skilled, adult knowledge of Inuit language and culture in all its styles, uses, depth and intellectual creativity as a goal for all children
<i>II. 1945-1970, PERIOD OF RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING</i>			
Monolingual English	Segregated sink or swim submersion	“direct, sometimes brutal assimilation” under Euro-Canadian “package”. Success=how completely the child forgot family, language, culture and values	Monolingualism in English, acculturation to cultural norms of South. Inuit knowledge = the past Inuit culture = primitive and inferior to Euro-Canadian
<i>III. 1970-2000, EVOLUTION TOWARD BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN NWT</i>			
Inuit language K-3, English only 6-12	Early-exit transitional	“Soft human assimilation to Euro-Canadian” “modern life” and “job opportunities”	English-dominant bilingualism Literacy and cognitive skills in L1 not allowed to develop past early grades. Only with <u>Inuuqatigiit</u> (1994) do we see beginnings of respect for Inuit culture, knowledge, perspective
<i>IV. 2001-2020, DEVELOPMENT OF A NUNAVUT PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION, FULFILLING THE BATHURST MANDATE VISION OF A BILINGUAL SOCIETY</i>			
Bilingual Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun/English as LOIs throughout the K-12 system	Maintenance	Regeneration, reculturing self-esteem, self-determined individuals and communities, grounded in traditional values and open to the world for cultural negotiation toward (degrees of) biculturality (Bathurst Mandate)	High levels of bilingualism and biliteracy, throughout the K-12 system. Biculturalism and the “best of both worlds”.

7. THE COLONIAL SHADOW FALLS ON BOTH QALLUNAAT AND INUIT

Some readers may be taken aback by some of the phrases used in the table above. Especially some of (not all of) my Qallunaat colleagues who have worked in Education Nunavut for years may think that this paper will accuse them of being, consciously or unconsciously, part of an “assimilation package”. Fiona O’Donoghue writes about the difficulty of speaking about this, since we are all, Qallunaat and Inuit alike, shaped by the “colonial shadow” (S&I, p. 45).

And perhaps there will be Inuit educators and elders who may think that Skutnabb-Kangas is too harsh in her terms “direct, brutal assimilation” and “soft, human assimilation”, which are used in the table. In the wise words of one Inuk researcher on this project, some people, including some elders in her community:

In order to survive psychologically, have come to accept assimilation and inequality as almost normal. Since they feel they can’t change things, they have learned to accept the abnormal and treat it almost as if it were the normal way to live. This way, their suffering is minimized.

This study doesn’t intend to blame anyone for anything, but it agrees with the remark by Taiaiake Alfred of the University of Victoria, British Columbia and a Mohawk political philosopher, that:

Indigenous people need to become awakened to embark on the path of tradition, rejecting the identities and power relations that characterized us as a dominated people, and non-indigenous people need to be brought to the realization that their notion of power and its extension over indigenous peoples is wrong by any moral standard (Alfred, 1999, p.144).

But all can participate in making the colonial shadow disappear. Alfred wisely points out that native traditions do not draw the same sharp racial distinctions that Western tradition has done. “*Indigenous traditions, by contrast, include all human members in regimes of conscience...it is a matter, not of red versus white, but of right versus wrong*”. This is very much a “pedagogy of possibility and hope” which both Inuit and Qallunaat may join in a common

struggle. This discussion is important, not only in the field of education, but in community governance and planning processes, such as in Iqaluit, Rankin and other communities where there is a minority Qallunaat population.

In fact, the truth is that we have to both praise and honour the work that Inuit and Qallunaat educators, working and “paddling” together, have done in struggling to change what was a monolingual education system into the bilingual system we see today. Inuit educators with many years of experience with language and education issues have seen very clearly what a transitional model can do (it can get the language into the school - an important first step) and they have seen what it can’t do (it can’t normally help students achieve high bilingual language skills and self-esteem).

Inuit educators today have also had a long experience working in a system under an NWT government which “put language on the back burner” (in Judy Tutcho’s phrase, S&I pp. 28-9) for many years. They expect the new Nunavut government to take language seriously, as do the vast majority of parents, high school students, elders, representatives of Inuit associations and the NSDC and everyone across Nunavut who spoke to the researchers.

8. TWO MAJOR WEAKNESSES OF A “WEAK” MODEL OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

But let’s try to understand more deeply what the weaknesses of a “weak model” are, so that we can explore ways to continue the evolution towards models which do have a chance of promoting high levels of bilingual skills and, at the same time, respecting linguistic human rights of Inuit people. (language rights, S&I pp. 12-5). As in many things, in order to achieve positive outcomes, it is important to take the alternative’s negative outcomes very seriously.

In the opinion of Skutnabb-Kangas, based on a study of models all over the world (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, discussed in S&I pp. 88-96), there are two main problems with the early-exit transitional model.

First, *a weak model does not promote high levels of bilingualism*. Generally speaking, there is no adequate measure to test English-Inuktitut bilingualism, nor do we have a clear description of levels of proficiency in either language, appropriate to the Nunavut situation. This is one of the elements of infrastructure which needs to be put in place, so that the system will be an accountable one. For the 1985 Keewatin perspective on accountability, see S&I p. 4; for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples view, see S&I p. 17.

In the absence of a test of Inuktitut-English bilingualism, or a grade- and age-appropriate set of descriptors of language performance, based on experience and research, we are left with impressions and anecdotal accounts which rely on the concept of (southern) “grade levels”.

“Failure of Inuit students” was mentioned as a general problem in the TOR and “failure to meet grade levels” was mentioned by teachers to the research team, and was cited in the Keewatin Perspective 1985: *the children were learning at grade level until the transition years after which they began to slip behind grade level and ended up in high school 4-5 years behind*.

This is a very serious accusation and suggests that *early (premature) imposition of L2 English as LOI is a main contributing cause of school failure.*

This accusation may well be true (there is nothing discovered in this study which would suggest otherwise), but since the only tools for assessment are southern and not designed for L2 students in a bilingual system, especially a weak one, it is hard to know what teachers or parents really mean when they say that a student “isn’t performing at grade level”. A major piece of research work in Igloolik fifteen years ago (Mackey 1985: S&I p. 66) suggests that students do not reach high levels of (additive) bilingualism, and the risk of semilingualism is high.

The second problem with a weak model such as early-exit transitional is that *a weak model does not respect the linguistic human rights of students and communities.* What are linguistic human rights? This concept may not be well known, since it is a recent addition to international “human rights” language. (S&I pp. 12-16)

As many will know, this decade (1994-2004) has been designated “*the Decade of Indigenous Peoples*” by UNESCO - the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization. One of the UNESCO activities during this decade was to hold an international conference on linguistic rights in 1996, in Barcelona, Catalunya, Spain.

At this meeting, there were 66 organizations from all over the world, and they signed a declaration called the “*Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights*” (available at the website <http://www.indigo.ie/egt/udhr/udlr.html> and discussed in the S&I document). One of the people signing was Carl-Christian Olsen, of Greenland, known to many Nunavummiut, who signed on behalf of the *Inuit Circumpolar Conference.*

This declaration noted that all over the world minority languages in general and aboriginal languages in particular and the cultures they represent are in danger. And they are in

danger for the same reasons as many animals, plants and local ecosystems are in danger. They are being affected by the same colonial attitudes imposed on the natural world (to be dominated and exploited), and these attitudes and structures and their impact have now “gone global”. The increasing risk to the polar ice cap, the changes in Arctic climate patterns, and the increased toxicity in large marine mammals is parallel to the risk to aboriginal languages and cultures. It is time, said the Declaration, to “restore the balance” so that peoples who speak different languages can live in peace and harmony, not in relations of domination - both in relations to each other and in shared harmonious relation to the natural environment.

The Barcelona Declaration of 1996 proposed a number of rights. Among them were these, which could be applied to the Nunavut context:

1. The right for each group’s language and culture to be taught.
2. Assimilation must not be forced. It can only be the result of an entirely free decision.
3. All languages express a collective identity and a distinct way of living and seeing and describing reality and therefore should be able to enjoy the conditions required for their development in all functions and uses.
4. The rights of all language communities are equal.
5. All language communities are entitled to have whatever means necessary (eg. materials, curricular resources, text-books, finances, opportunities for appropriate teacher education, buildings, equipment, traditional and innovative technology, control of educational administration) to ensure the transmission of their language from one generation to another.
6. Education must help young people and adults to learn to express themselves in the language of the territory where the language is mainly used.
7. All language communities have the right to decide to what extent their language is to be present, as a language of instruction or as an object of study at all levels of education within their territory: pre-school, primary, secondary, technical and vocational, university and adult education.
8. All language communities have the right to an education which will help their people learn the fullest possible form of their language - written and spoken - which is used in all

areas of their culture, contemporary and traditional, including a thorough knowledge of their cultural heritage (history, geography, oral and written literature, and the language of traditional land uses, wisdom and spirituality).

9. Everybody has the right to learn any language and the right to have the broadest and deepest knowledge of any other culture which they may wish to know.

10. The language and culture of all language communities must be studied and researched at the university level.

To conclude this section, it is the position of this discussion paper that the weak model of bilingual education which Nunavut inherited from the NWT is a serious impediment to the development of students' general linguistic and cognitive abilities. As well, it denies them full access to an important element in cultural identity and self-esteem, part of their linguistic human rights.

This paper suggests that the Nunavut authorities should put in place a framework whereby Nunavut communities, parents, organizations, students, elders and citizens in general can be informed about the main language issues around language loss, language shift and bilingualism and the mutually reinforcing roles of schools, homes and communities - working together - in "*reversing language shift*". For a discussion of "reversing language shift", see S&I pp. 55, 56, 68, 70, 81-7.

Reversing language shift obviously involves much more than "language itself" and "the school can't do it alone", but schools *are* important and school language policies *do* have an effect on young people's lives. For David Corson's perspective on "school language policy", see S&I pp. 73-4.

The main option which this paper invites the Department of Education to consider is a *strong model of bilingual education*, one which works toward high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy, and one which does not infringe upon students' basic language rights. The heart of a

strong model is how it treats the student's L1 as a language of instruction. Since a strong model would respond to the general concerns of every sector of Nunavut society for the preservation and promotion of Inuit language, the opportunity of offering a concrete positive path toward Inuit language, afforded by the creation of Nunavut, should not be missed. Discussing the "why" of a strong commitment to bilingualism offers a broad conceptual framework for a genuine dialogue on the future of Nunavut as a place where both the heritage and the future of Inuktitut in all its forms is respected, preserved and promoted. This dialogue between the Government of Nunavut and its population, coupled with a clear commitment on the part of the government to the Bathurst Mandate's vision of a strong bilingual society by 2020, could be highly empowering for all sectors of Nunavut society.

9. LANGUAGE POLICY REFLECTS IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The choice of a model for delivering languages of instruction is not just a language decision. The decision goes deeper than just language issues. It involves a stated or unstated *goal* of society. This goes back to PROBLEM #3, on page 8, the debate around “ideological orientation” toward Inuktitut and English, mentioned above.

According to Arlene Stairs of Queen’s University, who has a long experience and record of publication on education, principally in Nunavik, it involves issues of power (“context”), ways of thinking (“meaning”), and a commitment to community ways of knowing and acting (“depth”). For a discussion of Stairs’ ideas, see S&I pp.60-1.

According to Mark Fettes of OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education), a choice of language policy involves a deep commitment to building an “ecology of community”, in the sense of community = *Inuuqatigiit* (S&I pp. 97-100).

According to Silatunirmut (the major 1992 Nunavik report), which advocated a strong bilingual maintenance model, language policy involves going beyond language to seeking wisdom (S&I pp. 8-11).

According to Taiaiake Alfred, language policy (preserving and promoting an aboriginal language) involves considerations of identity, culture, economic development and nationhood and is an essential component of true aboriginal governance, based on a conscious public and private respect of traditional values (T. Alfred, 1999).

The people we interviewed mentioned many of these deeper goals for taking Inuit language seriously. There can be no doubt that there is a strong perspective on language issues that “it’s about more than language”, but we must not forget that “it’s about language *and* about more than language”.

10. EARLY STEPS TOWARD A STRONGER “NUNAVUT” BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Looking back in the past, we will see that the early expressions of a “Nunavut” system of bilingual education were not limited to early-exit transition. The 1982 Learning Tradition and Change report, chaired by Tagak Curley, recommended (Recommendation 19) that:

Funds should be made available...to develop Native-language programmes in all subjects.

We strongly recommend that funds be made available to develop Native-language programmes at as many levels up to grade 10.

This recommendation was sensitive to the different situations of NWT communities. The Curley committee said that each community should have a “language sub-committee”, and they would decide what was right for their community. Also, they had to start somewhere, and they recommended that “Kindergarten to grade 3 be a priority” for funding. But this was not the final goal. (S&I p. 1)

In the Building Nunavut (1983) (S&I p. 2) the Nunavut Constitutional Forum recommended “*that Inuktitut be a language of instruction in the Nunavut schools at all levels as soon as practicable (p. 18)*”.

This was followed by the Mackay Report (1984) (S&I p. 2-3) which calculated the cost of implementing Inuktitut as a full language of instruction from Kindergarten to grade 12 so that Nunavut could have a school system “*where the majority of students become confidently fluent and literate in both Inuktitut and English*” (as the Baffin Board said at that time).

In both Baffin (now Qikiqtani) and in Keewatin (now Kivalliq) Regions, there were a lot of good ideas and some isolated initiatives, trying to develop a strong bilingual programme. For example, Piniaqtavut (1989) promoted Inuktitut to grade 9 and, apart from a high level of

bilingual communication skills, saw the outcomes as including cultural pride, responsibility and independence.

In 1985 the Keewatin Perspective on Bilingual Education by Katherine Zozula, advised by the well-known Rankin educator Simon Ford, developed a very well thought out plan which, had it been followed 15 years ago, could have changed the linguistic landscape considerably.

10.1 KEEWATIN 1985 PERSPECTIVE: A LATE-EXIT TRANSITIONAL MODEL (S&I PP 3-8)

The Zozula/Ford Keewatin Perspective (1985) included the following principles:

1. A long-range plan is needed.
2. An honest evaluation of the current language situation and people's attitudes in each community is needed.
3. All parts of the education system must support bilingual education: the DEA, the local principal, teachers, classroom assistants, and regional office. (We could add: the Iqaluit and Arviat offices of Education - Nunavut).
4. *Community* consultation and involvement is essential to success.
5. There must be a *curriculum*, describing the what and the how at each grade level.
6. There must be teaching and learning *materials* to support the needs of children at all school levels over which the plan applies.
7. Testing, evaluation and record-keeping is needed, for the programme to be *accountable* to community and to itself.
8. Properly certified, prepared and supported *staff*, who are knowledgeable and positive towards community-based bilingual education are essential.

11. FIVE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS FOR ANY “TRUE BILINGUAL PROGRAMME”

It is important to realize that these last five elements (#4-8) are essential to any bilingual education system, even one with a “weak model”. *The trouble with the current system is that it seems to be not only a “weak model” of bilingual education, but is built on a weak infrastructure.*

According to Zozula and Ford:

“if any one of these five components is not in place, a true bilingual programme cannot be assumed”.

In our look at seven communities and the system as a whole, one or more of these five essential foundations are lacking.

For example, during this research, at one place or another we have seen:

- some DEAs which do not reflect the make-up of their communities (eg. The under-representation of Inuit parents on the Iqaluit DEA),
- a frequent lack of real organic connections between the school and the parents and the general community,
- a need for more Inuit language materials, in various dialects,
- lack of coherent curriculum in both English (as an L2) and in Inuit language (Inuktitut as a language of instruction, Inuktitut as a second language, Inuinnaqtun in everything),
- nearly complete lack of assessment instruments appropriate to Nunavut,
- and the most pressing problem of all - a lack of qualified Inuit teaching staff and a general problem in recruiting and developing new Inuit staff, especially for higher grades.

There *are* positive and exciting developments, to be sure:

- development of Inuktitut L1 language arts curriculum K-6, 7-12,
- new ESL initiatives,
- territory-wide meetings of Inuit educators to discuss common problems and explore common solutions,

- meetings to apply IQ (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit) to curriculum design,
- Inuuqatigiit links to Inuktitut language arts,
- CLEY-sponsored dictionary initiatives,
- new high school curriculum units, appropriate to Nunavut life.

All of these initiatives are proof that the new Department is actively moving to improve education. Our proposal would provide a language policy framework with which these initiatives could perhaps be better connected with long-term bilingual goals.

12. A DOUBLE SET OF PRIORITIES FOR EDUCATION NUNAVUT

Our conclusion is that Education Nunavut needs to commit itself to two connected and mutually-reinforcing missions:

(A) strengthening its model of bilingual education while,

(B) strengthening the system's general delivery capacity in the five infrastructural components.

To direct attention to only one of these missions, improving the infrastructure without strengthening the bilingualism model, would lead to improvements in the delivery of the early-exit transitional model. But to do this would be a half-measure that would still not support high levels of bilingualism or respect linguistic human rights. And to direct attention only to strengthening the bilingualism model without strengthening the infrastructure would be both a waste of time (an even stronger infrastructure is needed to deliver a "strong model" of bilingualism) and it would be a return to the days of "lip service but no action" of the NWT days when, in the words of one of our regional researchers, "Inuit teachers were set up to fail."

In order to evolve toward a strong model of bilingual education, one which would accept Inuktitut as a language of instruction as far as is desired throughout the school system, each of the five infrastructural components must be attended to. In this chain, all the five links must be strong.

13. OPTIONS TO CONSIDER FOR A “STRONG FORM” OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

There are basically four or five strong forms to consider. These are discussed at length in the Sources and Issues paper (S&I pp 91-4). In a table form, they look like this:

TABLE 4. Strong Forms of Education for Additive Bilingualism and Bilitracy and Possible Nunavut Applications

Type of Programme	Typical Type of Child	Language of Instruction	Societal Goal	Cultural, Knowledge and Language Goals
<p>I. Immersion <i>(Example: French Immersion for English-speaking children in Canada)</i> <u>Possible Nunavut application: Inuinnaqtun immersion for Qurluqtuuq children? Inuktitut immersion for non-Inuit children?</u></p>	<p>Majority speakers of a secure language</p>	<p>Early LOI is L2; later L1 is used too</p>	<p>Enrichment and pluralism</p>	<p>High levels of bilingualism and bilitracy, strong cognitive development in both languages</p>
<p>II. Maintenance¹ Language Shelter <i>Example: The new French-language school in Iqaluit (French as a minority in Nunavut), Navajo and other Native American schools in U.S.A.</i> <u>Possible Nunavut applications: maintenance model for all Inuit students in Nunavut schools.</u></p>	<p>Children of a minority or aboriginal language</p>	<p>L1 is main LOI; later, L2 is introduced not initially as an LOI, but with a “second language approach”</p>	<p>Maintenance, pluralism, and enrichment: Focus on avoiding L1 shift or loss</p>	<p>(As above - but for a minority or aboriginal group)</p>

¹ The term maintenance (short for maintenance bilingual education) is a general term used in education. It does not mean "keeping in good repair" (as in road maintenance or maintenance department). Nor does the term imply a continuation of a current, unsatisfactory, "steady state" of language use in schools (as in maintain the current level of use or maintain standards). In fact this report advocates language development and growth of language use in schools, a position perhaps best described as "developmental maintenance bilingual education". Therefore, please read "maintenance" - the term used in this report - with a "developmental meaning".

<p>III. Two-way/Dual Language <i>Example: many Spanish-English programmes in the U.S.A</i> <u>Possible Nunavut applications: mixed-population schools in Iqaluit?</u></p>	<p>Mixed group: Majority and Minority children in same school</p>	<p>Both languages are taught, first as L2s, then used as LOI's, through the system</p>	<p>Maintenance, plurality and intercultural harmony and sharing, language equality</p>	<p>(As above, for both groups)</p>
<p>IV. European Plurilingual School Model <i>Examples: 10 (large multilingual) schools in 6 countries in Europe</i> <u>Possible Nunavut application: mixed-population schools in Iqaluit?</u></p>	<p>Mixed group: Even children from many language backgrounds</p>	<p>All children start with L1 as LOI and add an oral L2 in grade 1. Eventually both languages used as LOIs.</p>	<p>(As above)</p>	<p>(As above)</p>

Actually, there is not a great difference between the Dual Language/Two-Way model and the European School model, except the European school model can accommodate more than two LOIs at once. With the setting up of the French-language school in Iqaluit, the possibility of using the European School model to set up a trilingual school (Inuktitut-English-French as LOIs) is probably no longer an option in Iqaluit.

Officially, there is another research project on the Language of Instruction in Nunavut Schools which will test community preferences for a large set of different models. The present study will just look at the four models above. Now we will look at the possible Nunavut applications.

14. POSSIBLE NUNAVUT APPLICATION #1: INUINNAQTUN IMMERSION IN THE UNIQUE SITUATION OF QITIRMIUT

Qitirmiut and Iqaluit were singled out in the March 1998 Discussion Paper on Education and Communication as “special cases” for a Nunavut language policy in schools. With respect to Qitirmiut, there were five questions, which this study can attempt to answer. (S&I p. 27)

QUESTION #1

What do the people of Qitirmiut want out of a language policy? Are the majority committed to the survival of Inuinnaqtun, or are they prepared to accept the continuation of its present decline in their region?

Objectively, the Inuinnaqtun language situation in Qurluqtuuq seems to be around Stage 7, on Fishman’s scale: no real intergenerational transmission (S&I p.55-6), a “classic” language shift situation. But, looking more deeply, our study would suggest that there is a strong counter-current in favour of *reversing language shift*, which needs leadership and persistent urgent action. The high school students surveyed were unanimous (100%) in their desire to improve fluency in Inuinnaqtun. Inuktitut was in second place (52%), and English in last place (30%).

The students’ vitality belief scores are further evidence of this opinion

TABLE 5. Qurluqtuuq Students’ Language Vitality Beliefs

“How important as/is/will be Language X?”

1 = not important; 3 = somewhat important; 5 = very important

(+) represents a shift upward; (-) a shift downward

(N = 31)

	The Past	The Present	The Future
Inuinnaqtun	3.96	4.84(+)	3.96(-)
Inuktitut	2.86	4.04(+)	3.43(-)
English	3.18	4.04(+)	4.00(-)
French	1.80	1.43(-)	2.41(+)

Amazingly, Qurluqtuuq high school students have very strong belief in the present vitality of Inuinnaqtun, although it slips in importance in the future. Even

Inuktitut is seen as equal in importance to English today. All three languages slip downward in importance in the future, except for French, which takes a sharp upward turn. In the world of work, the English is seen as stronger (4.56 fluency, 4.58 literacy; Inuinnaqtun: 3.5 and 3.15 respectively).

The Qitirmiut students believe Inuinnaqtun has a future, especially in the following domains and functions:

- learning more about Inuit traditional culture and land skills (95% agree),
- language of instruction in the school (88%),
- language of the home (87%),
- community and territorial meetings (87%),
- in the workplace (78%),
- used by politicians and government officials (77%).

They had a less strong image of Inuinnaqtun on TV (62%), literature (52%), for international circumpolar communication (50%), music, theatre and the arts (43%), science and technology (38%), and on the internet (36%).

These results suggest that there is a large gap between *what is* (language shift and absence of Inuit language in the schools) and *what should be* in the minds of these students. We might suggest that, rather than dwelling on today's problems, these students are focussing healthily on a positive future. At the very least, these results suggest that there would be strong support among Qurluqtuuq high school students for a *plan to reverse language shift as part of cultural regeneration, including Inuit traditional culture and land skills. They would support a policy of including Inuinnaqtun in the school as a means to learn IQ, and to participate more fully in Nunavut society, both at*

the community and the territorial levels. They would likely participate in initiatives which would include the home and the workplace.

Qurluqtuuq parents see both languages as of great importance for their children, with English literacy rated as more important than Inuinnaqtun literacy. *The percentage of Qurluqtuuq parents who rate Inuit language as “somewhat important” or “very important” is 91% (fluency) and 96% (literacy).* The parents’ comments support more teaching of Inuit language in the schools, with more funding, trained teachers, elders, team teaching, and a focus on correct usage and spelling. Each of the sectors surveyed in the community language survey support this general feeling that something must be done. Our study, then, confirms the Aylward, Kuliktana and Meyok study (1996) (S&I p. 42) that there is community support for positive language initiatives in and for Inuinnaqtun in the schools.

We know that there is support in Qurluqtuuq for the Inuinnaqtun L2 immersion Head Start programme, and disappointment that this positive initiative was not followed up at the kindergarten and grade 1 levels.

QUESTION #2

There are two dialects - are there two sets of attitudes?

This question refers to Inuinnaqtun and Natsilingmiutut dialects - the first written in Roman orthography (although two variants of Roman orthography exist, each with their own supporters); the second written in syllabics. Our study did look at Naujaat (to the extent that Naujaat contains Netsilik speakers), where the Inuit language is socially stronger than in Qurluqtuuq. There seems to be general support for urgent attention to Inuit language in both communities, as students, parents and elders in both communities

told us. Naujaat prefers teachers who speak the local dialect. Although Qurluqtuuq parents do mention language correctness, their main priority is to get Inuinnaqtun into the school.

QUESTION #3

Do we need a special policy for Qitirmiut?

This study would recommend that a common policy framework be available for all Nunavut communities (moving from “weak” to “strong” forms of bilingual education). This policy would be flexible and sensitive to each community’s language situation and expressed wishes. As the March 1998 paper suggests, *if the Qitirmiut does want Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun taught in school, they will need a special kind of language program*. We would agree, and the elementary school programme we would recommend for consideration is *Inuinnaqtun immersion* (S&I p.93) - really an extension upward of the Head Start nursery school immersion initiative.

There are many forms of immersion depending on the grade in which it is introduced and the amount of time spent each day in each language. The Head Start programme in Kugluktuk was all-Inuinnaqtun/no English. This could be continued into the early grades (all-day Inuinnaqtun) or it could be “partial immersion” (but no less than 50% of the day spent in Inuinnaqtun), depending on community views and availability of the five infrastructure elements.

An interesting research question would be to look at how children become literate in both languages - English and Inuinnaqtun - which use the same (Roman) orthography. Since the “fit” between sound and spelling is closer (= easier to learn?) in Inuinnaqtun than in English (with its strange spelling rules), learning reading and writing first in L2 Inuinnaqtun, followed by English would seem to be an approach to explore. Again, the

present study supports the recommendation of Aylward, Kuliktana and Meyok, which recommended a “total bilingual ‘immersion’ programme”. Inuinnaqtun immersion would be the language of K-2; thereafter a maintenance model would ensure that Inuinnaqtun remains a part of each student’s school life.

The establishment of a community language revival plan could, and should, include initiatives which would complement the immersion programme. There should be Inuinnaqtun L2 Language Arts (IL2) curriculum material prepared with elder-educator collaboration, and Inuinnaqtun teachers developed and supported to offer such a programme K-12. (This would be parallel to the L1 Inuktitut K-12 curriculum initiative, but in Inuinnaqtun L2.)

Also, *land-based elder-run camps* involving educators and students which would function primarily in Inuinnaqtun have been successfully tried. These are very effective short-term immersion experiences, 1-3 weeks or so at a time. Also, a form of *master-apprentice programme* could be considered, in which Inuinnaqtun-speaking elders work with young apprentices over a period of months or even years collaborating in everyday activities and always communicating in Inuinnaqtun. (An idea from McCarty and Watahomigie in May, 1999, p. 88).

All these approaches are examples of the broad RLS (reversing language shift) strategy of “making diglossia work for you”. According to this strategy, specific domains (certain places, homes, workplaces, times etc.) are designated as Inuinnaqtun-only (or Inuinnaqtun-expected, or Inuinnaqtun-preferred, or Inuinnaqtun-learning-sympathetic) spaces. These micro-settings can be established, announced publicly,

linked up and supported, and can be connected to school-based programming. This is a first step (only) in stabilizing and reclaiming language use in the community, bit by bit.

Finally, to take advantage of a new interest in “re-learning” Inuinnaqtun, there should be *adult education* courses in Inuinnaqtun in a form which defies the L1-L2 distinction: Inuinnaqtun for parents, young adults, and others who wish to improve their ability in the language, or who wish to learn traditional knowledge or skills.

These are main lines of a Qitirmiut RLS policy. We believe that there *is* commitment to pursue such a policy at the individual, community and regional level. How strong? It can only be known by doing it, with territory-level support. Our study suggests that Qitirmiut is ready to participate actively in an RLS plan.

15. POSSIBLE NUNAVUT APPLICATION #2: COMMUNITY-BASED MAINTENANCE BILINGUALISM FOR INUIT CHILDREN EVERYWHERE IN NUNAVUT: THE QULLIQ MODEL

The 1985 Keewatin Perspective on Bilingualism, for all its good points, was still a transitional model, but a “late-exit” transitional model. The “exit” into English occurs at the end of elementary school. Inuktitut is a subject but not an LOI in high school. Although this model does not ignore a community’s linguistic human rights as the early-exit model does, it still does not promote high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Therefore, we would prefer to see the Keewatin model as a positive short-term goal, not (subject to community wishes, and availability of infrastructure) the final, long-term, model for Nunavut.

But another Kivalliq model - the *Qulliq model* (see Appendix and S&I p. 21) is a maintenance model, and the role of the two languages in this model would look like this: (L1 = Inuktitut)

TABLE 6. The Qulliq Maintenance Model

Pre-school	K-3	4-6	Jr/Sr high school	Pre-College Year
L1 language nests/head start	L1 only L1 literacy by grade 3 LOI=L1	L2 introduced as ESL, leading to L2 literacy LOI=L1	English and Inuktitut as LOI's: some subjects = Eng some subjects = Inuk. some subjects = both	“How to be an Inuk” Inuktitut as LOI Traditional skills and knowledge

In order to understand the educational value of this and other “maintenance models”, we have to look at a number of delivery principles. Skutnabb-Kangas suggests we look at eight in particular. (S&I pp. 94-6)

16. EIGHT PRINCIPLES FOR STRONG MODELS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION, AFTER TSK: FIVE DELIVERY PRINCIPLES AND THREE LOI PRINCIPLES

DELIVERY PRINCIPLE #1

Of the two languages which the child is supposed to become bilingual in (here = Inuktitut and English), does the plan support the language which is *less likely to develop up to a high formal, literate level (here = Inuktitut) by using it as the main language of instruction at least during the first eight (8) years of schooling?*

The Qulliq model² certainly supports Inuktitut as the main (and only) LOI up to the end of grade 6. For children who had begun schooling with a “Language Nest” (a particular, Maori-inspired form of head-start, in New Zealand, with important community and elder involvement), the end of grade 6 would mark their first eight years of schooling.

DELIVERY PRINCIPLE #2

There is a desire for high-level bilingualism and biliteracy.

This is not a problem for the Qulliq model, since students in high school will be using both languages as LOIs in some subjects.

The issue of *literacy in Inuktitut* deserves a chapter on its own. Until very recently, the only printed materials in Inuktitut were mostly Christian religious texts and government documents and manuals. Imaginative literature (short stories, novels, comics, poetry) for adults and young adults is still pretty rare in Nunavut, but not, however, in Greenland. In the print media, Nunatsiaq News is an example of a bilingual newspaper, but as an indication of the relative availability of reading material in Inuktitut and

² The bilingual model was developed by the Keewatin Board of Education and presented to communities in 1985. (Zazula, GNWT, YK, 1985) The Qulliq model presented here is based on the Keewatin model but has been further developed by the Inuuqatigiit Guiding Committee. (Liz Rose et al, 1992)

English, we could mention that in the public library in Iqaluit, *only 0.2% of the material is in Inuktitut.*

This means that people in Nunavut have not grown up with a strong image of a literate, reading-oriented, reading-loving society in Inuit language. Given the limited history of literacy in Nunavut, it is not surprising that people in Nunavut do not have a strong frame of reference to support literacy. (As the contrasting Greenland example shows, this has nothing to do with “the language itself” but with what seems to be an undeveloped aspect of Nunavut society, which prides itself in being an “oral society”.

Is there interest in literacy in Inuktitut among young people? In our study, only 37% of the high-school students said that they could read and write Inuktitut “very well” or “fluently”, while 84% said that they could do so in English. But 80% said that they would like to improve their literacy in Inuktitut.

So, we conclude that there is a potential audience for literacy development in Inuktitut. Certainly here is an example of an area of language development which cannot be left up to the schools alone. But also, with stronger Inuit language literacy in schools, there will hopefully be a new generation of graduates able and willing to read - and write - in Inuktitut. With some support for this trend, it will be exciting to see imaginative literature, autobiographies, history and both fiction and non-fiction develop in Inuktitut.

We can also expect that, with Inuktitut designated as the working language of the territorial Government, it is likely that the quantity of Inuit language bureaucratic texts will increase significantly. This is the domain that led to the development of English several centuries ago, and we may be entering such a period in Nunavut, with micro-

decisions on dialect matters (especially vocabulary) evolving into an emerging Nunavut government standard Inuktitut.

In this context, we suggest, as an option, the establishment of an *Inuit Language Commission*. (see p.67 of this report).

DELIVERY PRINCIPLE #3

Second languages should be taught through the medium of the child's first language and/or by teachers who know the children's mother tongue.

The Qulliq model doesn't specifically deal with staffing, and this principle does require some explanation.

In a strong bilingual model, of any type, it is important to increase the number of teachers, role models for children, who are themselves bilingual and are trained in TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) and bilingual education. Inuit teachers are, almost by definition, bilingual. They would be the best teachers to teach English to Inuit children, at least initially, according to this principle.

Next best would be Qallunaat teachers who

- (A) have some knowledge of Inuktitut and,
- (B) have training in TESL.

As far as this study is able to say, the current Nunavut teaching staff is quite far from being able to put this principle into practice. Most Inuit teachers handle the Inuit part of the curriculum and don't teach English; most Qallunaat teachers have no knowledge of Inuktitut or a TESL background.

The result is that Inuit children often are taught English (and taught in English) by Qallunaat teachers, unaware of the "second language acquisition dimension" of what they are doing, and often teach students as if they were L1 speakers of English. Since these

teachers don't know the students' L1, they cannot tell the difference between errors made because of the students' L1 and do not know what aspects of English are easy or difficult for learners. Without TESL skills, developed in pre- or in-service ways, Qallunaat teachers often clutch at straws - "teach them the parts of speech", "speak louder", "give them word lists" and make the learning of English an extremely difficult and unhappy experience for many.

DELIVERY PRINCIPLE #4

All children must study both their L1 and their L2 as compulsory subjects K-12.

The Qulliq model, and many schools in Nunavut, does not teach English until grade 4, but otherwise, this principle is respected in the Qulliq model.

This is an important principle. Inuit students should *both* have a period a day in "Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun Language Arts" *and* an opportunity to study a subject through the medium of Inuktitut as a language of instruction. This will ensure that there is a balance between focus-on-language (spoken and written expression) and usage on the one hand, and focus-on-use (in a subject) on the other.

At a minimum, there should be four periods which are "non-negotiable" (compulsory) in a student's typical day at school, from at least grade 4 to grade 12:

- a period of L1 language arts
- a period of L1 as an LOI in a subject
- a period of L2 as "ESL-sympathetic" language arts
- a period of L2 as an LOI in a subject

We would be open to the option of introducing L2 English, taught as an oral period from grade 1 to grade 3 by a bilingual teacher through the medium of the child's first language.

DELIVERY PRINCIPLE #5

Both languages (L1 Inuktitut and L2 English) have to be used as languages of instruction, but this must be carefully planned.

The only weakness in the Qulliq model is that it doesn't give much advice on which subjects are to be taught through Inuktitut, and which through English.

There are some basic conceptual tools (S&I, pp.47-9), which are helpful here. Many of them were studied and popularized by Jim Cummins, well-known OISE-based researcher and writer on bilingual and minority education for over 25 years. The four main ideas are as follows:

1. the common underlying proficiency (the "dual iceberg theory")
 - spending time teaching children in their L1 is not a "waste of time"
 - because their L1 "languaging skills" serve them well when *they* begin to learn an L2.
2. the thresholds theory (the "three-story house theory")
 - a high-level bilingual education supports students to climb to the "top floor" both in language and in thinking skills
3. the developmental interdependence theory
 - the idea that ability in L2 depends on the child's ability in his /her L1
4. the BICS and CALP theory (*isumaqsayuq* and *ilisayuq*)

- the distinction between social language and academic language, one is used in here-and-now face-to-face contexts; the other is used in subjects which do not use the immediate experience, relying more on text-books and subject-specific academic argumentation.
- subjects favouring more BICS would be handicrafts, sewing, phys ed, music, drama, arts, excursions and field trips, demonstrations and hands-on activities (*isumaqsayuq*-style learning in traditional Inuit learning theory) (S&I p. 61)
- subjects which may favour more CALP would be academic subjects such as mathematics, science, history, geography, social studies, economics *ilisayuq*-type abstract learning removed from daily life

We are aware that speaking of elementary school curriculum in terms of “subjects” is over-simplistic and rigid. Many teachers orchestrate their curriculum thematically, using a variety of BICS-type (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP-type (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) activities in each “integrated” (inter-disciplinary) theme unit. We await the findings and suggestions of the curriculum team (Dennis Wall, lead researcher) to apply this principle to new curriculum proposals.

The application of these ideas to designing an “ideal” model, that is, not worrying about the five infrastructural components for a moment, suggests a model which would include the following *principles of “grading” the introduction of L1 and L2 as languages of instruction.*

17. THREE LOI PRINCIPLES

LOI PRINCIPLE #1

The first LOI is the L1 with a BICS/isumaqsayuq-type emphasis

The L1 should be *the only LOI* for the first three years of schooling. The L2 (not as an LOI but as an oral subject) may be introduced during this time. During the first three years, the main focus is on BICS/isumaqsayuq-type experiences, improving the children's strength and confidence in their community language and culture, leading up to initial literacy in Inuktitut syllabics by the end of grade 3. Lots of story-telling, drama, puppet-shows, art, music, physical education, community visits and activities, meeting elders and parents at school, all through the medium of Inuktitut.

LOI PRINCIPLE #2

CALP-type subjects introduced and maintained until grade 8 in L1

Grades 4-7 *all CALP-type subjects are taught through L1 (Inuktitut)*, so: social studies, Nunavut studies, history, mathematics, science, the environment and so on should all be taught through Inuktitut, using Inuktitut written materials. Remember to reserve a period a day for Inuktitut language arts, maintaining a focus on literacy and strengthening oracy.

LOI PRINCIPLE #3

Following an initial period of oral instruction using second-language (ESL) methodology, the L2 (English) may be used as an LOI, but only in BICS-type subjects.

If the L2 has been introduced from grade 1-3, then *in grade 4 we can begin to use English as an LOI in some BICS-type subjects only*. And we keep the period a day for ESL (or ESL-sympathetic English language arts, and introducing L2 literacy skills, now that L1 literacy has begun.)

18. TOWARD A NUNAVUT-WIDE COMMUNITY-BASED MAINTENANCE BILINGUAL MODEL BY 2010: A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY OPTION

Based on these principles, and respecting the principle of community choice, we propose a community-based Nunavut-wide maintenance model for Inuit children. When this applies to elementary school only, it is not yet maintenance, only late-exit transition. When it applies to high school as well, it is a true maintenance model. We would see late-exit transition as itself a “mid-point”, between today’s early-exit model and tomorrow’s maintenance model including high school.

To ensure that both languages are solidly represented in the curriculum at every grade after grade 3, the policy would require each school to deliver four compulsory periods daily (according to Delivery Principle #4):

- 1 period of Inuktitut language arts
- 1 period of English language arts (ESL-sympathetic)
- 1 period of an academic subject in Inuktitut as LOI
- 1 period of a non-academic subject taught in English as LOI (ESL sympathetic)

Beyond this *bilingual core*, each community could decide on the language policy, according to the following LOI *options* (which apply the LOI principles from Sec. 17) with the rest of the CALP-type academic subjects taught in Inuktitut as LOI, and:

LOI OPTION A:

The rest of the non-academic subjects also taught in Inuktitut as LOI.

LOI OPTION B:

The rest of the non-academic subjects taught in English as LOI.

LOI OPTION C:

Some non-academic subjects taught in Inuktitut as LOI, and some taught in English as LOI.

Note that in this model *no academic subjects would be taught in L2 English before grade 8*. Many of the problems identified with the current early-exit transitional model can be seen to be a result of a combination of breaking these principles and a basic infrastructural weakness.

Consequently, as Nunavut educators explore stronger models of bilingual education in the long term, and begin to discuss these models with communities, they need to be confident that there is, or will be, serious short- and medium-term attention given to infrastructure. Fortunately, as we mentioned earlier, initiatives in curriculum and materials development have already begun, but in the other key areas: community consultation, teacher training and education, accountability and record-keeping, there is a lot of work still to do.

This study recommends that there be a serious short-term commitment to infrastructural development on the part of Education Nunavut, in the next three years 2000-2003. Three years should be enough time to at least move the system forward to a point of development in all five areas (curriculum, materials, teacher development, accountability and community consultation).

Between now and 2003, as infrastructure improves, a framework for community consultations should be put in place, leading to promotional and informational activities directed to parents and others around issues of bilingual education, explaining the various options and arguing for an option to be preferentially chosen from the “strong” models. In 2003, the target date for implementing a bilingual plan, negotiations around each community-appropriate model would be entered into between the Minister of Education and the local DEA.

Preferentially, the Minister will need to be satisfied that the local DEA has collaborated with other key community actors, and therefore is representative of informed community opinion. The Minister will also need to be satisfied that infrastructure strengthening, especially the provision of teachers, is well enough developed to permit the Ministry to approve the

community's preferred option. This last condition reflects the view that community options in favour of increased Inuit language programmes are not true options unless the system is ready to support the option, which each community desires.

19. OPTIONS FOR LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION SECTION OF NEW EDUCATION ACT

The options we propose are for consideration in the Languages of Instruction section of the Education Act (currently in draft form):

- *That the Education Nunavut system be designated as an officially bilingual system.*
- *That a general goal of Education Nunavut is to allow all future citizens access to participation in a fully bilingual society by 2020, a society in which Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun is the main working language of government.*
- *The Department of Education recognizes its responsibility, shared with other ministries, organizations, bodies and individuals at the territory, region, community and home levels, to preserve and promote Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun for future generations.*

To these ends, the following are appropriate elements of language policy in the Nunavut schools:

1. *The languages of instruction, exclusive of the French-language school in Iqaluit, will be Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun and English.*
2. *The designation of language of instruction in each community will be a product of negotiations between the Minister of Education and the local DEA, subject to the following conditions, applicable to land claim beneficiaries:*
 - (A) *that the general model will be a “maintenance model”, the model which aims at providing high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy,*
 - (B) *that the only language of instruction for K-3 will be Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun. English may be taught as an oral subject, if the community wishes,*
 - (C) *that there will be four compulsory classes in each grade 4-8 called the “Core Bilingualism Set”,*
 - (D) *that each community select, from the three language of instruction options listed, the relative roles of Inuit languages and English as languages of instruction, which it believes most appropriate at elementary school and high school for the long-term,*

- (E) that each community be required, between 2000 and 2003, to engage in community consultations and visioning facilitated by Nunavut-Education and its partner organizations. This process is intended to raise community awareness about bilingual education issues, issues of language loss and subtractive bilingualism and the social consequences of these, and will present a preferred maintenance model for discussion. This process may resemble the Qitirmiut “RLS” Plan or the Iqaluit 6-stage Plan.*
3. *The Department of Education will commit itself to preparing an adequate infrastructural foundation for the delivery of*
- (A) the compulsory courses, no later than 2003,*
 - (B) the LOI options:*
 - i. K-7 no later than 2005,*
 - ii. 8-12 no later than 2007, so that,*
 - (C) the full maintenance model will be in place throughout the system K-12 by 2010,*
 - (D) and that this model will remain stable until 2020, at which time there will be a major review.*

This maintenance model plan has been designed to serve the 85% Inuit majority population of Nunavut. In a later section, we will look at the special case of Iqaluit, where there is a mixed (Qallunaat-Inuit) population. But we would suggest language such as this:

4. *As a public system, the bilingual education system of Nunavut is open to all students, both Beneficiaries and others. The Minister will need to be satisfied, in approving a community’s plan, that the special needs of the non-Inuit population are met by Inuktitut as a second language programming, so that the Core Bilingual Set can be delivered in a way appropriate to the language development of non-Inuit students. In some communities, and in some schools, where numbers warrant, it may be necessary to explore dual-language/two-way options or, less desirably, forms of L1 language-streaming to address preferences of members of the English-language speech community. However, in such a case,*
- (A) The Minister reserves the right, in the light of the overall bilingualism goals of Nunavut society and the Department’s responsibility to Beneficiaries, to ensure that the LOI language preferences of non-Inuit (English-speaking) speech communities can be delivered without detriment to the language education of Beneficiaries.*

20. ADVANTAGES AND CHALLENGES OF A “STRONG MODEL” OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

But the main solution to the “transition problem” is the elimination of the belief package, which maintains the model. Under the model proposed here, there is no more “transition problem” because there is no more transition. Both languages are valued for fluency and for literacy. Both languages work together to build the student’s “house” of language and thinking skills. Children are no longer mainstreamed into English-medium classes before they are ready. Skills, including literacy skills, developed in L1 Inuktitut are maintained, not tossed aside as part of a transition to English.

This model is based on sound developmental educational philosophy which can be described, assessed, reported on, researched and clearly communicated to communities.

With such a philosophy in place, there can be clear guidelines for curriculum and materials development and assessment instruments. Priorities in these areas are clear: they will especially be necessary for Inuktitut- medium CALP-type subjects, but also for English-medium BICS-type subjects taught “ESL sympathetically” with an understanding of second-language acquisition principles and practices.

Very importantly, under this plan, there is also a clear focus for Inuit teacher preparation, in-service training, and constructive collaboration between Inuit and Qallunaat educators in schools. There will also be a greater need for bilingual teachers: as initial ESL teachers, to teach English initially through the medium of Inuktitut, and teachers for BICS-type subjects in both English and Inuktitut, for CALP-type subjects in Inuktitut.

There will be a greater need for Inuit teachers at all levels, and, with such a plan in place, long-term teacher education planning can also focus on meeting the declared NIC target of 85% Inuit staff by 2020.

For Qallunaat teachers, they will have to adjust to a new, less dominant, role and be able to focus on new areas for professional development. Assuming that they are monolingual in English when hired, they will be expected, and, we would hope, supported, to develop bilingual skills, the higher the better, and, alongside their Inuit colleagues, serve as positive role models for their students. Inuktitut, IQ knowledge, and a commitment to “cultural negotiation” will clearly be essential professional skills in the Nunavut classroom and communities. These challenges, and more, are described in O’Donoghue 1998 and Alfred 1999.

Since language will be so much in focus under the proposed model, teachers, both Inuit and Qallunaat, will need to become familiar with principles and practices of language development and second-language teaching. Again, if applicants have certification but do not have the necessary training, it will be up to Education Nunavut to close the gaps in knowledge through in-service and Pauqatigiit-type support.

Both Inuit and Qallunaat teachers will be called upon to play new roles, more geared to their respective strengths in a bilingual curriculum. Inuit teachers will be called upon to move “upward” (toward the “top floor”) into space formerly occupied almost exclusively by (monolingual) Qallunaat teachers. On their shoulders, and on those of fluently bilingual/biliterate Qallunaat, will fall the responsibility of staffing the CALP-type subjects up to grade 8, and beyond. They will be called upon to apply their knowledge in language acquisition and second-language teaching to ESL, and to ISL (Inuktitut as a second language) in schools with mixed populations. And they will be represented, alongside their Qallunaat colleagues, in the group of teachers of BICS-type subjects taught in L2 English as LOI in grades 4-8.

Qallunaat teachers, according to their bilingual skills, will be called upon to staff CALP-type academic subjects in L2 English as LOI in high school, BICS-type non-academic subjects in

L2 English as LOI in grade 4-8 in elementary school and in high school. They will find a place in ESL-sympathetic Language Arts at any grade, but most likely from grade 4.

This model, as we have suggested, can serve as a starting point for discussion with communities and, since there is a widespread desire for additive bilingualism, improvement in all the infrastructure areas, including a more varied, more interesting, curriculum (one which is not exclusively academic).

Communities, or specific schools, which, in the course of consultations, and with the benefit of enough information that they can make an informed, consensual decision, wish to maximize the time spent on English and minimize the time spent on Inuktitut, can choose Option B above - a majority of non-academic BICS-type course could be taught in L2 English in elementary school. Even in such cases, Inuktitut would be the only medium for CALP-type academic subjects until grade 8, and would be present as language arts and as an LOI in at least one class per day. The principle at stake here is that the model would maintain a solid presence of both languages throughout the school system, keeping in mind that it would be necessary to give greater presence and institutional support to “the language less likely to develop up to a high formal level” - Inuktitut. Communities, or schools, who wish to maximize the time spent on Inuktitut will be free to do so, by choosing Option A. Their children’s English will progress in a very efficient way by being introduced as an oral class K-3, and used in a compulsory two periods per day after grade 3. (This is similar to the “extended core French” model in Southern Canada, which allows children to develop much stronger L2 skills than in the “core French” model of one period per day.) With all the “passive environmental” opportunities to hear and watch and use English in Nunavut communities, children’s English abilities will develop, and their Inuktitut abilities will be strong. Unlike the current system, in which many children never

reach the “top floor”, in this model, their Inuktitut abilities will reach the “top floor” first, and from a position of strength, both in language and in self-esteem, will be able to pull up their English abilities to a similar high level.

21. THE NEED FOR A MAJOR REVIEW OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Models don't teach - teachers do. But a model can be thought of as a map of how a system works. Reform in the system necessarily requires reform in the method of bringing new teachers into the system. The model, if adopted, can help set common priorities for both the system and for teacher education. Also, the Strong Model Proposal made here is completely in keeping with the long-term NIC (Nunavut Implementation Committee) employment plan of 85% Inuit staff by 2020.

The present study was not able to carefully assess the strengths and weaknesses of the current teacher pre-service training, offered by Nunavut Arctic College through the NTEP (Nunavut Teacher Education Program) programme. We did hear numerous anecdotal criticisms of the programme (which was without a director at the time of the study), and the Inuit research associates of the LOI project feel that Inuit teachers must be qualified, with a good academic background, and strong in Inuktitut language and IQ knowledge, an area where the NTEP programme is weaker than it should be.

In the Nunavut context, teachers are going to need a proper orientation to bilingualism. They will need to be given practice with new curriculum, and to part of the reculturing of Nunavut schools. They will need to become familiar with educational applications of IQ, and of Inuuqatigiit married to Inuktitut language arts, and Inuktitut as LOI. Much of this will need to be done as part of a new comprehensive pre-service programme, oriented to a new strong bilingual model. To deliver such a programme may be beyond the capacity of NAC (Nunavut Arctic College)/NTEP as it presently exists.

Because the teaching corps over the next 20 years will need to be closely associated with innovations in all other areas of infrastructure-building (materials development, curriculum

development, development of assessment tools, and ongoing consultation with communities), we think that there is merit in the suggestion put forward by Fiona O'Donoghue (S&I p.45) (based on a recommendation of the 1982 Curley commission), that:

a new multi-function amalgamated structure be set up inside the Department of Education, which would bring together under one roof the development of infrastructure (materials, curriculum, assessment) and teacher education (pre-service) and support (in-service).

A further option would be to establish a broad professional teacher education programme component that would replace the current NTEP programme with a *Nunavut College of Education*, whose mission would be organically linked to a new bilingual curriculum in schools. It would offer pre-service and in-service programmes for Inuit teachers, administrators, and support personnel and teacher-educators. As a tertiary-level institution, it could conduct research, promote community service and promote excellence in teaching. We would see this new College delivering its programmes with a strong community-based format, using internet technology to create a learning community among Nunavut educators, new and experienced. It is also extremely important that the role of elders be integral to this initiative. Inuit educators of the generation aged 30 - 45 want to inherit the knowledge of the elders; they want to refine their knowledge of the “inumarit” varieties of the language, and they want to be able to receive knowledge from elders about Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit and to explore ways to pass it on through the school system to the next generations. Elders, comparable to “senior scholars” in a university, would be a major anchor upon which this proposed Nunavut College of Education would be grounded.

But the main advantage of such an option would be to bring the teacher development function into a structure alongside the other infrastructure development tasks, under one roof within the Department of Education, perhaps reporting directly to a designated Assistant Deputy

Minister. The professional life of the next generation of Inuit educators is going to involve much more than “classroom instruction”; they will need to be multi-functional, and a multi-functional College of Education would be an appropriate structure for this comprehensive preparation and support, so that Nunavut teachers could become comprehensive educators, and the elders of the future.

22. THE NEED FOR AN INUIT EDUCATORS ASSOCIATION (IEA)

In the future, Inuit educators will need to be in touch with each other more than ever. Educational knowledge is not going to be hierarchically handed down by “experts” (often, like the lead researcher of this project, southern Canadians, who are far from home.) Rather, it is going to be much more “horizontal”, generated in communities and shared across Nunavut, in meetings and through the Internet.

The community of Nunavut Inuit educators needs an association through which they can communicate among themselves, and have a strong collective voice in decisions, which they, after all, will be the ones to implement.

We would place this option at the top of our priority list. It would be open to all Inuit teachers, teacher’s assistants, principals, support workers, TLC workers, consultants and all those Inuit associated with education in Nunavut. This would not be a union, but a professional association, with its own elected structure, its own regional and community affiliates, its own means of raising revenue for its activities, and its own publication, website and head office. It would have regular meetings at the community, regional and territorial level, and could invite speakers from Nunavut and elsewhere to address it. It would have professional conferences, where teachers share ideas and discuss and report on research. It would have corresponding relationships with Inuit educators in other jurisdictions from across the Inuit world (Nunavik, Alaska, Greenland), and beyond.

The need for the creation of such an association is the unanimous wish of all Inuit educators associated with this LOI project. They do not see their concerns fully represented in existing teachers’ organizations, and are ready to assume the increased responsibility, which will fall on their shoulders under Nunavut. The *IEA* should receive start-up and sustaining funds from

both Education Nunavut and *CLEY* (Ministry of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth) to act as an independent body of Inuit educational knowledge, experience and wisdom, with representation in every community.

23. LOI PRINCIPLES IN HIGH SCHOOL AND BEYOND

The Qulliq model sees *both* languages as LOIs at high school, and so does the model proposed here. This is an option, at least would be one by 2007, according to this plan, which has been made available because of the strong maintenance model at elementary school. Basically, the goal of elementary school language policy is to make both languages strong enough that they can both serve as CALP (academic) languages of instruction at the high school level.

Even so, English in high school should still be taught “ESL-sympathetically” (English is, after all their L2) and students will choose from options in language, and by subject, beyond the four compulsory courses, which remain at the core of a strong bilingual model. By the end of high school, there is no reason not to expect English fluency and literacy to be at least on a par with, for instance, high school graduates from Quebec.

Depending on the recommendations of the Curriculum Study Project (Dennis Wall’s team), the range of choices available between subjects taught in L1-Inuktitut as LOI and subjects taught in L2- English as LOI will be interesting. There is a lot of room for creative curriculum development which responds to the needs of Nunavut and its communities. One final observation: *there is room for creative experimentation in high school in this proposed model because the elementary school and its languages of instruction policy can be carefully planned to promote additive bilingualism and biliteracy according to “best practices” and solid principles tried and tested through the last 20 years of bilingual education research from all over the world.*

But models don’t teach - teachers teach, and the student-teacher relationship will always be the cornerstone of any programme. Teachers must have access to teaching and learning materials, adequate professional preparation (if not pre-service, then in-service), curricular

guides, systems of accountability and meaningful community involvement. The model, however, channels the energies of teachers, students and communities in a common, collective direction. By taking students' language development into account, teachers in high school will find that their students under the new system will be stronger in English - even though they may have spent less time on it. What is different is the quality of the English instruction, carefully aligned with the students' real state of language development.

In the past, often when English was the language of instruction, it was not equally the language of real learning. Under the proposed system, English can be both.

24. THE “LANGUAGE FUTURE” OF NUNAVUT’S BILINGUAL HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

The Qulliq model ends with an interesting suggestion that there be a “pre-college year” entitled “How to Be an Inuk”, which sounds like it would most likely would be offered in L1 Inuktitut as the LOI. But the parents and students and elders we interviewed in this survey were quite unanimous that both English and Inuktitut are very important. This study didn’t look at adult education, Nunavut Arctic College programmes, or the post-graduation (tertiary education) intentions of Nunavut students. This part of the Discussion Paper is not built on solid principles or research.

It would be useful to do a separate study of the language factor in the various options for high school graduates of a strongly bilingual K-12 system. Probably, the options for Nunavummiut would be similar to those of other Canadian students finishing high school: look for work or keep studying at college and university. The high school students we surveyed place great importance on bilingualism for work, whether or not the jobs and professions they talked about required tertiary education or not.

If they decide to continue their studies after high school, there are two main options:

(A) study in Nunavut,

(B) go south to college or university to study.

Studying in Nunavut at Nunavut Arctic College - for instance, to become a teacher, to acquire a trade, or to improve one’s skills in an area of interest, will also require a degree of bilingualism. Certainly, high level bilingual graduates will be strongly encouraged to consider teaching as a profession. And, again, working in Nunavut after an NAC course will be easier if they have bilingual skills.

As far as going south is concerned, we heard some English-only Qallunaat in Nunavut arguing against “spending more time on Inuktitut because it’s not going to help them anywhere else in Canada - the rest of Canada is English.” Of course, there is a “second message” here between the lines, but just looking at the “literal message”, the facts of English as a requirement for study at Canadian universities, this statement is only partly true.

The proposition this study would make is this:

If Nunavut established its own high-school leaving examination system (involving exams taken in English and Inuktitut), approved and overseen by the Nunavut Department of Education, by a convention throughout Canada and Canadian universities, it would be accepted without question.

There is actually more English in this proposed plan than the Quebec high school system. Quebec high school or CEGEP students who wish to improve their English and bring it up to a level to study in an English-language university in the rest of Canada often participate in federally-sponsored Official Language Bursary Programmes, which require them to spend a summer outside of Quebec in an intensive English-language summer school (these help with spoken social English, less so with academic English and writing). It would not be unreasonable to imagine that, the normal graduate of the “strongly bilingual” Nunavut system would be better able to cope linguistically with the demands of a southern English-language college or university than a graduate of the heavily monolingual French system in Quebec, which offers some ESL, but not English as a language of instruction.

If this is true, there would be no need to adopt a southern, provincial, examination system and the (often inappropriate) standards, which go along with it. Nunavut students would not have to study to take a required “TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) Exam” like

international visa-students, but could enter college and university programmes the way other students do.

Just to be safe, it would be a good idea for Education Nunavut to begin developing personal relationships with a few universities, which have programmes that typically would interest high school graduates from the territory. Of course, McGill and the English-language CEGEP (Dawson College) in Montreal, which receive many Nunavik students and therefore are familiar with Inuit students, would be good. Since Ottawa is a city which many Inuit Sivuniksavut students know, you might cultivate relationships with Ottawa University and Carleton. Elsewhere in Ontario - Trent and Lakehead have strong Native Studies programmes; Western has an anthropology programme with a long interest in the North, and York (my university) has programmes which might be of interest. All these universities, in fact, every university in Canada, takes ESL seriously and offers courses for credit or not to assist English L2 students to cope with the demands of university life. After all, so-called “native speakers” of English are a dwindling minority (among English-speakers the world over), so Nunavummiut who speak English as a second language will feel right at home alongside all the Quebecois and international students who enrich life at Canadian universities. And like most of us who have studied abroad, Inuit students who do study in the south will come back to Nunavut feeling “more Inuk than ever” and maybe “more Canadian than ever”, while at the same time broadening their horizons meeting people, including other non-native speakers of English, from all over the world.

25. INUIT LANGUAGE IN THE WORKPLACE

It is also clear that, for students who have gone South to study and come back home to live and work, there will be a demand for bilingual university-educated Inuit, with the Nunavut government, with various organizations, in the school system, and in the private sector - all requiring a high level of bilingual skills.

The present study wasn't asked specifically to look at the question of bilingualism and employment, but it obviously is "an issue" in shaping people's attitudes toward language. Something *like* the kind of imagining I have done here of the "bright future" for high-level ("top-floor") bilingual graduates will be necessary as part of community consultations and a general promotion of "why" put so much energy into building a strong model of bilingualism.

There may also be an additional possibility on the horizon: the proposal for a northern (mostly virtual) university. It will be interesting to see if it will function bilingually, because if it does, it would be fulfilling a further principle of linguistic human rights: that each language be the subject (and medium) of study at the university level.

Finally, there will be, and we saw some evidence of this, a "*Nunavut factor*", which in terms of Inuit pride and identity and expectations, has a positive motivating effect and has raised the prestige and power of Inuit language. As the main working language of the Nunavut government, Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun is "a language to be reckoned with", a language of broad local, national and international attention in new ways. Nunavut and Inuktitut are now "on the map" in ways they were not before April 1, 1999. Secondly, nobody can fail to notice that there are new jobs, requiring education and bilingualism, associated with the building up of Nunavut. New skilled and professional jobs are open to bilingual Inuit. Young people are acquiring new role models - in the Legislature, in offices, in public meetings at the community and territorial

levels, on the media - of Nunavut's leaders working to make the new territory a better place to live. All of these images connect with young people's images of their own possibilities. A motivation to develop high-level abilities in Inuktitut and a *subjective positive belief in the future of Inuit language*, which the Research Study identified among high school students, *contributes strongly to the linguistic vitality of Inuktitut-in-Nunavut (and in Nunavut-in-Inuktitut)*.

In other words, a “strong educational model” for bilingualism/biliteracy in schools fits into (both strengthens and draws strength from) the “big picture” of Nunavut as a “strong political model” for Inuit identity and self-determination.

26. THE ISSUE OF MIXED POPULATIONS OF INUIT AND QALLUNAAT STUDENTS IN NUNAVUT SCHOOLS - THE SPECIAL CASE OF IQALUIT

The Keewatin Perspective and the Qulliq model unfortunately didn't address this complex issue, which is of special importance in the larger communities we looked at - Iqaluit and Rankin.

Iqaluit was highlighted in the March 1998 Discussion Paper on Education and Communication as a "unique situation" and called on the Department of Education to "Investigate the special problems of the community, and develop workable solutions."

Since Iqaluit does present special problems, we would like to propose a planning approach and apply it to Iqaluit as a workable solution called for in March 1998.

The 1998 paper asked the following Iqaluit-specific questions:

- QUESTION #1 What is the language situation among young people in Iqaluit?**
- QUESTION #2 How many of them are truly fluent in Inuktitut?**
- QUESTION #3 How many are truly concerned about their language?**
- QUESTION #4 Given that this is a trilingual situation, what is the present situation in each of the schools for each of the three languages: Inuktitut, English, French?**
- QUESTION #5 What needs to be done?**
- QUESTION #6 Is there the commitment to do it?**

We will attempt to answer these questions. By doing this we also test in a specific case the general approach to planning, which we recommend for Nunavut in general.

We mention that, apart from this LOI Research Study, there is a major study under way, begun in 1995, entitled Discourse Practices in the Baffin Region (Louis-Jacques Dorais and Susan Sammon) and a sub-study Discourse and Identity in Iqaluit (1998-2001). These studies, not yet completed, will present an in-depth investigation of bilingualism and language choice in

trilingual and Inuktitut-multidialectal Iqaluit. Noting that many, ineffective, measures have been attempted to preserve Inuktitut, this study will be a valuable contribution to language planning for Iqaluit schools within a social development plan for the community as a whole.

The question which the LOI Research Study asked is strictly related to the TORs:

What background factors (community attitudes, bilingual language use patterns, local school language policies and climate, broad sociolinguistic trends and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs) are most likely to influence school-based language planning and promotion of Inuktitut through adopting it as a language of instruction?

26.1 OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE VITALITY OF INUIT LANGUAGE IN IQALUIT

We began to approach this question by looking at *demolinguistic vitality*: Who speaks what language? What are the “objective” demolinguistic trends?

The most recent census data (1996) reported the following demolinguistic data:

- The population of Iqaluit grew 18.8% to 4,220 since 1991.
- Inuit are 61.6% of the total population (about the same as in 1986) - 2,600 people and their average age is 26.
- 1185 young people (45% of the Inuit population) are of school age (5-19). This suggests that even a school-based plan can have significant coverage.
- Another 455 infants and children (17.5% of the Inuit population) are of pre-school age (0-4). This means that 62.5% of the Inuit population in 1996 are in the pre-school and school-age category, another reason for a school-focussed but community-connected plan.

There is evidence of *language shift*: only 55.6% of the Inuit population say they still understand Inuktitut, and even fewer (47.3%) say that they speak the language at home. More Inuit women than Inuit men said that they still understand Inuktitut and speak it at home. If this were true, it would represent that a major shift had happened between 1986, when 92% of Iqaluit residents of Inuit ancestry said that Inuktitut was their first language, and a smaller percentage 88% said that they used their L1 at home. Unfortunately, census data are unreliable, and don't tell us much about which age-groups (or genders) in society might be shifting faster than others. We don't know very much about why people shift language.

Our study used questionnaires and selected interviews with community informants to try to get a clearer picture of the language situation in Iqaluit. We distributed questionnaires to Inukshuk High School students and to parents of students in all five Iqaluit schools.

The Iqaluit parents (randomly selected) reported to our LOI Research Project what language they used in the home. A solid 35% of the Inuit parents said that their home life was

conducted “mostly” or “always” in Inuktitut. Another 43% said that their home was evenly bilingual (half Inuktitut-half English).

Only 22% of the parents said that their home functioned more in English than Inuktitut. None of the parents said that their homes functioned entirely in English. This is a very different picture than the picture of a large shift painted by the 1996 census statistics.

The Iqaluit high school students were asked to describe their home use of Inuktitut. According to their answers, they were grouped into four categories:

TABLE 7. Iqaluit Students’ Home Use of Inuktitut

Strong home use group	14%
Moderate home use	55%
Weak home use group	28%
Non-home use group	3%

These results are close to the parents’ description of Inuit language use in the home. If we take the two strongest groups in the two categories as an indication of the percentage of balanced-bilingual Iqaluit homes, we have these figures: 78% of the parents and 69% of the high school students use Inuktitut.

26.2 INUKSHUK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Inukshuk High School students report a very low use of Inuit language in community domains. They occasionally use it working or listening to the CB radio or watching TV, but in every community domain, English is strongly predominant.

Inukshuk High School is much more like the community than it is like the high school students' homes. It is a place from which Inuit language has been alienated and can only be described as a place which grossly ignores the linguistic human rights of its students. The comments of the students who chose to add comments to their questionnaires (appended to the Research Project report) are harsher and more poignant than anything a mere researcher could say, because they come from the people actually affected by the current policy of transition.

The above comments attempt to answer

QUESTION #1

What is the language situation of young people?

When the Dorais-Sammon study appears, we will have a clearer picture still.

QUESTION #2

How many of them are truly fluent in Inuktitut?

Our study asked the students this question (without the problematic word truly). The average answer was a bit better than "I can get by" but less than "very good". Their evaluation of their literacy skills in Inuktitut was much lower - below "I can get by".

Given the Inuktitut-subtractive education the students have experienced (and are continuing to experience) it is not surprising that they rate their English abilities much stronger than their Inuktitut. The gap is especially noticeable in literacy skills.

QUESTION #3

How many young people are truly concerned about their language?

The students' own words speak eloquently to this issue. We have selected these three:

The Inuktitut class is a JOKE. It is a no-brainer class where kids sew and make stuff in a shop. They need to develop a program/curriculum and qualified teachers. Our government wants the language to be important and is one of Nunavut's official languages, this is ironic - you wouldn't think so if you looked at the Inuktitut programmes offered by the government. SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE. SAVE OUR LANGUAGE! (#20)

Inuktitut is a language I wanna be able to teach my children, but I won't be able to do that if I barely know it myself. Inuktitut is really important to me and I am really happy that you guys finally decided to do something about it. I have just one question for you - what took you so long to finally realize That our Inuktitut classes were run poorly? I took the Inuktitut class last semester and took it almost every year I've been in school. I refuse to take it any more unless improved. I wrote a letter to the Minister of Education and still have not received a reply. (M.K., age 14; #31)

*I used to be in Inuktitut classes and I learned how to read and write. But when the teacher quit, I did too. Now it's a total waste of time to go because they expect you to speak Inuktitut and mark you on how well you speak and sew. So I don't go cuz I don't want to get a low mark because I can't speak. I would go if they had a qualified teacher that could help me **understand** what I can read and write. And it is so frustrating when elders try to speak to me and I have no clue what they are saying or I can't answer back. That makes me feel sort of ashamed that I don't know my own language. (#53)*

A young man insulted because the school treats his language - the official language of Nunavut - as a joke.

A young woman who is aware, at the age of 14, that she is being systematically denied the linguistic resources that she wishes to pass on to her children and has written a letter to the Minister of Education about it (the letter is appended).

A young man who has tried to get connected to his language, but the school won't help, so he is left on his own - ashamed that he has been cut off linguistically from elders.

One cut off from her future; the other cut off from his past.

And well over 95% of the statements provided by Inukshuk students repeat the same criticism about the need for a good-quality Inuktitut programme and the importance of the language.

It was also important to the Research Project to begin to explore what is called *subjective ethno-linguistic vitality*. This concept is discussed in full in the S&I paper. Our study had to look at “how strong” and “how important” the language is in the eyes of the people most affected by school - the students and parents. We asked the question, “Do you want to improve your language ability (spoken and written)?” and presented four languages (Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, English and French).

The results for Inuktitut and English were as follows:

TABLE 8. Students Desire to Improve Language

	I'd like to improve my <i>Fluency</i>	I'd like to improve my <i>Literacy</i>
Inuktitut	87%	80%
English	61%	61%

A strong majority of the Inukshuk high school students express a desire to improve both their speaking/listening and reading/writing in Inuktitut, confirming their written statements. Their desire to improve their English ability, given their current schooling situation, can be interpreted as reflecting a general desire for high levels of bilingualism. Since a motivation to learn a language is deeply connected with the ecological web of family, social, cultural, interpersonal and environmental relationships to which each person belongs, this question is intimately related to the students' view of the vitality of Inuktitut (in its web of relationships).

The students' vitality beliefs were also revealed in their responses to the question to judge the “importance” of languages. First, they were asked about today, then about

the past (their parents' time) then about the future (their children's time). Comparing just Inuktitut and English, we have:

TABLE 9. Students' Language Vitality Beliefs

“how important is/was/will be Language X?”

Inukshuk High School, Iqaluit May 2000 (N = 75)

scale: (1 = not important at all; 3 = somewhat important; 5= very important)

(+) shows a trend (shift) upward in importance; (-) shows a trend (shift) downwards

	The Past	The Present	The Future
Inuktitut	4.3	3.7 (-)	4.0 (+)
English	4.1	4.0 (-)	4.4 (+)

This table conveys information, which suggests that the students believe that both Inuktitut and English are important, and that therefore a school policy favouring high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy would meet with their approval. They believe that Inuktitut was more important in the past than it is today, and they also believe that in the past Inuktitut was more important than English. In the present, they believe that both English and Inuktitut have fallen in importance from past levels, but they see that Inuktitut has fallen a bit further.

It is now below the “important” line (4.0) and below the level of importance of English. Their image of the future is one in which both languages increase in importance (vitality), so both Inuktitut and English are at the line of importance (Inuktitut) or above the line (English). This again would suggest that the students would support a school policy promoting high levels of bilingualism, and would not support the continuation of the current policy of subtractive concentration on one language at the expense of the other.

We asked the students about their vitality beliefs regarding language in the world of work, the domain which is one of the most challenging for Inuktitut. Bilingualism is

still part of the students' beliefs, but spoken Inuktitut (3.71) is seen as more important in the workplace than literacy skills (3.26). English is seen as more important in the workplace than Inuktitut, with literacy skills more highly rated (4.92) than spoken skills (4.85). This is not surprising; what is surprising is that the Inukshuk students see Inuktitut in the same league as the most powerful language in the world today, in the domain where English is known to be at its strongest. Since some students actually are working and have some experience with Inuktitut in the workplace (the workplace is the second-strongest community domain of Inuktitut use, after community-band radio use), there should be a research project investigating Inuktitut in the bilingual workplace of Iqaluit.

Such research has been done with French in workplaces in Ontario. Yes, it is a minority language in this domain, but a very large number of offices and small-to-medium businesses function bilingually, requiring interpreting and translation and intercultural communication skills, bilingual keyboarding and so forth - *both passive and active fluency and literacy skills in both languages* may be needed in the Iqaluit workplace as well. And without question, the fact that Iqaluit is the capital of a territory which has declared Inuktitut as the main working language of government is going to require a human resource development strategy, stretching into high school, which will favour the development of high levels of bilingualism and biliteracy.

26.3 IQALUIT TRILINGUALISM AND THE DESIRE TO IMPROVE FRENCH LANGUAGE ABILITY IN NUNAVUT

QUESTION #4

The trilingual situation (English-French-Inuktitut) in Iqaluit schools.

In 1998, this was a very interesting question, and perhaps there were dreams of a trilingual school in Iqaluit, building bridges among the three language groups, each group learning the two other groups' languages.

This, indeed, is the aim of one of the most interesting forms of the "strong model" of bilingual education, presented above: the European Plurilingual School.

As a result of the decision - referred to in negative terms by one of the Inukshuk students - to create a separate French-language school, we will have to wait and see if the new French-language school will become trilingual and to what extent.

Back in the English-Inuktitut bilingual world, this study did investigate students' beliefs about and desire to learn French/Inuktitut. Overall, across Nunavut, 52% of all students expressed an interest in learning spoken French (46% in favour of learning French literacy). Across Nunavut, French is seen as important (today) by only 13% of students, but in the future, remarkably more (37%) believe French will be important. Very few have any knowledge of French, however. Iqaluit students see French as more important outside the world of work than in the workplace. This picture suggests that there is every reason to include French in the Nunavut curriculum, and that such an enrichment to the curriculum would be favourably received by Nunavut high school students. As is mentioned in the S&I document, and has been stated by the *Federation des francophones de Nunavut*, there is a great deal of common ground between

francophones' concern - inside and outside Quebec with preserving and promoting language and culture and community vitality, and similar concerns within Nunavut.

It was also pointed out to this researcher that Nunavut is the only jurisdiction in Canada in which francophone minority schooling rights were granted without a court case, but freely and generously in the spirit of supporting minority languages with their own self-governing institutions where their L1 can be the main language of instruction.

It is also worth noting that there are important cultural connections between the Inuit world and the francophone world. Many distinguished Quebec linguists, among whom Louis-Jacques Dorais is the most renowned, have published books on various aspects of the Inuit language. There is a significant centre of Inuit Studies at Laval University, and Inuktitut is studied - quite successfully - in the Sorbonne, in Paris, France. There is every reason to offer a high-quality French language and culture programme at Inukshuk.

26.4 A STRATEGIC PLAN FOR IQALUIT

QUESTION #5

What is to be done?

In Iqaluit, as in every Nunavut community, this Discussion Paper recommends that the groundwork be laid over the next three years for the development, with community involvement, for a long-term commitment (2003-2020) evolution toward a strong form of bilingual education appropriate to Iqaluit's unique situation, and appropriate to each school and each linguistic community, and involving all levels of education, from elementary, secondary, adult and tertiary/college and university. This is in fulfilment of the Bathurst Mandate's vision: *In 2020, Nunavut is a place where...we are a fully functional bilingual society, in Inuktitut and English...*

This long-term time frame corresponds to the size and depth of the project. It also takes advantage of the special, never-to-be-repeated energy that is generated by the creation of Nunavut and the choice of Iqaluit as its capital. Although many have said that Iqaluit shouldn't have been chosen as the capital, because of its weakness in Inuktitut (as the 1998 Education and Communication Discussion Paper said), it could be argued that the reverse is true. In fact, it is precisely because Iqaluit was statistically and socially weak in Inuktitut that, for the sake of reversing the Inuktitut-to-English language shift, a significant tide-turning event was necessary.

That event, in our opinion, took place on April 1, 1999, and represents a potential for change through the combination of three combined decisions:

1. the creation of Nunavut as an Inuit homeland with a public government and a public commitment to building a bilingual society,
2. the designation of Iqaluit as the capital,

3. the public declaration that Inuktitut would be the working language of government.

Iqaluit is also the home of other significant actors such as the NSDC and the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA), who have mandates to promote social development and Inuit language and culture.

26.4.1 THE NUNAVUT SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

The NSDC have a mandate to “*encourage Government to design and implement social and cultural development policies and programmes appropriate to Inuit.*” The NSDC are guided by IQ, and are following the same broad holistic and integrative path to understanding as the curriculum developers and planners in Education Nunavut. The general approach to developing an *ecological language planning approach to reversing language shift*, advocated by the present study, has greatly profited from writings and discussions around an emerging IQ perspective on language, contributed by *Jaypeetee Arnakak*, Senior Policy Advisor of the NSDC.

26.4.2 SUGGESTED OPTION: AN INUIT LANGUAGE COMMISSION

The Sources and Issues document presents a number of sources from the field of language planning, school language policy development, the field of reversing language shift, and language “endangerment”, (“loss”, even “death” and “genocide”). A strong presence in the school is, all writers agree, an important component to an overall community plan.

“The school can’t do it alone”. The home, the community, the media, are all important. An ecological language plan would study links between language and other aspects of greater community life. Since the main focus of visioning and planning is the Inuit language, there should be a body which takes the main responsibility for coordinating all aspects of Nunavut

- language planning: status-planning (increasing the use of Inuktitut in social life),
- corpus planning (looking at issues of correctness, vocabulary development, intellectualization, even orthography, dictionary preparation), and
- acquisition planning (with a focus of schooling, promoting the learning of Inuit language by all, Inuit and Qallunaat).

We therefore suggest that an *Inuit Language Commission of Nunavut* be created, involving representatives of all those concerned with the preservation and promotion of Inuit language in Nunavut. Inuit linguists, elders, writers, IQ theorists, translators and curriculum developers should be included. The composition of this group would be left to the discretion of the main government actors involved in setting it up, probably Education and CLEY.

This Commission proposal should not be confused with, or interfere with, the Office of the Language Commissioner, which is an arm’s length body from government.

The proposed Commission would be an advisory body to government, most likely to the Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth. This Commission could also stimulate the

production of literature and “language arts” (print and non-print media) in Inuktitut, possibly with a publication or with annual literary awards (fiction and non-fiction). The Commission could produce annual reports on progress toward the revitalization of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun in society that would be the linguistic equivalent of a “community wellness” report.

26.4.3 A SIX-POINT STRATEGIC PLAN FOR IQALUIT

Everyone in Nunavut who reads this document will have had experience with developing and implementing plans of one kind or another. Since the TORs requested that the study give advice on “how to engage communities into thinking and planning around language issues” we offer the following community-based plan. It is adapted from the field of socio-economic planning for official language minority populations, and has the advantage of situating language well within the web of socio-economic development. It does not deal with traditional forms of community governance and consultation, and there will be weaknesses in its applicability because of that. However, we have tried to adapt it to issues identified in this study, and we offer it simply for consideration. It is described in terms of Iqaluit, perhaps the broad lines could be applied to other communities as well.

This community-based planning approach would require six phases:

1. *A small focus group begins to clarify issues and decides how to move forward*
 - recognizing the issue of language shift,
 - informing the community of general and local issues around bilingualism and what bilingual education is all about (it is, potentially, a win-win option for all),
 - clarifying values and visions of the community, by school and by language community,
 - identifying needs and imagining ways in which Iqaluit will meet the Bathurst Mandate vision of bilingualism.

This phase could begin modestly by a small focus group being formed, linking Education Nunavut with, for instance, a CLEY representative, and an NSDC representative. This small group could begin a dialogue on their vision of the needs and

aspirations for Iqaluit, and could suggest the creation of a wider focus group of a dozen or so members of the community leadership, including elder and youth representatives.

This group could organize a “retreat” or a working weekend to begin a dialogue around the directions, which could be taken over the next 20 years to ensure that Iqaluit will be a living example of the fulfilment of the bilingual vision of the Bathurst Mandate. The schools, the workplace, the home, the community, the media, each domain can be reviewed to determine how each can contribute to the common long-term “societal project.”

Qallunaat (both anglophone and francophone) can, and should, be invited to participate but, since the plan is for the long-term, it would be advisable to invite people who are known to be committed to long-term residency. It would also be preferable to invite people who are bilingual in their language and Inuktitut, since it would be preferable and appropriate that these discussions take place in Inuktitut. This stage in the process could be facilitated either by the three main parties or by a person or persons designated by them. Perhaps a distinguished high-profile person deeply committed to language could be considered. Since the discussions would be focussed by (and usefully limited to) the topic of “a truly bilingual Iqaluit by 2020”, the discussion would be a semi-structured one: i.e. there is an agenda, explicit and supported by all in this working group, but the discussions would be open to differing views on process.

2. *Preparing an inventory of community dynamics and sectoral leadership*

- listing strengths and weaknesses in Inuit language leadership (for instance, by domain),
- identification of main actors inside and beyond the group,

- assessment of resources available and needed,
- discussions of organizational structures needed, if any, beyond existing ones,
- Will there be, for instance, a “lead ministry”? A Secretariat created for the Purpose? A Working Group?,
- What relationship to (proposed) Inuit Language Commission and (proposed) Inuit Educators Association (and its local Iqaluit affiliate).

This would be an “inventory” of institutions and domains (including schools and workplaces in both the public and private sectors) with respect to their bilingualism and the potential for leadership in each sector. This could provide an overview of each sector of society and will be enough to suggest how each sector might contribute, at its own rate and in its own way, to define its long-term bilingual goals and objectives, and resources needed to support these.

The group may begin to discuss how to take responsibility for ongoing assessment and support for each sector.

3. Developing an implementation plan

- Once the inventory phase is completed, separate sub-committees could be formed to oversee activity in each of the sectors/domains.
- For instance, if “media” were identified as a sector which is important in the fulfilment of the social goals and objectives of bilingualism, a representative of the Working Group (or Agency or Secretariat) could convene a meeting with all important actors in that sector and could suggest a strategy for that group, select leaders within that sector, and together could begin to set realistic goals and interim targets which could be met in the short term.

- At this stage, each school and the Iqaluit DEA would be met with, and a frank airing of issues would be engaged in. Here especially, the question of infrastructural resources to support strong bilingualism in the schools will have to be dealt with, in particular the familiar issue of availability of qualified Inuit teachers.
- By this time, the Municipality, town council, MLAs and Ministers (beyond the main actors, who will have been aware from the outset) will be brought in. Each actor will be invited to consider in what way they can be supportive; what further issues they would like addressed. In return the Working Group could press these actors to consider volunteering targets for themselves.
- This is the stage at which a community information/promotion process could be designed.
- An information brochure, community radio phone-ins etc. could be set up with a focus on parents, to help them be an active part of the process. Parents can be informed of what bilingual education is all about. They can be invited to speak Inuktitut a bit more at home, without fear that their children's education is at risk.
- As in the Qurluqtuuq plan discussed earlier, new "Inuktitut-friendly spaces" can be opened up, of which the schools need to be one.
- Each sector of society could develop its own strategy, which could be linked up across town.
- As we have suggested earlier, the three years 2000-2003 would be dedicated to in-depth community consultation, in Iqaluit as elsewhere, on community visions of bilingual education, school by school.

4. *Logistic and financial support for the plan*

At the same time, there is time to lay the groundwork in Iqaluit and elsewhere - for developing the five infrastructural elements necessary for any strong bilingual plan. It will also give all actors time to prepare a well-thought-out funding proposal for funds, over those available from within Nunavut, under the terms of the next round of the Canada-Nunavut Language Agreement.

Especially important in this period is to recruit new teachers for Iqaluit schools. With a community awareness campaign, potential teachers may see new opportunities, and be willing to consider teaching as a career. There will need to be special attention given to pre-service teacher development in the very first year 2000-2001, so that they will be ready by 2003.

5. *Implementing the plan*

Very often, under the NWT, there were language plans drawn up on paper in support of Inuit and other languages, which were never implemented (see Judi Tutcho's 1996 Report). There should be an accountable implementation plan for each sector, for each Iqaluit school, and for the municipality as a whole.

If there have been committees set up during the early stages of the plan, for instance - single-school committees (new), the Iqaluit DEA (old), an Inuit Language Commission (new - Nunavut-wide), these bodies can be asked to oversee implementation, prepare annual or semi-annual reports assessing progress on strong bilingual education.

This infrastructure should be in place by 2003. By 2007, the whole system, including Inukshuk High School, should be following the new curriculum materials,

using both languages as LOIs throughout the system. Continuing community assessment would continue throughout the long-term (to 2020).

6. *Ongoing “formative” (not “summative”) evaluation*

There should be a process to monitor, report and review, in keeping with the principle of community-based assessment and reporting (mentioned above). By 2010, there should be a system-wide formative evaluation (by both community and Departmental stakeholders) of the results of initial implementation. This is the first year in which formal assessment procedures could be put in place.

Then, we would see “running” the system for ten years as a stable system without major changes, with a major review in 2020, involving both communities and system-wide stakeholders.

QUESTION #6

Is there the commitment to do it?

This last question is the question whose answer will distinguish Nunavut (which it is hoped, will put language on the front burner) from the NWT (which put language on the back burner).

It is hard to know, when you start a journey, whether you will actually reach your goal. This study certainly met committed people - the Department of Education, the community researchers, the NSDC, the Office of the Language Commissioner and the Commissioner herself, the high school students, many teachers both Qallunaat and Inuit, and elders.

26.4.4 QALLUNAAT STUDENTS IN IQALUIT SCHOOLS

The final element to a plan for Iqaluit involves language education for Qallunaat students. With the creation of the separate French-language school, some form of “separate solution” is on the minds of some members of Iqaluit’s English-speaking community. Since, according to our study, only a minority of Iqaluit’s anglophone community report that Inuktitut-English bilingualism is a priority for their children, this is an important question.

It is especially important, in our judgement, because it is very easy for the local DEA to be dominated, as it is at present, by non-Inuit parents. There is a high risk, then, that, even with the best of intentions on the part of the DEA members, the concerns of Inuit parents may not be represented in decision-making. And, if it is true that a majority of English-speaking parents do not see the value of Inuktitut for their children, a DEA representing that view might make language policy decisions, such as reducing the time spent on Inuktitut, which would impact on all children, including those whose parents want them to become bilingual.

Our rough estimate of the various communities of opinion within Iqaluit’s Anglophone community, based on parent questionnaire responses, is as follows:

1. Unconditionally supportive of Inuktitut-English bilingualism for their children (10%).
2. Supportive of Inuktitut-English bilingualism, but conditional upon a high quality programme being provided (40%).
3. Don’t know/no fixed opinion (30%).
4. Unconditionally opposed to Inuktitut-English bilingualism. May prefer French-English bilingualism. May be a more short-term population in Nunavut (20%).

In Section 15.3, we suggested that safeguards be put in place in the Education Act, which would avoid the problems posed by unrepresentative DEAs. Putting it as positively as possible,

we began to look at the two-way/dual-language model as a way of respecting English-speaking students' rights to education in their L1, while immersing them in L2 Inuktitut (and the same, in opposite languages, for Inuit students). Such a solution, with community consultation and solid infrastructure, might go as far as satisfying 80% of the Anglophone parents of Iqaluit. (S&I p. 93)

Less desirable would be to establish an English-language school, along the same lines as the French-language school, although such a solution should not be seen as a failure any more than the establishment of the French-language school is a failure. Indeed, if we truly believe that children should have the right to have their own language as the main, or only, if they so choose, language of instruction, a right that we claim for Inuktitut-speaking children, and a right which has been granted to French-speaking children, then English-speaking children should also have access to this right, in principle.

The grounds upon which the Francophone claim for a separate building was made, an official language minority community needing separate institutions to ensure the continuation of their language and culture, may well apply to the English-speaking community. The anglophones are as much in a minority situation in Nunavut as they are in Quebec. The present study doesn't seek to resolve this issue, but in the interests of having a complete discussion of all issues, even the more contentious ones, we include it here.

26.4.5 POSSIBLE NUNAVUT APPLICATION #3: TWO-WAY/DUAL LANGUAGE MODEL FOR IQALUIT?

The Two-way/Dual Language model requires support and understanding from both language groups involved, and it is necessary for parents to have positive attitudes toward the other group and the other group's language, and to believe in the societal goal of intercultural sharing and harmony - for themselves and for their children.

Perhaps we can hope that, in the future, more anglophones will come to Nunavut who are "open to bilingualism" and who will see learning Inuktitut as enrichment for their children. They may see Inuktitut as a majority language of the territory they have moved to and one might even hope that, over the next twenty years, with the general strengthening of Inuktitut in government and, we hope, schools, there will be a general trickle-down effect, and it will be normal for southern parents to know before they come to Nunavut that their children will be exposed to bilingualism, and to accept that as one of the advantages of being Canadian.

Perhaps also there will be a change toward either an expectation of bilingualism for non-Inuit, language requirements for public sector workers, and increased and more accessible opportunities for Qallunaat, including Qallunaat teachers, to learn Inuktitut and Inuit culture as a normal part of their work, rather than this being the exception.

Returning to the Two-Way/Dual Language model, this would need to be voluntary and community-selected from among other options to be successful. Most of the programmes, for example the Spanish-English programmes in the United States, begin with a balanced number of children from each language group, but if there were a smaller number of English-speaking children than Inuit children, there may not be a problem. In fact, such a proportion favouring Inuit children might avoid some of the possible negative side effects of equal representation of children from unequally empowered language groups.

A two-way programme could be set up even in a part of an existing school building, sharing space with another school for those parents who wanted it. In programming terms, the main language would be Inuktitut for the Inuit children (with ESL one period a day), while for the Qallunaat children, there would be L2 Inuktitut (with ISL methodology) one period a day with the rest of the day spent in English.

By grade 3, the students would be taking some non-academic (BICS-type) classes together and this would increase to 50%-50% by the end of elementary school and beyond, in the same way as described above. The basic LOI principles would remain, but instead of a community having a range of choices of languages, in a two-way model, a 50%-50% principle (equal time on each language for each group) would apply.

But in Iqaluit, perhaps more than in any other community, options for strong forms of bilingual education, to be acceptable to “open” anglophones and from many highly-educated Inuit parents are going to depend on availability of a high-quality infrastructure. “Do it well or not at all” is Brian Devlin’s experience in Australia and this advice would seem to apply very much to Iqaluit.

27. A NEW VISION OF “ENGLISH”

The role of English in the world is changing, and this change has implications for language education in Nunavut. It has now established itself as a “world language”, and brings many advantages to those who add it to their first language.

It has become the world’s main *lingua franca* - a means of communication between people who otherwise don’t share a language. And in an ideal world, its spread wouldn’t subtract from anybody’s first language; it would simply be a useful tool to help people communicate with whoever they wanted to, with no risk to their first language.

Another feature of today’s English is that there are far more people who speak it as an L2 than as an L1. There are many different varieties, accents and spoken standards. The “glue” that holds it together (if it is together and not already, as some claim, a language family rather than a single language) is the writing system. It seems to represent all dialects and accents equally - well or badly.

Some people believe that, because English was spread by colonialism and imperialism, it contains within it, always and everywhere, “seeds” of colonialism. These people will say that the proper ideological orientation to take toward English is to oppose it with policies of first-language monolingualism, and to reject English as a “killer of small languages”, “the slippery slope of Americanization of the world”, “the instrument of corporate globalization” and so forth.

It is true that English can be used to serve these ends, and may, if we simply embrace it uncritically. But English can be used for many other ends, including being “the language Inuit use when they speak to the world”. Inuit L2 users of English can join the world majority of L2 users of English. They can use it for their own purposes, for gaining social and economic rewards, for wider communication. They do not have to use English for purposes which are not

their own - and here is the point - they do not have to use English as an L1, or be judged as if they were monolingual native speakers of the language.

In the new image of English as an International Language (EIL), the privileged group of speakers in the centre of the “target” are not monolingual native speakers with an intimate knowledge of native-speaker culture (“L1/C1” people), but bilingual and multi-lingual people who have skills in intercultural communication, and the flexibility which comes from knowing about more than one language and culture. They often are good cultural negotiators because they have had to “culturally negotiate” their own languages, identities and personal cultures.

English has become so large that any and every group can make it their own. And we have seen, in many cases of the leaders of Nunavut, how these Inuit leaders, many of them products of the residential school period, have used English to negotiate better conditions for Inuit people. They know, however, that English, for all its variety, is not value-free, not free of globalizing ideology, and therefore *must be critically evaluated and frequently challenged*.

Most importantly, as part of a commitment to a strong form of bilingualism, students need to become active producers of knowledge, not passive consumers of others’ knowledge, in English as well as in Inuktitut. We would want to see a lot of “linguaging” (here the whole language approach is helpful) by students for their own self-expression, their own creativity, their own purposes, making the language arts classes (in both languages) the enriching experience it should be.

It is important for teachers to avoid the kind of English-language partisanship, which places their own native-speaker standards and cultural values at the heart of learning English. This is an argument for teachers to teach English not as an L1 but as a high-quality international language; it is a new ideological orientation to English which includes (and favours) bilingual

non-native speakers (the world's majority) and de-centres "The Monolingual Native Speaker Who Knows All".

There are strong reasons, indeed, to favour Inuit teachers as teachers of English, not only in the primary grades, but throughout the system. Not exclusively, but well-represented.

28. JOHN AMAGOALIK'S DREAM

The famous essay “We Must Have Dreams” is an inspiration to anyone who reads it, and its powerful, haunting questions; *Will the Inuit disappear from the face of this earth? Will we become extinct? Will our culture, our language and our attachment to nature be remembered only in history books?* are beginning to be answered by the creation of Nunavut.

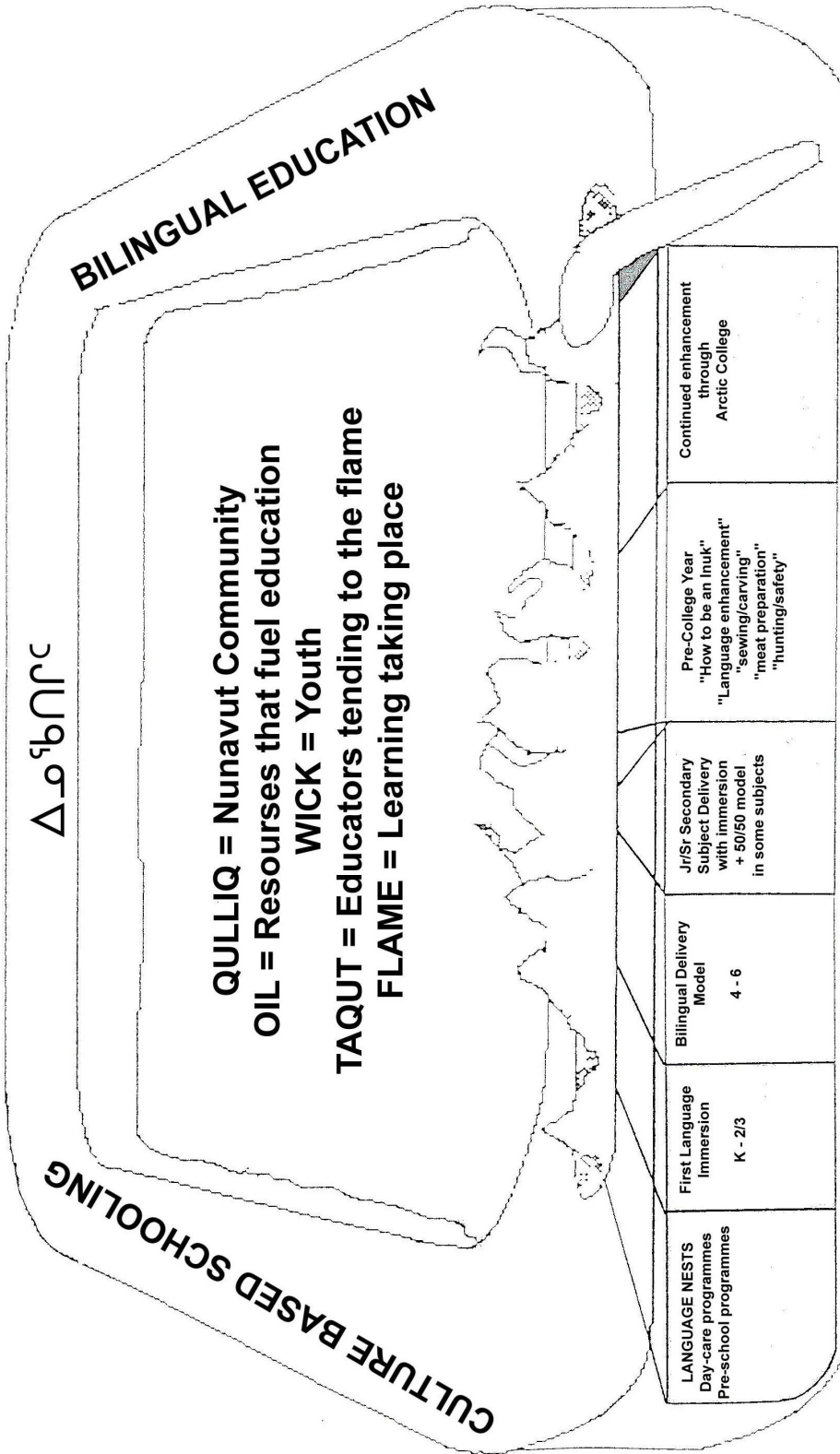
John Amagoalik's dream has inspired this paper. In particular, these words:

We must teach our children their mother tongue. We must teach them what they are and where they come from. We must teach them the values which have guided our society over the thousands of years. We must teach them the philosophies which go back beyond the memory of man...

When I talk about the future and try to describe what I would like for my children, some people sometimes say to me that I am only dreaming. What is wrong with dreaming? Sometimes dreams come true, if only one is determined enough. What kind of world would we live in if people did not have dreams? If people did not strive for what they believe in? We must have dreams. We must have ideals. We must fight for the things we believe in. We must believe in ourselves.

This Discussion Paper has attempted to suggest options to assist the Department of Education as it seeks to clarify its ideological orientation toward the language of instruction in Nunavut schools. Our research suggests there is broad support for leadership in language planning and bilingual education. May John Amagoalik's wonderful dream be your guide!

EDUCATION IN NUNAVUT SHOULD LOOK LIKE...



**AAJIIQATIGIINGNIQ
LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION
RESEARCH PAPER**

**A REPORT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF NUNAVUT
IQALUIT, NUNAVUT
CANADA**

SOURCES AND ISSUES

**PREPARED BY
IAN MARTIN**

DECEMBER 2000

COVER IMAGE:

**TWO MEN DISCUSSING COMING HUNT, KAVAVOA/ELIYAH, STENCIL, 1961
REPRODUCED WITH THE PERMISSION OF DORSET FINE ARTS**

**Report of the Research Project: Language Attitudes,
Ability, Use, Vitality and Sociolinguistic Trends Most Likely
to Affect School-based Language Planning and Promotion Policies**

a support document

to the Discussion Paper

on Language of Instruction in Nunavut Schools

[Department of Education, Nunavut]

Ian Martin, lead investigator;
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September, 2000

Research Report

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Attachments:

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Parents= Questionnaire

Arviat Inuit educators course questionnaire

Community Language Survey interview guide

Terms of Reference

Introduction

It is well-known that, prior to any language planning activity, a study is needed of the general language ecology of the population affected by the plan. Language is not a self-contained entity independent of the human beings who use it; it is deeply embedded in all aspects of community life. There is a ripple effect on the community of any action aiming to, for instance, promote the use in the schools of one language of instruction instead of another language.

In the case of the Language of Instruction in Nunavut Schools Project, it was important to identify key stakeholders in selected communities, and with these people, to explore a variety of issues which would be most likely to affect Inuit language planning and promotion in the schools. More specifically, it was necessary to understand whether or not community attitudes to language would be a platform in support of a policy of a Strong model of bilingual education.

The communities selected were the capital, Iqaluit, the largest communities in Kivalliq (Rankin Inlet) and Qitirmiut (Qurluqtuuq), and some smaller communities (Repulse Bay, Clyde River, Pangnirtung, Kimmirut and Sanikiluaq). There were plans to add one more community in Qitirmiut, one more in Kivalliq, and three more in Baffin, but for various reasons, it proved impossible to cover all these communities.

The people we decided to contact were divided into two groups. The first group were people directly affected by the school system: parents (of all students) and high school students. These were the recipients of questionnaires (appended).

The main issues governing the design of the high school student questionnaires (N = 256) were:

- (1) What language or languages are used at home, within the family circle?
- (2) What language or languages are used in the community, outside the family circle?
- (3) How do Nunavut High School students view their language abilities?
- (4) Do they view their fluency (speaking-listening) differently than their literacy (reading-writing)?
- (5) How do High School students view the past, present and future importance of the four languages of Nunavut?
- (6) How do High Schools students view the importance of these languages in their own working lives after graduation?
- (7) What is the students' vision of the future uses of Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun?

- (7a) What is the students opinion of the possibility of Inuktitut as a language of instruction in Nunavut schools? What subjects do they think could be taught in Inuktitut in high school?
- (8) Do the students think that Inuit Traditional Knowledge should be taught in schools.

The main issues governing the design of the parent questionnaire (N = 158) were:

- (1) What language is used in the home?
- (2) How important are (a) fluency and (b) literacy for my child(ren) in (I) Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun (ii) English and (iii) French, both (A) now and (B) in the future?
- (3) How satisfied are you with Inuit language and English programmes in the school?
- (4) How could the Inuit language and English programmes be improved?
- (5) How important is it to promote Inuit language?
- (6) How best could parents learn more about bilingual education?
- (7) Do parents think that students would stay in school longer if there were a stronger Inuit language programme in high school?
- (8) Should there be more teaching of Inuit Traditional Knowledge?
- (9) What are the parents= views on the right balance between Inuk and non-Inuk teachers?

Both questionnaires were bilingual: Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun and English. They were distributed through the schools to all accessible high school students and all parents (of students in all schools). In the three larger communities (Qurluqtuuq, Rankin and Iqaluit), a random sampling method was used for the distribution of the parent questionnaires: a questionnaire was sent to every fifth household in these communities.

The second group of people contacted were the key community stakeholders. These people were not canvassed by questionnaire, but by interview. A community research associate was assigned to each community. The research associates (all Inuit) were chosen for their knowledge of the community in question and their familiarity with the education system in general and language issues in particular.

The research associates were:

Rosemary Meyok - Qurluqtuuq (and Qitirmiut in general)
Maggie Putulik - Rankin, Repulse Bay (and Kivalliq in general)
Jukeepa Hainnu - Clyde River
Lena Metuq - Pangnirtung
Saa Pitseolak - Kimmarut

Lizzie Kavik - Sanikiluaq
Oleena Nowyook (with Ian Martin) - Iqaluit

The interview format was developed collectively during what was called Phase One of the Project, and was entitled Community Language Survey of language attitudes, ability, use, vitality, and sociolinguistic trends most likely to affect school-based language planning and promotion policies. It identified ten themes, which arose out of the Terms of Reference of the Languages of Instruction Project. The ten themes were as follows:

- (1) General community perceptions and concerns
- (2) General diagnosis of the health of Inuit language (Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun) in community.
- (3) Past and present situation of Inuit language programmes in the schools
- (4) What needs improving in language teaching?
- (5) Leadership and responsibility for language promotion
- (6) Community commitment to Inuit language promotion
- (7) Information about language and education issues
- (8) Keeping youth in school
- (9) Lets talk about bilingualism
- (10) Inuit Traditional Knowledge in the schools

Each theme was described in terms of a small number (from 3 to 5) of questions which the interviewer could use with community stakeholders in what was called Phase Two of the project. Other issues could be brought up by the stakeholders. The intention was for the interview to last about an hour. The interview was conducted in Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun wherever possible, and, with the permission of the individual being interviewed, it was tape-recorded. On average, the interviews lasted about an hour.

Later on, the researcher would listen to the interview and make notes. Once all the community interviews were complete, these notes were consolidated into a community report - oral or (in some cases) written. The oral reports were made at a Phase Three meeting in Iqaluit in June, with all researchers present, along with the lead investigator. This meeting, held over two days, was conducted in Inuktitut, with the lead investigator transcribing the meeting, with the help of a CLEY interpreter, and occasionally asking questions for clarification. Not every type of stakeholder was successfully interviewed in each community. The circumstance of the timing of the project in spring (May-July, 2000) ran into the fact that in this period of the year, people often are absent from their communities or are engaged in

other activities which make it hard to pin them down for an interview. But, the purpose of the interviews was to develop a composite profile of language attitudes, and to attempt to establish a picture of community views of LOI issues which would capture general trends and issues, while being sensitive to specific community situations.

Statscan demolinguistic data (1996)

The % of community population with knowledge of aboriginal language is as follows:

	Column 1 KNOWLEDGE OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE	Column 2 ABORIGINAL LANG FIRST LEARNED AND STILL UNDERSTOOD	Column 3 ABORIGINAL LANG SPEAKERS WHO USE LANG AT HOME
Arviat	94.6%	92.6%	90.7%
Clyde River	94.4%	94.3%	93.6%
Pangnirtung	94.0%	93.1%	92.7%
Sanikiluaq	93.7%	92.1%	90.6%
Repulse Bay	93.8%	91.1%	90.2%
Rankin	71.8%	63.6%	50.0%
Iqaluit	60.3%	55.6%	47.3%
Qurluqtuuq			

The difference between column 1 and column 2 is an indication of the acquisition of aboriginal language by non-aboriginals; **Inuit language spread to non-Inuit**. This is happening in each community, most notably in Rankin and Iqaluit.

The difference between column 2 and column 3 is an indication of **language shift** (away from Inuit language to English as the language of the home). As can be seen, the shift is 13.6% in Rankin and 8.3% in Iqaluit.

Unfortunately, census data is not sensitive to homes in which more than one language is used. The LOI study did ask questionnaire respondents, a more sensitive home language use question, whether they used only or mostly Inuktitut, half Inuktitut and half English, and some Inuktitut.

The questionnaire results will be presented and discussed without entering into the details pertaining to the statistical analyses will not be presented unless used occasionally to interpret results. The raw tabulations are available to the Department on a separate diskette.

The results will be presented in the following sections:

- I. Students
- II. Parents
- III. Iqaluit teachers
- IV. Inuit educators
- V. course members (Arviat July 2000)
- VI. Phase III community research reports
- VII. Conclusions

NUNAVUT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

The study wanted to test a model of ethno-linguistic vitality among high school students. The high school students were asked to reply to a questionnaire in the following categories:

I. **Home Inuktitut language use** (with grandparents, parents and siblings at home)

On the basis of their scores in this category, four groups were formed: S-group (those with relatively **strong** Inuit language use in the home), the M-group (those with **moderate** home use), the W-group (those with **weak** home use), and the N-group (those with **no** Inuit language use at home).

The question was asked as a Likert-type 1-to-5 scale (1 = always English, 3 = about half Inuit language/half English, 5 = all Inuit language). The highest score would be 15; the lowest 3. Thus, the groups were divided by scores as follows:

The S-group scores: between 12 and 15

The M-group scores: between 8 and 11

W-group scores: between 4 and 7

N-group score: 3

Although a statistical analysis of general variance was performed, a group-based analysis was also performed, as an attempt to apply Landry and Allard's social psychological model (Landry, Allard and Henry 1996; [the macroscopic model is presented on p. 76 of the **R&I** document]) of the factors contributing to additive and subtractive types of bilingualism.

There are two levels of analysis: (1) whole-study (all 5 communities) and (2) single-community.

II. **Inuktitut use in the community** (friends, media, reading, writing)

Here, a small number (8) of domains were chosen to reflect students' use of Inuit language in a range of activities requiring both **ORAL FLUENCY** (speaking and listening) and **WRITTEN LITERACY** (reading and writing). A yes/no format.

The study hypothesized that Inuit language would be prominent in oral domains, while English might tend to be predominant in written domains. We were interested in the relationship of language to the world of work, for those students who work while going to school.

III. **Previous schooling in Inuktitut**

Although we knew that the high school students had generally passed through a common transitional bilingual programme, we wanted to verify that this was indeed the case.

IV. **Self-reported language ability in Inuktitut and English** - fluency and literacy

On a 1-to-5 Likert-type scale (1 = fluent, 3 = I can get by, 5 = none) students rated their abilities in all four languages, both for fluency and for literacy.

V. Desire to improve language ability

This category was intended to point to students' motivations to improve their language ability - fluency and literacy - in all four Nunavut languages. This is an important gauge of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV). Asked as a yes/no question.

VI. Beliefs of the importance of languages over time

This category asked three questions in which students described their beliefs (in order: present, past and future) about the importance of Nunavut's languages. (A Likert-type scale, with 1 = not important, 3 = somewhat important 5 = very important). This provides an important picture of the SEV over time. It also provides data regarding the students' perception (or not) of objective language shift trends.

VII. Belief of the importance of languages in the world of work

Since the domain of work is so important to young people, it was important to get a picture of the students' belief of the importance of language in this domain. It was hypothesized that there might be a discrepancy between the impersonal answers in the previous category and this personally-related category. This was a yes/no question.

VIII. Vision of future use of Inuktitut / Use of Inuit language as a language of instruction in schools

This question was only asked in Kivalliq and Kitikmeot. There were twelve categories (expressed as language functions, displayed in a scattered order), which reflected a range of fluency-literacy modes, and traditional/non-traditional used. In Baffin, we replaced the question with a more focussed question on language of instruction in the school: (Do you think that Inuit language could be a language of instruction in high school? If YES, what subjects would be the most likely/best to be taught in the medium of Inuit language? - an open-ended question.

IX. Exposure to IQ teaching

Did the students have any experience learning IQ, what did they learn, and did they believe that IQ teaching should be increased?

X. Open-ended comments

PROCEDURE:

The questionnaires were administered to students in their high schools in each case by a regional research associate or a community research associate. School staff and principals were advised of the research team's intentions, and were unfailingly supportive. Students were offered a choice of language (English or Inuktitut/Inuinaqtun) for the questionnaire, which took one period (40 minutes) to complete. The questionnaire was not timed, students could work at their own pace and were able to ask questions for clarification.

STATISTICAL ANALYSES

Both Inuit (Land Claims Beneficiaries) and non-Inuit students completed the questionnaires. Although we did have a question identifying such students, we also used at times the use of Inuit language in the home to identify non-Inuit respondents who would be almost exclusively in the N-group).

One-way analyses of variance were made to compute average scores for the whole territorial sample, for each community, and for each of the four groups identified as the S-group, the M-group, the W-group and the N-group on the variables that pertain to the ten parts of the model. Due to the large number of variables, and to the descriptive nature of the present report, the details relating to the statistical analyses will not be presented but may be used occasionally to interpret results (esp levels of statistical significance).

RESULTS

Inuit language use at home

Table 1 (Percentage reporting that they use Inuit language A(almost) always@ with the family member in question (i.e. a score of 4 or 5 on the scale)

	With grandparents	With Parents	With Siblings
Whole sample:	65	22	22
Iqaluit	45** <correct this for Inuit-only!!>	6	10
Kugluktuk	24	0	0
Rankin Inlet	78	22	17
Pangnirtung	93	39	53
Clyde River	99	55	33

The most noticeable aspect of this table is the students' report of a very strong generational factor in their use of Inuit language between their grandparents' generation and their parents' generation. A second aspect is the very distinctive pattern between communities in their general shift toward English-dominant bilingualism. Kugluktuk's generational shift must have happened in the generation before - in the great-grandparents' generation - because already English-dominant bilingualism is a feature of Kugluktuk's grandparents. Both Iqaluit and Rankin parents are now English-dominant bilinguals, and the home domain in both communities is thoroughly penetrated by English. Nor are the smaller communities, Pangnirtung and Clyde River, immune from significant shift away from Inuit language toward English.

The Pangnirtung statistics suggest that there is a stronger use of Inuit language with siblings than

with parents. This deserves further investigation.

Inuit language education at school

The general picture, as one would expect, is of gradual disappearance of Inuit language from the school system. Substantially fewer students than expected reported experiencing Inuit language education in the early grades. Since this is the only school sector in the NWT system that Inuit language (but not Inuinnaqtun) is actually used as a language of instruction, it can be assumed that the reporting of Inuit language in the higher grades refers to Inuit language taught as a subject (language arts) at best.

Kindergarten to Grade 3	54%
Grade 4 to 6	19%
Grade 7 to 9	3%
Grade 10 to 12	2%

It should be stated that Inuit language is practically absent from the high school domain.

Community language use

Do the students use Inuit language in everyday functions - with friends, on the media (radio, TV and the internet), for reading or writing, or in the workplace?

Looking at the whole sample (according to whether they did or did not use Inuit language) we have the following results:

RELATIVELY FREQUENT						RELATIVELY INFREQUENT		
community radio/	CB radio/	Music/	At work/	TV/	On the internet/	reading/	writing	
32%	27%	22%	21%	20%	20%	15%	11%	

Generally speaking, listening and watching activities are more popular than reading and writing.

In their reported use of Inuit language with friends, students in all communities use it less frequently with friends than at they use it at home:

Table 2 Use of Inuit language A(almost) always@ with friends

(scores are percentages of each group)

Whole sample	10
Iqaluit	4
Kugluktuk	0
Rankin Inlet	9
Pangnirtung	24
Clyde River	14

There are statistically significant correlations between HOME LANGUAGE USE and COMMUNITY LANGUAGE USE in every category.

Self-assessed language ability

(1 = fluent, 2 = very good, 3 = I can get by, 4 = just a few words, 5 = none)

Table 3 Percentage of students reporting fluent or very good ability
(As percentages of whole-sample response)

	Inuinnaqtun		Inuktitut		English		French	
	FL	LIT	FL	LIT	FL	LIT	FL	LIT
Whole sample	5	7	55	37	85	84	5	5
If add: just get by group			77	60	98	98		

There are two significant observations to be made: the students assess their abilities in English as superior to their abilities in Inuit language, and there is an even greater discrepancy between the two languages in the students' assessment of their literacy skills. Of course, this is a self-selected group, since those students who stay in school would likely have a higher assessment of their English abilities than the population of drop-outs.

Again, there is considerable community variation, as shown in the following table.

Table 4. Community-specific ability to speak and understand Inuit language
(Percentages of community responses - literacy percentages in brackets)

	<u>Fluent</u>	<u>Very good</u>	<u>Can get by</u>	<u>Just a few words</u>	<u>None</u>
Iqaluit	11 (13)	29(13)	30(27)	25 (8)	6 (38)
Kugluktuk <i>Inuinnaqtun</i>	0(5)	4 (5)	24(38)	72 (52)	0 (0)
<i>Inuktitut</i>	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (6)	22 (6)	74(75)
Rankin Inlet	27(15)	24(12)	31(16)	13 (31)	4(27)
Pangnirtung	31(22)	57(43)	12(26)	0(9)	0(0)
Clyde River	46(18)	46(40)	9(36)	0(5)	0(0)

Again, we see three levels of ability assessment: Relatively High in the small communities, Moderate in Iqaluit and Rankin (although Rankin has a higher percentage of fluent speakers), and Kugluktuk (although the picture for Inuinnaqtun is more positive here than for Inuktitut -

three-quarters of the Kugluktuk students report not speaking or understanding Inuktitut, whereas all have at least a few words in Inuinnaqtun).

In almost every case, the oral-written ability discrepancy prevails, with literacy ability lagging behind fluency. This is especially pronounced in Rankin, where fully 58% of students cannot get by in written Inuktitut - we might call this a functional illiteracy score - a score barely above that reported for Kugluktuk in Inuinnaqtun (52%) Iqaluit's 46% Inuit illiteracy score is also a matter for concern.

There is a strong statistical correlation between HOME LANGUAGE USE and every ability category except literacy ability in Inuinnaqtun.

Desire to improve language ability

The students express a strong desire to improve their ability in Inuktitut (both fluency and literacy) above all other languages.

Table 6a Desire to improve language ability

	Fluency	Literacy
Inuinnaqtun (Kugluktuk only)	100%	81%
Inuktitut	82%	80%
English	63%	64%
French	52%	46%

These statistics are important for two reasons: Nunavut's youth are highly motivated to improve their ability in Inuit language. They are also a motivated language learning group and have positive attitudes to learning all languages and French is well represented as of interest.

Is this desire related to community language strength and ability?

Table 6b Community breakdown on Desire to learn languages (fluency only)
 Scores are percentages of those replying yes to the yes-no question.

	INUINNAQTUN	INUKTITUT	ENGLISH	FRENCH
Iqaluit	10	87	62	54
Kugluktuk	100	52	30	48
Rankin	15	89	52	48
Pangnirtung	16	80	80	49
Clyde River	15	85	95	75

There is some relation: all communities have a strong motivation to improve their ability in Inuit language, but the larger communities, with more pronounced language shift toward English express this desire as being much stronger than their desire to improve their English. The smaller communities have a relatively balanced desire to improve in both languages. Clyde River should be noted as being especially outward-looking; its students have the most positive motivation towards English and French and, as we saw earlier, their home language is exceptionally strong. Perhaps it could be said that Clyde and Pangnirtung have a disposition to additive bilingualism, while the students in the larger centres, who are conscious of language shift in their lives, wish to redress the balance and are advocating a bilingualism which moves away from the subtractive/unbalanced type they are experiencing to one which is additive and balanced.

Half (52%) of Kugluktuk's students express a motivation toward improving their ability in Inuktitut, although the motivation toward Inuinnaqtun is twice as strong (100%). Still, this does suggest that there would be support for Inuinnaqtun-Inuktitut bilingual education (really trilingual, with English), with priority given to Inuinnaqtun.

There is significant negative statistical correlation between HOME LANGUAGE USE and DESIRES TO IMPROVE FLUENCY IN ENGLISH (-.321), INUKTITUT LITERACY (-.196) and ENGLISH LITERACY (-.262).

Vitality beliefs

The questions related to vitality beliefs were the questions asking students to answer the question *How important was/is/will be <Language X> in your community?*

Table 7a Students' beliefs in importance of languages in their communities

Whole sample (Scores are percentages of those who answered (very) important
1 = not important; 2 = not too important; 3 = somewhat important;
4 = important; 5 = very important)

<u>PAST</u>	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>FUTURE</u> <u>PRES to FUT</u>	<u>Increase/decline</u>	
Inuinnaqtun (Kugluktuk only)	72	92	69	(-23)
Inuktitut	70	73	68	(-5)
English	56	69	82	(+13)
French	20	13	37	(+24)

The students, as a whole, believe that Inuit language is more important today than English. However in the future, they see English as increasing in importance relative to Inuit languages and becoming the most important language overall.

Analyzing this issue at the community level, we have the following set of data, which show that each community (with the notable exception of Kugluktuk) see Inuktitut declining in importance, and English (again with the exception of Kugluktuk) increasing in importance.

Table 7b TRENDS IN BELIEFS OF LANGUAGE IMPORTANCE (by community)
(Scores are percentage of group answering A(very) important; figures in brackets are
mean scores (out of 5 = maximum), for Inuktitut and English only)

<u>Iqaluit</u>	<u>PRESENT</u>	<u>FUTURE</u>
Inuinnaqtun	16	22
Inuktitut	83 (4.33)	74 (4.05)
English	81 (4.15)	87 (4.40)
French	27	74
 <u>Kugluktuk</u>		
Inuinnaqtun	92	69
Inuktitut	17 (2.26)	39 (3.43)
English	71 (4.04)	71 (4.00)
French	8	9
 <u>Rankin Inlet</u>		
Inuinnaqtun	10	21
Inuktitut	71 (4.22)	64 (3.90)
English	67 (4.11)	88 (4.53)
French	8	72
 <u>Pangnirtung</u>		
Inuinnaqtun	9	7
Inuktitut	83 (4.61)	75 (4.42)
English	50 (3.81)	72 (4.26)
French	0	18
 <u>Clyde River</u>		
Inuinnaqtun	0	0
Inuktitut	86 (4.54)	77 (4.36)
English	86 (4.45)	100 (4.90)
French	30	27

Table 7c Comparison of community average scores on TRENDS IN BELIEFS OF LANGUAGE IMPORTANCE of A. Inuktitut and B. English , compared to whole-study average trend scores (-8 for Inuktitut, +12.6 for English),

A. Inuktitut							
x.....	X	x.....	x.....	x.....	x.....	x.....	x.....
Iq,Clyde	AV	Pang	Rank				Kug
-9	-8	-8	-7	0			+22
B. English.....							
				x.....	x.....	X	x.....
				Kug	Iq	AV	Clyde
				0	+6	+12.6	+14
							Rank Pang
							+21 +22

We can see that all communities (but not Kugluktuk) cluster around the whole sample average, without distinction to their current linguistic situation, so we can say this is a general perception of a slight decline in importance of Inuktitut (but still, this decline is almost completely <Rankin is the only exceltion with a future importance score of 3.90> within the important category - between 4 and 5 on the Likert-scale).

The belief in the increase in importance of English shows more community variability, which doesn't seem to be explainable as a distinction between large communities vs. small communities. We need to remember that English's present importance was ranked less than that of Inuktitut, so its increase has allowed it to overtake Inuktitut (except in Pangnirtung) as another important language, alongside Inuktitut.

In order to shed more light on these beliefs, we looked at correlations between HOME LANGUAGE USE and BELIEFS (BELIEFS OF LANGUAGE IMPORTANCE).

Table 7d Correlations between HOME INUIT LANGUAGE USE and BELIEFS OF LANGUAGE IMPORTANCE (whole sample)

	Present	Future
Inuinnaqtun	.232**	.135
Inuktitut	-.228**	-.268**
English	.161*	-.116
French	.355**	.165*

** correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) [i.e. very strongly correlated]

* correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) [i.e strongly correlated]

This table shows that BELIEF IN IMPORTANCE OF INUKTITUT is strongly negatively correlated with HOME INUIT LANGUAGE USE. Such a finding could generate two explanations:

- A. People who have less Inuit language at home tend to have a strong belief in its importance.
- B. People who have more Inuit language at home tend to have a weak belief in its importance.

When we look at correlations between HOME USE and with BELIEF IN IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH, however, we see that there is a strong correlation (for the present) between use of the language at home and belief in its present importance. **Therefore, we can not assume that home language use is a predictor of beliefs of vitality.**

We attempted to use the four-group method in order to refine these hypotheses, and to do this by community.

For instance, with respect to Rankin Inlet, we have the following data

Table 7e TRENDS IN BELIEF OF IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGES (RANKIN INLET)

(1 = not important; 4 = important; 5 = very important)

	(N=13) <u>N-group</u>		(N=15) <u>W-group</u>		(N=25) <u>M-group</u>		(N=6) <u>S-group</u>	
	<u>PRES</u>	<u>FUT</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>FUT</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>FUT</u>	<u>PRES</u>	<u>FUT</u>
Inuktitut	4.4	> 3.5 (-)	4.5	> 3.7 (-)	4.3	> 4.7 (+)	4.1	> 4.3 (+)
English	4.9	> 4.9	4.1	> 4.3 (+)	4.0	> 4.5 (+)	3.6	> 3.3 (-)

These data are highly interesting, since, as we can see that there is a clear case for the argument that **the two groups with the strongest Inuit language presence at home also have the strongest beliefs in the vitality of Inuktitut, and that they both share a belief that Inuktitut IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE of greater importance in the community than English.**

Those students in the N-group and the W-group believe that Inuktitut is quite important today (4.4 and 4.5 respectively), but their beliefs suggest that they foresee a significant decline in the importance of Inuktitut, so that it will fall below the statistical line of importance (4), while English increases in importance.

It might be said that there is one group - the M-group, which is also the largest group - who foresee **additive bilingualism** in the community; the S-group foresee the possibility of **Inuktitut-dominant subtractive bilingualism**. The N- and W-groups may be said to foresee **English-dominant subtractive bilingualism**. But it would be necessary to compare these statistics with the informed opinion of people who know the Rankin community dynamic.

Importance of language in the domain of work

Table 8 Students= beliefs in the importance of language at work

Whole sample. Scores are percentages of those who selected (very) important

	FLUENCY	LITERACY
Inuinnaqtun (Kugluktuk only)	50	30
Inuktitut	78	75
English	90	90
French	33	29

The importance of Inuktitut remains at approximately the same level as in the general domain question (see Table 7). In contrast to the general beliefs expressed above, in the domain of work, English is acknowledged to be the strongest language today in the domain of work.

In fact, this is an area of particular vitality of English, in the students' view.

With the exception of Inuinnaqtun, the oral-literacy gap seen elsewhere does not apply here. Literacy in both Inuktitut and English is seen on a par with spoken Inuktitut and spoken English.

There is a significant negative correlation between HOME LANGUAGE USE and BELIEF OF IMPORTANCE OF INUKTITUT AT WORK, both for fluency ($-.444^{**}$) and literacy ($-.448^{**}$). By contrast, there is a significant positive correlation between HOME LANGUAGE USE and BELIEF OF IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH AT WORK, both for fluency ($.174^{**}$) and literacy ($.223^{**}$).

These correlations suggest the following hypotheses:

Students with Weaker Inuktitut and Strong English at home see the domain of work as bilingual (i.e. both Inuktitut and English are seen as important).

Students with Stronger Inuktitut and Weaker English at home see less importance for both languages at work.

As a final attempt to understand this co-variation, we resorted to the analysis by four groups (Strong-group, Moderate-group, Weak-group and None-group), and we did this by community.

For example, in Rankin Inlet, we have the following data:

Table 8a BELIEF IN IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGES AT WORK- (RANKIN INLET)

(1 = not important 5 = very important)

	<u>N-group</u>	<u>W-group</u>	<u>M-group</u>	<u>S-group</u>
Inuktitut	1.3	3.8	4.7	5.0
English	5.0	5.0	4.7	4.3

Here, the strength of the students' beliefs in the importance of Inuktitut at work closely parallel their home Inuit language strength, while beliefs in the importance of English at work are strongly (inversely) related to home Inuit language strength.

Beliefs in future functional vitality of Inuit language

As a whole, the students assessed the potential vitality of Inuit language in a variety of social functions.

Table 9 Students' beliefs in future vitality of Inuit language

DOMAINS/FUNCTIONS OF PERCEIVED VERY HIGH VITALITY

Learning more about Inuit traditional culture and land skills	92
In the family	89
As a Language of Instruction in High School	88
At community and territorial meetings	88

DOMAINS/FUNCTIONS OF PERCEIVED MODERATELY HIGH VITALITY

in the workplace	76
use by politicians	76
on TV and radio	76
use by government officials	71
in music, theatre and the arts	65
literature and newspapers	63
for international circumpolar communication	54

DOMAINS/FUNCTIONS OF PERCEIVED LIMITED VITALITY

science and technology	38
email and the Internet	35

It must be said that this is an extremely positive imagining of the future of possibilities of Inuit language! Only science/technology and email/Internet are perceived as domains/functions where the Inuit language is not perceived strongly. (And yet, we saw earlier that Inuit language is used moderately on the Internet.) It is also likely that the students' lack of strong association of Inuit language with science and technology could change with the introduction of the new high school curriculum materials, much of which could be/should be taught in Inuit language medium.

It should also be said that the students' perceptions of domains/functions of very high vitality place the learning of Inuit Qaujimagatuqangiit and Land Skills at the highest domain. In a sense, it is the most Inuit of all domains/functions, and the one in which Inuit language is the most deeply rooted.

But it is of great interest that there is what could be called a strong Nunavut factor in the students perception of strong Inuit language vitality in the domain of politics: community and territorial meetings, and a substantial majority (76% and 71% respectively) view an association between politicians, government officials and Inuit language: a further sign that the vitality of Inuit language is strongly and moderately strongly tied to the Government of Nunavut and the governance of communities, as seen in meetings, politicians and officials.

Inuit Traditional Knowledge

72% of the students stated that they had received some teaching at school of Inuit traditional knowledge, and 80% overall express the view that, compared to their experience, (much) more Inuit traditional knowledge should be taught.

Additive or Subtractive Bilingualism?

The students' scores of self-assessed ability in Inuktitut and English were correlated for both fluency and literacy. The result of the correlation is as follows:

Table 10 Correlation between Inuktitut and English abilities

	FLUENCY IN ENGLISH	LITERACY IN ENGLISH
FLUENCY IN INUKTITUT	-0.327**	
LITERACY IN INUKTITUT		-0.314**

** - significant

The two correlation scores are negative (and statistically significantly negative). This means that

a high score in English is correlated with a low score in Inuktitut. The scores are negative both in fluency and literacy. (For a comparison with the Nunavik scores reported in McAlpine et al 1999, the global fluency correlation was $r = -.29$, and in literacy $r = .18$). [see **S&I**, p. 70]

Therefore, in the present study and in the 1999 Nunavik study, the correlations strongly suggest that a general pattern of subtractive bilingualism (both subtractive fluency and subtractive literacy) is operating in both jurisdictions. It is worrying, however, that the subtraction appears to be stronger in the Nunavut study than in the Nunavik study (subtractive literacy much stronger in Nunavut).

I think that Inuktitut should be taught to all students in elementary school, that way students can either choose to be in Inuktitut class in High School. I wanted to be in an Inuktitut class here but I did not understand a thing. I've also lived here all my life and feel alienated when others speak it and I don't understand. I feel the same about French also. # 1

ISSUE: FEELINGS OF ALIENATION WITHOUT INUKTITUT

Teach more land skills and more Inuit games in school in gym. #2

ISSUE: LAND SKILLS AND INUIT GAMES

Courses to train teachers should be taken and become established parts of the curriculum. It does not affect me because I have lived here 12 years and plan to leave when I finish high school. For the Inuit to keep their language, it should be taught to them as a regular course. (#5 Non-beneficiary)

ISSUE: NON-INUK TEMPORARY RESIDENT SUPPORTS INUKTITUT FOR INUIT STUDENTS, BUT NOT FOR HER

They should get and teach Inuit how to teach. #7 (Originally from Resolute Bay)

They should start making the Inuktitut program a little bit longer than it is now. #8

They should provide training to teachers so that students in schools can have good teachers and actually have worthwhile Inuktitut classes. #9

ISSUE: TRAINING FOR INUKTITUT TEACHERS

Teach more traditional knowledge, Inuit games, land skills, hunting skills. #10

If the Department of Education is so worried about losing our culture and language, then why would they be making a French school? If Nunavut's first official language is Inuktitut, then why don't they do something about that instead of worrying about 30 French kids over hundreds of Inuit kids, I mean, wasn't Nunavut supposed to be for our support? I am not racist or anything, but if you have 30 students attending 1 school then they would be getting special attention. Throughout the years of doing Inuktitut classes it has gotten less effective. For the past two or three years, the teachers (Inuktitut) have taken classes out to play soccer or baseball, or even just to shop class, which are both two different subjects all together. The Inuktitut teachers were not qualified to teach and/or did not know how to grade a student. A student may never show up to class and some who pass and/or a student that does any work that is actually passed

out and finished they will somehow get a lower mark than a student who will rarely show up or will not show up at all. #11 (E.C., girl aged 17)

ISSUE: WHY THE FRENCH SCHOOL AS A PRIORITY FOR NUNAVUT?

ISSUE: POOR QUALITY OF INUKTITUT PROGRAMME

Maybe if more teachers would want to teach Inuit stuffs, we would talk more Inuktitut or we can even learn in our home by asking questions about the past. #12

ISSUE: SCHOOL AND HOME CAN BOTH HELP

Inuktitut teachers should teach us how to read and write so people can learn more Inuktitut. #13

There is only sewing here in high school, they should teach Inuktitut like learning the tradition how to hunt and more speaking of Inuktitut. #14

ISSUE: INADEQUATE CURRICULUM FOR INUKTITUT; NEED TRADITION HOW TO HUNT

Cramming school children in academic studies is counter-productive. Many have ADD, FAS, or do not have good attention spans. They then resent school, and teachers pass them out of desperation. Most need more time with physical activity, and more quality teaching. Inuktitut is spoken widely outside school, and probably does not need to much extra teaching, especially as non-Inuktitut speakers cannot then function. The level of education in this school is (for the most part) sub-standard, the students totally uninterested. This needs to be improved first, and more short-term, shallow learning and memorization is not the answer. #15 (non-Inuk)

ISSUE: NARROW ACADEMIC CURRICULUM CONTRIBUTES TO RESENTMENT OF SCHOOL, STUDENT DISINTEREST, SHALLOW LEARNING

I think that there should be more teachers that can read and write Inuktitut. Inuktitut is an important language and is not taught in our school. The school board needs at least one Inuktitut teacher to teach and make us understand about Inuktitut. The students in this school do not treat the Inuktitut teachers with respect so they end up quitting. Most of Iqaluit's youth are from smaller communities and speak different dialect. Iqaluit doesn't have its own dialect. Inuktitut first language students should be taught in Inuktitut. The youth in this community are losing the language and tradition of Inuktitut. The government should fix it. #15 (non-Inuk)

ISSUE: LITERATE INUKTITUT TEACHERS NEEDED
ISSUE: INUKTITUT IS IMPORTANT FOR US - BOTH
INUIT AND NON-INUIT
ISSUE: INUKTITUT TEACHERS NOT RESPECTED
ISSUE: QUESTION OF DIALECTS IN IQALUIT

I think that they should get more qualified Inuktitut teachers because we want to learn but don't really get proper information on our Inuktitut history, language and culture. #18

ISSUE: INUIT STUDENTS WANT PROPER
INFORMATION ON INUIT HISTORY, LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE

There should be more Inuktitut. In any classes. And more Inuktitut teachers. #19

The Inuktitut class is a JOKE. It is a no-brainer class where kids sew and make stuff in a shop. They need to develop a program/ curriculum and qualified teachers. Our government wants the language to be important and is one of Nunavut's official languages, this is ironic - you wouldn't think so if you looked at the Inuktitut programmes offered by the gov't. SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE. SAVE OUR LANGUAGE! #20 (Non-Inuk; home: Kimmarut)

ISSUE: THE IRONY OF IMPORTANCE OF INUKTITUT
CONTRASTS WITH THE WEAK PROGRAMME
AT INUKSHUK HIGH

In my opinion, the Inuktitut classes in my school are horrible. The classes are only for people that can speak Inuktitut and learn nothing from the class. For example, if I wanted to go to Inuktitut class, not knowing any Inuktitut, I would be lost, I would fail, but I would try my hardest nevertheless, but fail. We need more qualified teacher than janitors. #21 (non-Inuk)

ISSUE: NEED FOR INUKTITUT AS A SECOND
LANGUAGE COURSE FOR NON-INUIT

The Dept of Education should expand the system and develop and provide more better programs for youth. They must not ignore the music programme at all. It is important too in the school. The Inuktitut program is okay. But there's not more qualified teachers that can teach right Inuktitut. In order to expand the program, I think the best way is to provide brochures and make sure people are interested in the program. #23 (Non-Inuk).

I think they should start teaching Inuktitut more than now because we're losing our language to English. #23

If the Dept of Education does decide to start a program for the Inuktitut language, I would only have it optional. For people of non-aboriginal race, it is very hard to deal with more than what

is required for southern studies. Inuktitut language is scarcely used down south and such traditional languages are not of use for us and interfere with the needs that are not provided. I also think that with the improvement of languages (important) that we should also improve the system with more courses instead of just correspondence courses. The non-aboriginal not hopeful to stay here also need to be updated with the southern education, studies, courses. #25. Non-Inuk

ISSUE: INUKTITUT - OPTIONAL FOR NON-INUIT

I don't have much concern for the Inuktitut program to strengthen. Because I have not been up here very long and don't plan on being up here for much longer. I don't take any interest to speak Inuktitut because I am not going to be here for a long more time and the job's that I want to have do not require Inuktitut as a language. Also I like English good enough I am too lazy to learn a different language. To me it takes a way to long. I am still learning the English language now for 16 years. #26 (Non-Inuk)

ISSUE: NO INTEREST IN INUKTITUT FOR SOUTHERN TEMPORARY RESIDENTS

I just want to learn more Inuktitut, I want to learn how to read and write it. #27

ISSUE: DESIRE FOR INUKTITUT LITERACY

The Inuktitut programme @ Inukshuk High sucks and is pointless. All people do is sew and make stuff out of wood. This class doesn't teach Inuktitut. It's a class for already Inuktitut speaking students. Inuktitut is important and more consideration and thought should be put into improving its system. #28

Since Inuktitut is important to a lot of people in my community, I guess we have to have a class that teaches it. What we need is a qualified teacher. The classes now are bullshit. All the students do is sew, make stuff out of wood and play sports. Then all the people complain that they are not learning anything. If they want to learn traditional Inuktitut, learn it at home or somewhere besides school. #29 (non-Inuk)

Inuktitut is a language I wanna be able to teach my children, but I want to be able to do that if I barely know it myself. Inuktitut is really important to me and I am really happy that you guys finally decided to do something about it. I just have one question for you - what took you so long to finally realize that our Inuktitut classes were run poorly. I took the Inuktitut course last semester and took it almost every year I've been in school. I refuse to take it any more unless improved. I wrote a letter of my concern to the Minister of education and still have not received a reply. #31 (M.K., aged 14)

ISSUE: STUDENT SO CONCERNED WITH POOR-QUALITY INUKTITUT PROGRAMME THAT SHE WROTE LETTER TO MINISTER

The Department of Education should be able to let the schools teach a lot more Inuktitut to keep

our language and our traditional ways of expressing who we are. #32

I think the high school should get a qualified Inuktitut teacher. The old Inuktitut teacher didn't really teach the language. I think you should start teaching Inuktitut at a early age. #33

Inuktitut course in school has not been the way students wanted to be to understand more of the language. There hasn't been any advanced teachers or anything like that to be taught for the students. There should be a qualified person to teach Inuktitut classes for students also. #36

Teach hunting. #37

I think that Inuktitut should be taught here in this school (Inukshuk) instead of sewing and shop, because we do not speak Inuktitut in those classes. #38

Get Inuktitut teachers that actually teach Inuktitut, write, read and speak. #39

I think you guys should actually have an Inuktitut class, you know, where we learn in Inuktitut!, #40

I have only been in Iqaluit since 1994 so why should I speak. #41

More teachers that can speak in Inuktitut. More Inuk work. #42

The Inuktitut lessons should be learning how to speak and write. #44

I think Inuktitut should be taught more in school, because the language is fading in places (reading, writing). #45

The cafeteria is a waste of space! Get a lunch program started so kids can stay for lunch, considering there's no lunch busses. Sports is a big thing here and the school's gym should have better equipment and the gym should be open to the public. All the walls need painting! It's depressing!!! All chairs and desks should be replaced. An art teacher for next year and more art supplies and a bigger art room. Really toilet paper! Better washrooms that are actually clean!! And way more respect towards students. #48 (non-Inuk)

One major task that should be taken is to educate some proper teachers to teach the Inuktitut classes in the high school. As Inuktitut is supposedly going to be the working language, it might be a good idea to teach the youth and have them learn the language, not just mimic, or write down things they don't understand. #52, (non-Inuk)

I used to be in Inuktitut classes and I learned how to read and write. But when the teacher quit, I did too. Now it is a total waste of time to go because they expect you to speak Inuktitut so they mark you on how well you speak and sew. So I don't go cuz I don't want to get a low mark because I can't speak. I would go if they had a qualified teacher that could help me understand what I can read and write. And it is so frustrating when elders try to speak to me and I have no

clue what they are saying or I can't answer back. That makes me feel sort of ashamed that I don't know my own language. #53

ISSUE: SHAME AT NOT BEING ABLE TO SPEAK INUKTITUT AND UNDERSTAND ELDERS

I think that we should know more about Inuktitut cause that is what we are you guys are doing tha all. #55

I have been here ever since Dec 17/98. I have been going to school ever since then. And I say that I have learnt more Inuktitut outside of school. I don't stay in school 24/7 so that is my thought. I am leaving on a jet plane so I can't say anything. #56

I've never learned Inuktitut down South. I've learned only a little from my friends since. I've been here for the last 8 months and I'm moving back home in a month. So I don't really know anything about it. #57 (non-Inuk)

My hometown is Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. Basically, I think there should be more options for the people who wish to be taught in Inuktitut and for the people who wish to learn in English. The North is the only place where Inuktitut is spoken, isn't it? So English should be the main language. Why don't they just build a school for all Inuktitut speakers? #58 (non-Inuk)

I learned Inuktitut when I was seven and as I'm getting older it's being taught less and less every year. There needs to be qualified Inuktitut teachers. All we are learning now is sewing. I want to learn how to speak and write Inuktitut. That's what we need to know. I mean when new students want to learn Inuktitut they're not teaching nothing; they're just giving advanced work to us and the person that doesn't know Inuktitut now that person doesn't know what to do. This school needs to provide school supplies not for free but to sell at least. I hope someone reads this because I wrote so many letters at least my friends wrote letters and I see no change so make a change quickly!! #59

I think that Inuktitut should be taught in high school instead of learning how to sew and make things. Inuktitut is the language of Nunavut. Everybody that lives here should learn it or at least know a bit. #60 (non-Inuk)

I hope there will be more Inuktitut teachers in the next years. #61

Learn how to write Inuktitut notes. Learn to speak more about Inuktitut. Get better teachers to teach us how to learn about Inuktitut things. And don't just learn how to sew. We have to learn Inuktitut languages too. And don't just tell us to speak Inuktitut. Teach us. #62

They should teach students how to read, speak and write in Inuktitut. #63

When I first came to Iqaluit, we had this Inuktitut work and we had to write in Inuktitut. Some of

my classmates didn't even know how to write in Inuktitut. There should be an Inuktitut teacher so we won't lose our culture. #65

We should have more Inuktitut classes a week. We should get qualified teacher (in Inuktitut class only). The principals have to have respect for us. They can at least pretend they like. We should have an art teacher all year, not half a year. We should have real toilet paper in the girls bathroom, not the paper stuff! #66 (non-Inuk Cree LI-speaker)

If we can actually get teachers that can teach how to speak and write and also understand Inuktitut. Because we sew and don't learn in Inuktitut. We just sew things and buy them. Teachers don't encourage students to speak Inuktitut. #67

Inuit Traditional Knowledge should most certainly be kept alive. Our culture has been put down, stepped on but yet, we still shine through. We must give an example to other cultures that our tradition is the most important and crucial piece of the past we have and we should make an effort to keep the Inuit spirit alive. #68 (non-Inuk)

ISSUE: INUIT TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND INUIT SPIRIT WILL SHINE THROUGH

Hey, Government of Nunavut, I think that this school has not much Inuit teachers. Thank you for caring about our culture. I really appreciate it all! :) #70

I think we should learn more Inuktitut and let our culture grow back. #71

I think they should hire teachers that will teach grammar, Inuit games and reading/writing. Mostly, because it is our culture and it seems as if we are losing it everyday. #72

I think that Inuktitut should be taught by people with better teaching abilities. #73

I think that Inuktitut should be taught as a second language in a much more organized program than it is now. I think some classes should be taught in both English and Inuktitut so that the students have a good chance. Many students here at the school speak fluent Inuktitut so they should be taught. #74 (non-Inuk)

I think that the teachers need to get more benefits and need to offer more programs for different individuals. The high school has one teacher to teach physics, chemistry, science and math in Senior High. Offer more courses such as accounting and calculus. Basically, we are far behind southern standards. Stop trying to be special people in Nunavut and relate when it comes to education and learn from the south. #75 (non-Inuk)

ISSUE: A NON-INUK WANTS BETTER SOUTHERN STANDARDS

Commentary on Iqaluit students' questionnaires

No one can fail to read these students' comments without hearing a consistent and eloquent call on behalf of fundamental change at Inukshuk High School around the presence and the respect for Inuktitut language and Inuit culture.

There is a lot of material for discussion here; the students have made concrete recommendations for the Department of Education to consider. One student has even written a letter to the Minister, which was kindly provided to the researchers by one of the Inukshuk co-principals, and which we append here.

It might be useful to use these student comments as part of a school visioning in Inukshuk High, especially in the context of an ecological language plan for Iqaluit.

*I would like to see Inuktitut being a subject **optional** to take in high school but the thing is **who can teach it** and if it's taught then there needs to be different levels: beginner, medium, professional. Because not all people are an automatic Inuktitut speaker. (#00-N - non-Beneficiary)*

ISSUE: INUKTITUT OPTIONAL FOR NON-INUIT

I think you should get certified Inuit teachers and French teachers. The Inuit teachers could teach us about our tradition, language and knowledge. French teachers could just teach us the language. (#3-M)

ISSUE: INUIT TEACHERS CAN TEACH MORE THAN LANGUAGE: TRADITION AND KNOWLEDGE

*We need to learn how to **read and write Inuktitut!** (#10-M)*

*I think it is **too late** for the students in high to learn Inuktitut, because we are already old and I think it will be more hard for us to learn. But if it starts in the small school, it would help them so that they will learn it at a younger age they will understand a lot more. (#14-M)*

ISSUE: IS IT TOO LATE FOR TODAY'S HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS?

*For the students to get at least a couple **more Inuktitut teachers**, and for us to **keep speaking Inuktitut**. So, just for us to get our children to speak it when they get older. (#25-M)*

I think Inuktitut should be taught more in the high schools. Because you need English and French to graduate and here it's optional. Most students think they are too cool to take Inuktitut but when we lose our tradition is gone, it won't be so cool. So I think we should have Inuktitut class in different levels. (#27-M)

ISSUE: IS INUKTITUT A COOL@?

I really think families all over Rankin Inlet would (should?I.M.) use Inuktitut more and use it as a privilege to talk to the elders of Nunavut. (#29-M)

ISSUE: THE PRIVILEGE OF TALKING TO ELDERS

*There should be **Inuktitut language classes for all grades** and should be a **requirement to graduate** like Down South they have French and you could go in different levels if you are not so good. Like for Grade 10 have Inuktitut, Grade 10 13, 14 etc. (#31-M)*

ISSUE: INUKTITUT REQUIRED TO GRADUATE

Bring more Inuktitut courses into school! Otherwise we will lose our language! (#36-W)

*I don't think this will really work out if you try to start it now, because we have tried it in the past and it never worked. As for me, **I now don't know my language, due to the lack of teachers at our schools in the past.** I honestly think this has to start at the children's home, if not then, then we must use one language. Plus in the world today we **NEED ENGLISH** to survive in the world today. That's my opinion. (#38 - W)*

ISSUE: WE NEED ENGLISH TO SURVIVE

I think that to graduate from High School, you should have to take at least one course of Inuktitut. There are no Inuktitut teachers at my school.

Inuktitut is the working language in Nunavut but they don't teach it in high school. That just doesn't make any sense. Most of the students don't know how to read and write in Inuktitut. How can they get a job? These students are also Inuit?

*At our high school, we need Inuktitut teachers that are organized, that recognize the different levels. And know what kind of material to teach them. And that are **qualified teachers.***

My old Inuktitut teacher was very bad, she was unorganized, impatient and lazy.

We can't only learn the language at home. People just don't have the discipline or guts to ask their parents, elders for help. It should also be taught at school.

(#39-W)

ISSUE: INUKTITUT MUST NOT BE LEFT UP TO THE HOME: IT MUST BE IN THE SCHOOLS

*I think in high school in order to get credits for graduation. I think Inuktitut should be **a credit course to be a requirement for graduation too.** Grade 12 don't even get Inuktitut courses, in which is important to have now since we are losing our language. (#45-S)*

They should teach more about the past. Language and skills out on the land. These were our people. We are losing it slowly. (#49-M)

ISSUE: CONNECT WITH THE PAST: LANGUAGE AND SKILLS OUT ON THE LAND

Inuktitut should be taught from K-9 because in those grades I wasn't taught Inuktitut. From now I can only understand. I can't write or read. (#59-S)

ISSUE: NEED SCHOOL FOR LITERACY SKILLS

*I don't think that language should be taught at school. Maybe culture and heritage, but not language. I think that **language should be taught at home.**(#55-S)*

*I believe that **Inuktitut should be offered in all grades** (how to speak, write and read it). The thing that's important to remember is that, if your going to offer it, **make sure the teachers are qualified and trained really well**. Throughout my six years living here, I was taught Inuktitut and Northern Studies about half that time, but the teachers weren't very good at it – it's not their fault it's just that they needed better training!!. (#94-N Non-Beneficiary)*

ISSUE: BETTER TRAINING FOR TEACHERS

*Yes, they should teach/have a programme that has throat sing/singers. I think it would be a good programme. I would take that programme. And maybe a Inuktitut programme. **A person who knows what they are doing**. (#95-N - not a Beneficiary)*

***Why don't we learn Inuktitut in high school?** (#96-N - not a Beneficiary)*

Commentary on Rankin students' responses:

The overwhelming opinions of these comments support the teaching of Inuktitut in high school. But the students want trained teachers, with materials and a graded curriculum with increasing levels of difficulty in all skills. The language could be a graduation requirement. The programme could include a land-based programme and teach much more than language - traditions, skills and communication with elders, and the past.

Some students realize that Inuktitut in the school is not enough to save the language. The home and the community are also responsible. One student (#25) suggests a personal responsibility.

The Rankin students were strongly pro-Inuktitut, but there were negative views - all from Inuit students:

- Inuktitut should be taught in the home, not the school. (#55)
{this view is challenged by #35}
- it's too late to start in high school (#14).

- We tried teaching Inuktitut; it didn't work (poor teachers); we need English (#38)
#38 is J. R, a girl aged 17 in Grade 11. Inuk. Home community: Rankin. With grandparents: 50-50 Inuktitut-English; with parents: 100% English. With siblings: English 100%. With friends: English 100%. She only had Inuktitut LOI K-3, after that English 100%. Jody uses English exclusively in the community except in the domains of: community radio, CB radio (almost always uses - listens in? - Inuktitut), and she uses Inuktitut 50% of the time at work. She can get by in spoken Inuktitut, but she is illiterate. Her English is fluent and literate. The only language she would like to improve is: Inuktitut and she would like both to speak and read/write better. She is experiencing language shift: In the past, she knows that Rankin's main language was Inuktitut; now English is equal to

Inuktitut; she feels that in the future English (and French) will be more important than Inuktitut. And yet, J.R. rates both Inuktitut and English as of equal importance - she hopes to be an RCMP officer or a midwife. There are some domains which she thinks Inuktitut will be used in the future (family, workplace community and territorial meetings, communicating throughout the circumpolar world, Inuit traditional knowledge, and in music, the theatre and arts.

J.R. was not taught Inuit traditional knowledge, and she feels schools should teach more than now.

J.R. says I don't know my own language ; she blames bad teaching at school and sounds a little bitter - perhaps she can't imagine that Inuktitut can be taught. And if the other source - picking it up from her family - has only helped her to get by in her language - she may be a passive bilingual - more able to understand than speak the language - so at least she decides to recommend that the school teach in only one language - English.

And yet - there are places where J.R. might change her opinion: she realises that Inuktitut is important as English for the kind of job she wants, and her answers indicate that she believes that Inuktitut has a future - at home, in communities and in the arts. She does want to learn more Inuktitut, and, although she never learned IQ in the school, she feels it should be taught much more than now.

Perhaps J.R.'s English-only view is typical of Weakly-Related-to-Inuktitut-in-the-home@ people. None of the domains in her life as she was growing up - family, community, school - took Inuktitut seriously. In fact, the limited (and poor quality) of Inuktitut teaching may have sent some clear messages: (a) Inuktitut is only for children, (b) it's not a language for reading or writing, it can't be taught well, and (d) the future lies in languages other than Inuktitut. It is only speculative, but J.R. might well feel that she wasted three years learning in Inuktitut - since the language of her home was English - and she might well not want the experience repeated with her own children.

Qallunaat students' comments were quite positive: (a) it should be taught; (b) by a qualified teacher; (c) as an optional course; (d) and could include the teaching of throat-singing.

II. PARENTS

The sole means of surveying parents was by questionnaire, and community research associates provided some general information about parent issues in each community, based on interviews and their own experience.

158 parents submitted questionnaires, which were prepared in Inuktitut, English and Inuinnaqtun. These were distributed to every parent in smaller communities, and every fifth parent in larger communities (Kugluktuk, Rankin and Iqaluit). Generally, the parents were selected from a list of students, trying to send one questionnaire to each home, no matter how many school-children might be attending school from that home. Unfortunately, we do not at present have a statistic for the return rate, nor do we have the Rankin parent questionnaires.

Language use in the home

Table P1 Parents' reported use of language in the home (does not include Rankin)

Inuktitut only	17.7%
Mostly Inuktitut, some English	30.6%
Half and half	27.2%
Mostly English, some Inuktitut	12.2%
English only	11.6% (almost all of these are non-Inuit, in Iqaluit, and there were three Kugluktuk parents reporting here)

By community, the percentage of parents who report Inuit-language-dominant homes (a combination of the first two categories) are:

- 84 - Pangnirtung (the community with the highest percentage of Inuit-language homes)
 - 76 - Repulse Bay
 - 66 - Kimmirut
 - 46 - Clyde River
 - 35 - Iqaluit (Inuit parents only)
 - 15 - Kugluktuk (the community with the lowest percentage of Inuit-language homes)
- Clyde River and Pangnirtung were the only communities reporting no English-dominant homes.

Table P2 Parents' views of importance of Inuktitut and English fluency and literacy for their children

	<u>Fluency</u>	<u>Literacy</u>	<u>Fluency</u>	<u>Literacy</u>
Not important at all	5.7	5.8	.7	.7
Not very important	5.7	7.2	.7	.7
No opinion	2.1	2.2	4.3	3.6
Somewhat important	16.4	17.3	17.3	14.4
Very important	70.0	67.6	70.7	80.6

The parents view both languages as being of great importance for their children, with English literacy rated as more important than Inuktitut literacy - a not surprising result, given the importance of English literacy skills in high school compared to the near-complete absence of Inuit language literacy in high school.

With respect to Inuit language, analysis by community reveals the following order of communities whose parents report that Inuit language is "somewhat" or very important .

	<u>Fluency</u>	<u>Literacy</u>
Clyde River	100%	100%
Kimmirut	100%	100%
Repulse Bay	95%	90%
Kugluktuk	91%	96%
Pangnirtung	89%	100%
Iqaluit	80% (Inuit homes only)	78%

P3 Parents' views of the importance of French for their children

Not important at all	21.1%
Not very important	20.0%
No opinion	14.7%
Somewhat important	26.3%
Very important	17.9%

By a small margin (43% to 41%) parents see French as of some importance to their children.
P4 Parents' views of the quality of language programmes at school

	<u>Inuktitut</u>	<u>English</u>
Very dissatisfied	10.5%	4.1%
Dissatisfied	19.6%	6.1%
So-so	25.9%	20.9%
Satisfied	30.8%	47.3%
Very satisfied	13.3%	21.6%

44% of parents say that they are (very) satisfied with the Inuktitut teaching in the school, while 69% are (very) satisfied with English teaching. Many more parents are (very) dissatisfied with their children's Inuktitut programme than the English programme.

Analysis by community shows that Iqaluit parents are the most dissatisfied of all (53% stated they were (very) dissatisfied) with the Inuit language programme.

Two-thirds generally responded that they would like the quality improved in various ways. To the question "Should Inuktitut teachers be better trained?" 59.1% said yes, 40.9% said no, while they felt that English teachers should not be better trained (64.8% said no, 35.2% said yes).

The strongest area for improvement for the Inuktitut programme: **more books and materials available** (67%) and for the English programme: **more emphasis on reading and writing** (69%)

P5 Parents' views of promoting Inuit language use

	<u>Should be</u>	<u>In my community</u>	<u>Personally</u>
Not a priority at all	2.0%	2.0%	4.9%
A small priority	2.0%	4.7%	4.9%
No opinion	15.5%	20.8%	16.0%
One of the priorities	34.5%	34.2%	34.0%
A top priority	45.9%	38.3%	40.3%

Three-quarters of parents say that promoting the Inuit language is a priority, for them personally (column 3), for their communities (column 2), and it should be so (column 1).

By community, the percentage of Inuit parents replying that promotion of the Inuit language was “one of the priorities” or “a top priority” ranged from 95% in Pangnirtung to 70% in Iqaluit - a strong indication that a promotional programme directed to parents would find a favourable hearing.

In terms of specific suggestions for a promotion programme, 92.4% say that they would like to learn more about Department of Education plans around the question of language of instruction.

Most are in favour of action:	Public meeting of parents	90.1%
	Written information sent home from school	95.3%
	Use of TV and radio	91.8%

If the school promoted Inuit language and culture more strongly, would young people be more likely to stay in school? The parents responded:

Would not make a difference	20.3%
Maybe it would make a difference	37.7%
For sure it would make a difference	42.0%

This indicates that the parents feel that there are many factors which influence the child’s decision to remain in school such as:

- home situation not supportive
- need to work
- uninteresting academic curriculum
- negative teacher-student relationships

On the question of whether more or less activities to help students learn Inuit Traditional Knowledge, the results showed that parents are strongly in favour:

a lot less	2.7%
Less	2.0%
About the same	23.6%
More	27.7%
A lot more	43.9%

To the question of the “right balance” of Inuk and non-Inuk teachers, parents replied that their strongest preference at all grade levels is a balance between Inuk and non-Inuk teachers:

	K-3	Grades 4-6	Grades 7-9	Grades 10-12
all non-Inuk	1.4%	5.8%	19.7%	26.2%
half and half	69.6%	81.2%	70.5%	67.7%
all Inuk	29.0%	13.0%	9.8%	6.2%

Many parents responded that the question of obtaining good, dedicated, quality teachers was paramount, and at least as important as the ethnic origin of the teacher. The favourable response to the half-and-half staffing option is interesting, and suggests that a policy promoting a greater presence - now they are almost absent - of Inuit teachers at the high school level would be supported by parents.

PARENTS: COMMENTS AND ISSUES

Kimmirut - 2 of 12 parent questionnaires included comments.

While I believe that the early grades should be taught in Inuktitut, I also believe that some children, Inuk or Qallunaaq, cannot learn two languages well if being taught both at the same time. For this reason, I think that the grades should move to 50/50 by Grade 2 and there should be an Inuktitut stream and an English stream available after Grade 2.

(#52 - Inuktitut less important than English)

ISSUE: STREAMING TO AVOID BILINGUALISM?

Offer pre-trades and/or on the land program. Students should be given more reading time.

(#57 - Inuktitut equal importance to English)

ISSUE: PRE-TRADES PROGRAM

Pangnirtung - 9 of 21 parent questionnaires included comments.

In our community, ESL doesn't start until they are in Grade 3. As a mother, I feel that they should start earlier because it is hard for students to start at a later time. I feel that they should start in Grade 1 and full English in Grade 3. Promotion of Inuktitut should be based from parents, teachers and community. Government can make suggestions but the community may not agree to it.

(#101 - wants a lot more time spent on English)

ISSUE: INTRODUCE ESL IN GRADE 1

I have no comments but would appreciate it if the Inuktitut language is used more often than speaking to the student both English and Inuktitut thank you for your time. On behalf of the teachers put more effort to learning our language. Our language and culture are important also it would help the young people to stay in school and be proud of who they are.

(#104 - Inuktitut more important than English)

ISSUE: QALLUNAAT TEACHERS SHOULD LEARN INUKTITUT

Inuktitut should be as equally intense and thorough as English is taught.

(#105 - wants a lot more time spent on Inuktitut)

ISSUE: INUKTITUT AND ENGLISH EQUALITY OF INTENSITY AND THOROUGHNESS

I'm glad there was this questionnaire because we need to help each other parents/ teachers.

There should be **more elders in the school** teaching old ways and old languages in the school.

(#107 - languages are equal in importance, but more time should be spent on Inuktitut)
Well, I guess, as the new born government, the education department will need to come up with new ideas and education **department** should take time to learn more about new developments and implement the policy as it grows, Take time and be ready for change and live with the difference. If you are going to teach Inuktitut, then teach from K - Grade 12 and if not, then don't from K - Grade 12. Teaching some Inuktitut and then barely later on in grades just doesn't work.

(#108 - both languages equally important, but dissatisfied with quality of Inuktitut programme)

ISSUE: TEACH INUKTITUT K-12

I think that they should be taught to use the English language more because Inuktitut (spoken) will most likely always be used in their homes, but English will definitely always be used in secondary schools and the workforce.

(#110 - a little less time on Inuktitut, more time spent on English)

I am happy my kids are not losing language and finals and their social skills, Have a good year to you all. More Inuktitut curriculum for teachers. Have **full-time elder in school**.

(#111 - satisfied. No change.)

ISSUE: IMPORTANCE OF FINALS

ISSUE: FULL-TIME ELDER IN SCHOOL

Some of the Inuit teachers born in our community did not grow up in qammaqs and dog teams, igloos, traditional survival. We need help from elders. **Arctic College should include this as a course for teachers** and we need elders as teachers in the schools. Body parts, animal parts, dog team parts - all have names there are so many words for each topic. **Inuit need good English skills in order for work and we need Inuit values so we know where we come from and who we are.**

Youth need to know where they come from and how their ancestors lived. The local hamlets should help for whole community to encourage parents to help.

Starting from kindergarten, we should introduce English language so we don't have a shock in Grade 3 or 4. We should include elders as instructors full-time and include them as subjects (eg. Language arts, social studies, etc.).

(#114 - both languages important; more time should be spent on Inuktitut)

ISSUE: IQ ENRICHMENT COURSES FOR TEACHERS BY NAC

ISSUE: ENGLISH =WORK, INUKTITUT = HISTORY AND IDENTITY

Put money where it should be spent:

- making Inuktitut SRA-type curriculum
- Inuktitut terminology making in classes or making a dictionary
- then that counts to add read Inuit with one language as Inuk would make better

difference (?)

(#120 - balanced importance for both languages; dissatisfied with quality of Inuktitut programme)

ISSUE: SRA-TYPE INUKTITUT CURRICULUM

Kugluktuk 9 of 21 parent questionnaires returned contain comments.

Whether English or Inuinnaqtun/Inuktitut correct language usage and spelling need to be encouraged/emphasized. Presently, the evolving popular language is improper in either. Language should be a medium for cultural learning. Formal learning should include more information on NCLA and IQ at the higher grade levels.

(#068 - Inuit language more important than English)

ISSUE: LANGUAGE CORRECTNESS, QUALITY CONCERN WITH POPULAR LANGUAGE

Schools educate students for the future if our Inuit teachers wanted to teach English then they should get their degrees down south. Because NTEP is for Inuit teachers who will teach Inuit culture and language. Principals must enforce it all.

We hire Inuit teachers yet they don't speak only Inuinnaqtun. When you look around the school it is English taught basis.

(#70 - Inuit language promotion a top priority. Very dissatisfied with amount of time spent on Inuinnaqtun)

ISSUE: TOO MUCH ENGLISH IN SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

*When they (students) enter H.S., they were able to speak/understand. That's all goes in H.S. **There aren't enough teachers.** Here they have only one Inuinnaqtun teachers at the high school level. They don't understand you. They look at you blankly when you speak to them. More Inuit language bringing **elders** to the school to teach. They have all the knowledge, I don't like the fact that there is less Inuit language teaching at the upper levels.*

(#71- Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: INUIT LANGUAGE IN HIGH SCHOOL

*There should be an Inuk teacher with a qablunaaq teacher in the classroom. Support each other and learn from each other. Team teaching. **Teachers' attitudes** should change too. This can make a kid want to quit.*

(# 72 - Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: TEAM TEACHING

ISSUE: TEACHERS' (NEGATIVE) ATTITUDES

It is a good idea that our youth learn our language and our native culture.

(#75 - Inuit language one of the priorities)

More funding needed for resources, trained and Inuit teachers who are fluent in the language. NTEP should have courses in Inuit languages - curriculum based.

(#79 - Inuit language a top priority)

**ISSUE: NTEP COURSES FOR TEACHERS IN
LANGUAGE AND CURRICULUM**

Yes - no q=s, r=s.

(#80 - Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: WHICH WRITING SYSTEM?

Nutaqqatka Inuinnaqtun uqautiq piuguqunngit - piaqtatkq. Inungmata, Ilihautiyauyukhauyut. We don't want our children to lose the language. Because they are Inuit. They have to be taught Inuit language and Inuit ways.

(#83 - Inuit language a top priority)

Uvagut ilihaudjagaangapta ilihautiyakhaptingnik unniutiyauyukhauyugut. Ilauyumagapta. Uvagut inutuqauyugut ilihaudjukhauyugut. Inuulihaat uqauhirmik ilihimanngittut ilihaudjwakamik ayniyuittut mitaqqavut.

(#84 - Inuit language a top priority)

Iqaluit of 51 returned parent questionnaires included comments

*The Inuktitut language must stay alive also the traditional learning skills. We Inuit don't really care if there is no French school here at all. And **I think that it is wrong to build a French school**. It's a waste of money. Why not use the money for more Inuktitut programmes and hire more elders and assistants for teachers. And I think it would be good to give the Seniors in Grade 10-12 to give them a bit of money each as a **job in training** because they quit while they are in school and find jobs that are not even educational. I think they could stay in school that way or at least something to keep them interested.*

(Staying in school) depends on the child - if he or she wants to stay in school. It's up to them.

*Some are in broken down **homes** and there is no room for them to do their homework. Some quit because they need to have jobs to support their family.*

There should be a lot more Inuktitut materials that are ready made for teaching and also learning programs for students in Inuktitut. (#3 -Promoting Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: THE IQALUIT FRENCH SCHOOL

ISSUE: WORK-STUDY PROGRAMME

**ISSUE: HOME PRESSURES MAY CAUSE
DROPOUT**

I find that trying to place Inuktitut as a primary language will hurt in the long run. First try to keep the kids in school. The English language is predominant in Canada and the kids must have it strongly to further their education. I see no problem of Inuktitut as a second language as long as we have strong teachers teaching them language.

(Staying in school) doesn't depend on language. Language doesn't play a part. It's interest and strong will of teachers. And parents who will attract the kid.

I blame the government for lack of teachers. The jobs offered by them have taken people out of

the teaching programme to more attractive ones with government. So any attempt to train people usually fail and most kids end up with second best.

(#4 - Promoting language not a priority: priority to get the kids through school)

**ISSUE: LOSS OF GOOD INUIT TEACHERS TO
MORE ATTRACTIVE GOV' T JOBS**

English should be a priority in educating today's youth. English is a worldwide language which is especially important for our youth's communicational skills. Emphasis should be made on English, especially in the younger grades. Inuktitut will and can always be spoken in the home and amongst their friends if they choose to do so but as a whole English is more dominant and important language to be educated by in order for OUR youth to accomplish as much as possible for a firm and positive future.

If looked at in a more positive way, most of our youth's dreams are to travel and see things other than Canada's Arctic. No matter where they go or who they meet having a good knowledge of English will definitely benefit them for communicational aspects.

I must say, seeing this type of questionnaire being sent home is a wonderful and positive method on improving the educational level in the North. It is a shame though that it has taken so many years for this level of improvement. But to close positive, keep up the good hard work and you'll definitely have all the communities' support.

Start the reading programme especially in Kindergarten. Most students no [sic] the ABC's before entering kindergarten but then, lose it very fast due to having no choice but to learn Inuktitut. Then it becomes too frustrating for the child to re-learn English.

(#5 - non-Inuk, Apex parent. Inuit language not very important)

**ISSUE: THE BENEFITS OF ENGLISH
ISSUE: HARD FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING
CHILDREN IN INUKTITUT CLASSES**

Develop Inuktitut lessons THAT ARE NOT BORING.

(#7 - Inuit language very important; English somewhat important)

ISSUE: INUKTITUT, BUT NOT BORING

Many children need ISL or programme for passive bilinguals - this is not being addressed. More support for special ed students.

(#8 - Inuit language top priority)

**ISSUE: ISL
ISSUE: SPECIAL EDUCATION STUDENTS**

Get serious about having top-notch Inuit teachers - stop graduating Inuit students into teaching positions for the sake of numbers. Does the Department not know that it's Southern Trained staff that's carrying Nunavut's schools on its backs? The current state of education in Nunavut is appalling – it's getting worse, not better. MANY current Inuit staff do not have the reading, writing speaking or research skills to teach above the Grade 3 level.

Regular bedtimes, regular meals, room for study, sending kids to school EVERY DAY, being there for children...would help. Teaching IQ at present is a joke; a lot of money is wasted. Hire a

couple of elders to sit around and tell stories? Kids today are not interested in this. Inuit must start valuing education, not just paying "lip-service" to the importance of education. People will have to learn to SACRIFICE in order to be educated.

(#9 - non-Inuk but with adopted Nunavut Land Claims Beneficiaries. Inuit language a small priority)

ISSUE: SCHOOL-FAVOURED LIFE-STYLE AND REGULARITY

ISSUE: CONCERN WITH TEACHER TRAINING

I think that students in the English stream of learning should be learning more about other parts of Canada and the world and not just focussing on Inuit and Northern things. More emphasis should be given to students that excel and also to those that need the extra help. Parents should have more of a say about what their children are learning in school and have more input into the curriculum. School doesn't seem to be much of a priority to Inuit, so I don't think it will make much of an incentive.

(#10 - non-Inuk; Inuit language not a priority (prefers French))

New innovations and northern approaches are needed. Too much reliance on "other" models and theories have proven unworkable and poor results.

(#11 - non-Inuk. Inuit language very important, but dissatisfied with quality of teaching)

It is the opinion of teachers, parents and the DEA that the current system is producing students who are not literate in either Inuktitut or English. It is a fact of Canada that English is needed and thus of Nunavut as well. Until we straighten out the problems with the current delivery of Inuktitut (quality of teachers, quality of instruction, availability of resources) it is important that at least the children be fluent in English. This is something we do have the resources and teachers to do, but having Inuktitut only until Grade 4 does not make use of them. Maybe the concentration should be on preserving culture and giving pride in culture through the arts instead of through ineffective language instruction. As far as proportion of Inuk-to-non-Inuk teachers is concerned, we should concentrate on hiring people who can teach, and it should depend on the number of students.

I believe programs such as PhysEd (taught by qualified teachers), music, art, drama etc. keep kids in school and are excellent mediums to promote any culture. They keep kids coming and they stay to learn the rest.

We need Inuktitut and French as second languages taught 40 minutes every two days.

(#14 - non-Inuk; Inuit language not a priority)

ISSUE: LOW LITERACY IN BOTH LANGUAGES

ISSUE: INUKTITUT WEAK IN RESOURCES AND TEACHERS, SO QUALITY IS LACKING

Make both languages essential to pass grades at every level of grade. Example: if your child cannot read and write both languages, would not and should not pass grades, whether Inuk or non-Inuk.

We need qualified teachers to teach both languages at a level assigned to each grade at a standard unit of measurement set under each grade.

Inuktitut language will not promote young people to stay in school. Competent English skills might encourage young people to stay in school.

Restructure Inuktitut curriculum from kindergarten to Grade 12. Promote Inuktitut through mandatory unit of measurement to pass grades at every level of education.

(#15 - English very important; Inuktitut somewhat important)

ISSUE: BILINGUAL EDUCATION + LANGUAGE TESTS IN EVERY GRADE

Bring in people like from the Legislative Assembly to tell children that Inuktitut is very important. Ministers, MLAs, or even Inuktitut singers, or people the children look up to or admire. To keep children in school, maybe funding out where they come from would be awesome for them. Discovering new things.

(#16 - All languages important; promoting Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: INVOLVE POSITIVE ROLE MODELS FOR PROMOTING INUKTITUT

We participated in the discussions on the education Act several months back and it appears that none of the suggestions brought up in our discussions made any difference in drafting the act. No changes were made. Is this questionnaire going the same route as the discussions in the Act? Improved Inuit teacher training. Difficulty in keeping teachers due to better benefits elsewhere. Improve teacher benefits.

(#17 - non-Inuk; Inuit language not very important; English very important)

ISSUE: DOES GOVERNMENT LISTEN?

Our system is not working in Iqaluit. The Inuit children are losing their language in Iqaluit, we need to restructure our education system. Does not make sense Inuktitut stops at Grade 3. Also learning in Inuktitut just in school is not good enough. Inuktitut language needs to be supported at home, and in the community. We need a pre-school in Inuktitut. Students should be learning

50% Inuktitut and 50% English all the way through high school.

Is this trying to make things better or is it just paper work?

(#18 - Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: FUNDAMENTAL, SYSTEMIC, CHANGE

Maybe a little more thought on quality of teaching materials, so our kids can be competitive on a national level with the rest of the country!

(#22 - non-Inuk; both languages important)

Quality of teachers is as important as ratio of Inuk to non-Inuk. Ideally most teachers (esp. in smaller communities) will be Inuk.

(#25 - non-Inuk; Inuit language not important; English very important)

My Grade 3 child spends too much time in Inuktitut class. There is too much Inuktitut in the first

*three years. My mistake - I should have put him in English class.
(#26 - Inuit language is one of the priorities)*

*Since Inuktitut and English are very important, actually both of them are very important. I want Inuit and Qallunaq to be equal and I believe all the Nunavutmiutalimaat schools should have elders' instructors. For many years, I have been saying about this that all the schools must have **elder instructors** for many reasons and I want the Department of education to see that and talked about it. **DO** something about it. Have **Inuktitut and ESL teachers from K-3**. Should have a balance between Inuit cultural topics and mainstream topics.*

*I know that a lot of parents don't want their children to learn different dialects in Inuktitut. But somehow we or teachers have to make understand the parents that **students must learn different dialects** in order to learn more Inuktitut and learn more communications with other people and to be proud of our language.*

*Promoting Inuit language is a top priority because a lot of young Inuit people are losing their Inuktitut language and mostly Nunavutmiut young people are not using their mother tongue/first language. **We have to protect our Inuktitut language before we lose it.***

(#28 Arctic Bay parent. Inuit language a top priority; very dissatisfied with the Inuktitut programme)

ISSUE: IMPORTANT TO LEARN DIALECTS

***We are in the capital of Nunavut. We are losing a lot of Inuktitut.** There should be more Inuktitut classes before we lose to much of the language in Iqaluit. We have to gain back our uqausiq.*

(#30 - Parent from Kimmarut; Promotion of Inuit language a top priority. Satisfied with programme)

ISSUE: LANGUAGE IN THE CAPITAL

We need to have a curriculum from K-12 in English and Inuktitut to better promote both languages and have a child comfortable in both. (#33 - non-Inuk; Inuktitut is very important)

*There should be more Inuktitut language and speaking days, like for example **Inuktitut speaking day or week.***

(# 36 - Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: LANGUAGE PROMOTION IDEA

*I think you need to do a lot more work in **promoting Inuktitut language instructors at schools.** There are already existing materials gathered by research institutes, colleges, CBC and IBC. You just need to take a look at the **high school graduation** a few days ago. Everything was conducted in English, for English, by English. There was no recognition of the students graduating from the dept of education. That was really a pity.*

(#37 - non-Inuk: would like a lot more Inuktitut taught)

ISSUE: INUKSHUK H.S. GRADUATION: 100% ENGLISH

*We would like to know more about what direction the Department will make on these issues. Children all around Nunavut would be involved with their community also with their elders, and to **learn about who they are**. I would like to see more cultural programmes such as woodworking, sewing, traditional fish hunting skills, **more input by elders** is needed.*

(# 39 - A lot more Inuktitut should be taught)

ISSUE: "TO LEARN WHO THEY ARE"

*Teach values, Inuit laws and code of conduct/honour, Teach across the board high quality Inuktitut vocabulary as well as English. With more Inuit language in the school, **Inuit will finally feel there is a place for them**, their values, beliefs in their own school. Make Inuktitut relevant to show many modern concepts can be taught in it, that it is a living language what is useable.*

(# 41 - Inuit language a top priority; very dissatisfied with programmes)

ISSUE: CAN INUIT FINALLY FEEL THAT THERE IS A PLACE FOR THEM?

*It would be wonderful if our children could all be bilingual. However, I feel that there should be a much greater emphasis on our children being given a good education. We need more dedicated teachers who are well educated and really interested in providing our children with a good education. Whether we like it or not, our children must have a good education in English so that they can **attend university**. Inuktitut and French should be taught as a second languages but English must be a priority.*

(# 42 - non-Inuk; Inuit language not very important)

ISSUE: UNIVERSITY-BOUND STUDENTS NEED ENGLISH

Schools should promote Inuktitut or support more especially in Middle School.

(#43 - Inuktitut should be promoted as a top priority)

I believe that not providing access to both languages hinders the growth of all the children in the education system. For children to be integrated into the English system so late creates difficulty in learning, which causes the teacher to spend more time with children who are struggling to adjust to the language barrier, which causes the English-speaking students to lose valuable teaching time. This results in all the children not benefiting from the education system

(#46 - non-Inuk; Inuit language not important at all; English very important)

ISSUE: ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS MAY NOT BENEFIT FROM PRESENT SYSTEM

*I want my 2 boys to be bilingual so they can work anywhere in the world - not just in Nunavut. My boys will need to maybe go to university and they need to be given the chance. **The land programme at Middle School for my son was great**. Language is not the only problem - parents need to help too and what about alcohol, drugs, abuse?*

English teachers are better trained and they work harder. Put more money in training and make sure the Inuktitut teachers show up. Everybody talks about promoting Inuit language. That 's

all.

(#47 - parent originally from Pangnirtung; both languages important).

ISSUE: LAND PROGRAMME

ISSUE: RHETORIC VS ACTION

You are missing the boat on quality education - the quality is completely dependent on the person taking attendance and 20% of the time for one of my kids that's a teen age sub. Much more effort has to go into meeting the educational needs of children of capacity - I don't care what cultural background - and in creating and maintaining safe, peaceful schools.

There should be a practical and implementable immersion programme in Inuktitut with the appropriate material. For English, #1 have a bone fide English programme and #2 reduce student/teacher ratios so teachers can actually teach and not have 70% of their time spent in managing behaviours. #3 Put human resource support staff back into the school system, #4 reintroduce streaming and actually teach at the level of capacity and need #5 Implement a peace-based process. Something must be done about the level of violence: bullying, intimidation, and teasing kids experience. How can they learn in an unsafe environment? Finally, establish an effective and accountable process parents can turn to when problems are not resolved.

Look at the Danish model of the Copenhagen Intensive Language School and its consideration as a model for Greenlandic. Speak also to the Language Commissioner for Greenland. They have studied this issue longer than we.

(#48 non-Inuk; both languages very important, very dissatisfied with both English and Inuktitut teaching)

ISSUE: IMMERSION PROGRAMME IN INUKTITUT

ISSUE: VIOLENCE, BULLYING, TEASING

ISSUE: GREENLAND MODELS

We need to ensure all our students are able to succeed.. We must re-examine social passing of students. In my opinion, this just leads to a higher dropout rate once our kids reach the higher levels (i.e. grades 10 and up) and in the long term does not help them. We must stress reading, writing, and arithmetic at all levels. To facilitate Inuk teachers, we must enable our youth to have the necessary skills and abilities to succeed in University. Then they must return to pass on their learnings to the next generation. This will take time. It is not an overnight fix. We must take a long term view and put the steps in place to reach this goal. Yes, language and culture are important, our youth must know who they are, but so is proper education that is comparable to the rest of Canada.

(# 51 - non-Inuk; Inuit language is one of the priorities, but English is critical)

ISSUE: SOCIAL PROMOTION

ISSUE: COMPARABILITY WITH REST OF CANADA

Stress to us parents more on the importance of education of our children.

(#52 - both languages very important)

To prepare youth for further education, topics should be offered in both English and French should be looked at. Prepare our youth for advanced education. That should not be limited to the

*North. Get up to par with our southern counterparts.
(# 53 - Inuit somewhat important. But English literacy more important)*

*More Inuktitut should be taught at the secondary level.
(#54 - Inuit language a priority)*

Repulse Bay

Teachers should teach student everything including social studies, science, health, gym, art, cultural programs, music and not only math and reading all year.

(#2)

ISSUE: MORE VARIED CURRICULUM, NOT JUST ACADEMIC SUBJECTS

*White and Inuit should teach together at the same time in all grade.
(#7)*

Thank you for doing the best you guys are doing toward the best education for our children in Nunavut.

(#11 - Inuit language one of the priorities)

The most important thing is instruction in one language. The Inuktitut language is very important and should be treated with respect and as a mainstream topic.

(#12 - both languages very important)

***Shouting or getting mad** at work is what I call violence. So I wish teachers were not that way. Sometimes I hear from kinds that some teacher throws things when they get mad. And teachers should be teaching math, English, and other topics, but instead they push the students to do the work themselves.*

(# 14)

ISSUE: TEACHER ANGER TOWARD STUDENTS

*What I think should be done in school is, **you should teach more of English**, and write in English. Because I only know very few that speak good English.*

(#15 - Inuit language a top priority; not sure whether satisfied with programme)

*I have to interpret for everybody in my house and school. Sometimes that=s why I said that English should start early - in Kindergarten or "Beginners". **Get "Beginners" started again.** I learned my English at "Beginners" course. Have Inuit teachers assistants in Grades 6-9, that 's where discipline will be taught by the Inuit teacher assistants.*

(#19)

ISSUE: "BEGINNERS" PROGRAMME

*The teachings/subjects have to keep up with the students. When a student is in Grade 12 and he/she graduates, his or her skill level would be in Grade 8 or 9. The students are taking over from the teachers, and this has to be fixed. Non-Inuit teachers are not teaching the students what they learn. **Non-Inuit teachers should make friends with the Inuit or they 'll live like outsiders.***

(#23)

ISSUE: NON-INUIT TEACHERS IN THE COMMUNITY

*Because they go to school now someone must teach not a white man but an inuk should teach **inuit games**. It would not be forgotten as such.*

(#29)

*It has to start over. **If you take any longer you will be too late. Our people that know language will all be gone soon. We have to hurry up instead of it just being talk, it has to be action now.** Thank you. Thank you.*

(#30)

ISSUE: URGENT ACTION: ELDERS SOON GONE

*I am okay with the committee of DEA, not knowing anything in English, you want your children to learn in English but they don't want to listen. **But I don't approve with students getting hit in school, I think that's why some don't want to continue in school because they are getting hit. I just found out about this.***

(#22)

Elders can't speak English, when they are gone, is Inuktitut going to be any easier? I want students to keep learning Inuktitut.

(#32 - both languages very important)

***A community should have a teacher who speaks the same dialect.** Small children believe in the teachers when their dialect is different and they don't really believe in words they've never heard before in their parents. We have to tell them in our own tongue.*

(#34)

ISSUE: DIALECT QUESTION NEEDS CARE

If there were classes in Inuktitut all morning and afternoon, I would appreciate that.

(#36 - both language very important)

Rankin Inlet

*Inuit teachers must continually be upgrading their education both in English and Inuktitut. Teachers coming from the South should be encouraged to adapt into the Inuit (mix with the Inuit). **Dept of Ed must enforce the importance of Inuktitut language by being supportive publicly and openly.** We need more qualified Inuit teachers working in higher positions who understand our culture/life. **We definitely need more production of Inuktitut materials and more staff to work at the TL and RC.** Producing/publishing Inuktitut materials should be considered seriously by hiring more staff. We cannot produce good quality work fast enough due to lack of Inuit staff at the TL and RC.*

We need to support the Inuktitut programmes as parents, by volunteering at schools or voicing out our opinions to the leaders about the importance of Inuktitut.

(#17 - Inuit language a top priority)

ISSUE: TEACHER IN-SERVICE

ISSUE: SUPPORT FOR TL AND RC

III. IQALUIT TEACHERS' COMMENTS AND ISSUES

Only in Iqaluit did the study canvass teachers' opinions via questionnaires. In all communities, the researchers met with teachers as a group and described the research project in general terms, asking for feedback and issues which the teachers' wished to see discussed. In Iqaluit, we met with groups of teachers in three schools, and with principals only in two schools, but there was a request from Iqaluit teachers after these sessions that they be offered an option of filling out a questionnaire. One was drawn up and distributed in quantity to each school, with a week to fill them out, after which they were collected. In fact only a very small number of Iqaluit actually contributed a questionnaire.

Here are some of the comments provided by the Iqaluit teachers:

IQ/T1 Policy on Inuktitut? We give the maximum Inuktitut we can, given paucity of resources and personnel. English programmes are satisfactory. The school has done what it can, considering that the only Inuktitut-speaking instructors are not trained teachers. WITHOUT TRAINED TEACHERS RESULTS WILL BE LIMITED. The Ministry of Education has to ensure that there is comprehensive, deliverable curriculum and programme, with qualified, competent personnel to deliver it. Both Inuktitut and English should be taught from Kindergarten on.

Innuqatigiit would be more useful if there were a supporting programme. For years, I have taught the making of tools and weapons, but this did not stem from Innuqatigiit. We do have grade-based literacy testing in English, essentially zip for Inuktitut. The ongoing lip service of the educational leadership has produced the current disaster. Continuing weak leadership; limited resources will guarantee continuing failure. We have a system that can guarantee that 75% of the students entering will never complete any programme, and language is key to success in school.

**IQALUIT ISSUE: LACK OF QUALIFIED
INUKTITUT TEACHERS**

**IQALUIT ISSUE: NO INUKTITUT PROGRAMME;
NO ASSESSMENT , RESOURCES**

**IQALUIT ISSUE: LIP SERVICE (TO INUKTITUT)
HAS PRODUCED A DISASTER**

*IQ/T2 Inuktitut is taught daily at my school. More could be done if more Inuk people were available to teach. **There are not enough trained people to be able to teach**, Ability to speak the language does not mean a person can teach or manage a class. **Elders could be used to better advantage**. They could be a regular part of every day.*

*IQ/T3 We don't seem to have a policy as such. English teachers teach in English, and one Inuit instructor teaches Inuktitut language. We hired an Inuit instructor, yet very little programme has been done to develop a programme for her. We could raise the level of Inuktitut to that of the elders; all we need is leadership and the will to make it happen.
How to improve Inuit language programme?*

- give Inuit a voice in the ed. System, especially Iqaluit DEA.
- give Inuit a programme to teach
- this programme should be for ISL and first language speakers
- train Inuit in second language teaching/theory

How to improve English programme?

- develop a consistent strategy across Nunavut dealing with transition
- teach ESL as a separate subject in early years, and standardize the approach

I need guidance and support in implementing Inuuqatigiit. More materials suitable for large classes are needed, when elders are not available.

Reading diagnoses are done by individual teachers and PST.

Train Inuit staff in ESL

IQ/T4

On school language policy: unwritten but tacit policy: English only with 3 forty-minute periods of Inuktitut or French per week. How does this lead to a bilingual student? The children I taught in Grade 7 are L1 Inuktitut and often commented on forgotten Inuktitut - subtractive bilingualism.

Has the school helped to promote Inuit language use?

*No! Sociopolitical problem 21 non-Inuit, 6 Inuit staff. On an individual level, use of elders as teachers, student projects related to family and community history and issues, parents as teachers, and requiring bilingual projects (anything on display). School-wide for 4 months, hired a shop and sewing teacher, thus: 6 Inuit.

Could the school improve the quality of the spoken Inuit language of young people, so that it would be spoken as well as the elders?

Definitely! The problem is NOT if it could be done but a lack of understanding and will to do so. Never do we discuss the Inuktitut language programme in this regard.

What suggestions would you make to improve the Inuit language instruction in the school?

- elders in residence programme
- co-teachers (CSAs) who are Inuktitut speakers - of 10 paraprofessional positions, "0" are Inuit
- > Better yet! Teachers who are Inuit!!
- > Even better still!! Inuit administrators!!!
- Integrate Inuuqatigiit into the whole curriculum spectrum.
- * research on Inuktitut language acquisition
- Inuktitut spoken first at all gatherings, and on signs, memos, doors.

What suggestions would you make to improve the English language instruction in the school?

For second language speakers (Inuit mostly) since this is my concern but suggestions would benefit all. **Ensure that (1) teachers are ESL trained, (2) bilingual teachers would be ideal, (3) programmes support students with concepts and vocabulary development in L2, (4) use a**

whole language approach to ensure relevance and success for students.

N.B. Avoid a deficit assessment of Inuit students based on how strong or weak their skills are in English only.

Do you use the Inuuqatigiit Curriculum in your programme? If so, how?

*Yes, of course! In all that is said and done in my class from our mantra bilingual brains are better, stronger to student-directed curricula. All integrated themes are based on Inuuqatigiit. **The spirit of the classroom is to reflect cultural values and beliefs and understand self. BUT cultural embarrassment and lack of positive identity are REALLY no surprise given the setting***

What language assessment tools are used in your school? Do you have suggestions for changes or improvements?

*You name it, it's there! **Develop teachers' abilities through workshops and discussions.** Use a whole language approach, teacher evaluation, anecdotal records, students' personal assessments, use of elders in Inuktitut; portfolio of taped speaking and reading and written samples.*

Any other comments on the Languages of Instruction in Nunavut Schools?

First, make a clear government statement of policy a la "Bill 101" in Quebec. This is not to be left to local control, since control is often in the hands of non-Inuit minority through numbers or influence.

Second, develop bilingual schools if that is the policy.

*Above all, have a demographically representative body of educators. - **MORE INUIT EDUCATORS.***

IQ/T5

-In our school, we have bilingual education with two streams to Grade 5. French/Inuktitut offered as a second language. Transition year to English Grade 4.

*- I believe it is a mistake to mix languages of instruction in a school. **There is far too much exposure to English in our school. Inuit staff mix both languages indiscriminately.** Children do not have excellent language models., nor the environment to provide it.*

*- Have very strict guidelines in place for Inuktitut-only usage. **In Iqaluit we could have a school for only Inuktitut** - zero-tolerance for English. Staff 100% Inuit for this school, janitors, CSAs, principal, teachers etc.*

*-**Currently many people in the Inuktitut stream, yes even the ones with B.Ed. Degrees are poorly trained.** They get away with murder in the way of planning, accountability assessment and lesson delivery. This has a VERY NEGATIVE impact on the learner.*

- (1) In an ESL situation hire individuals who are trained and experienced in teaching ESL;

(2) Do not assume because a person can speak English, they can teach it.

- I integrate Inuuqatigiit in my social studies, science and health programmes.

*- **With assessment, we fly by the seat of our pants** or we use very old (out-dated) checklists. Often the Brigance Diagnostic Test is used for bench marks.*

- I think we are still very confused about the how-tos of strong language teaching.

IQ/T6

-Inuktitut is a farce because of lack of curriculum and good trained teachers. Only with proper resources above which will take a lot of additional resources. The biggest preventing block is inadequate reinforcement in the homes.

- By trying to do something without proper programming and supervision and personnel the school brings disrepute to the Inuktitut instruction.

- There is no easy cheap solution, though, and differentiation or segregation of students with different Inuktitut skills is an essential ingredient.

IQ/T7

Academic classes use English texts and language. Inuktitut languages use Inuktitut.

Our school has a complete programme for Grade 8. We cannot do "more" to promote a language without qualified, willing teachers, a curriculum, and students willing to participate.

-Our school should not be responsible for a second language, when school textbooks and language of instruction are in one language only.

- Suggestions for improvement:

- qualified teachers

- Inuit language curriculum

- Inuit language course material

- willing students

- an elementary programme that prepares the students for high school language abilities.

IQ/T8

We tried to hire Inuktitut teachers, without success.

We can't improve things without appropriate Inuktitut speaking personnel.

We need Inuit teachers - we can't manufacture them!

We need more courses in ESL for teachers to help them deal with students with Inuktitut L1 speakers.

At present, the LOI is English - it would be great if it were Inuktitut but without teachers, it's a pipe dream!

IQ/T9

Inuktitut class helps, but it could be improved. The class teaches the culture, but the students are not learning syllabics, or the language in depth.

Possibly, Inuit language instruction could be improved by breaking the class into two parts; half focussing on culture, half focussing on language.

IQ/T10

English is used overall. Inuktitut offered through shop/sewing programmes since BDEC has provided no teaching materials and no NTEP teachers want to teach Grade 8-12. Sad, but

nothing we can do at school level. We're doing the maximum right now, since no Inuit teachers on staff. We can't raise Inuktitut levels without official, detailed programmes, materials and qualified teachers.

Whatever the "theory", "Inuktitut-only" in K-3 leaves many Inuit kids 3 years behind by Junior High and contributes greatly to lost self-esteem and a tendency to drop out (I have taught alternate Jun-Hi classes here for 15 years). I can only recommend teaching English and Inuktitut together from K on, for all kids, White and Inuit.

IV. INUIT COURSE PARTICIPANTS - ARVIAT COURSE July 2000

The third group who filled out questionnaires was a small, select group of Inuit educators attending the McGill-sponsored course in Arviat in July. Seven questionnaires were submitted.

1. What is the current language of instruction policy at your school?

Hall Beach: K-4 all Inuktitut
5-6 50% - 50%
7-12 45 minutes every day/ some 2x or 3x per week

Since there are students and teachers who speak English, we both speak Inuktitut and English.

K-3 ESL class oral English only. 4-6 50% - 50%.

K-3 90% Inuktitut; 10% English	K-3 English 10% Inuktitut
4-6 Transition to 50% Inuktitut	4-6 English 10% Inuktitut
7-12 10% Inuktitut, 90% English	

Inuktitut K-2, Then start 25% English adjusting to 80% by end of Grade 3 than 40 minutes to 1 hour a day to Grade 6. After that, English.

K-3 Inuktitut, with oral English
4-6 50% - 50%

K-3 Inuktitut LOI 4-6 transition; 7-12 Inuktitut as a course.
There are Inuktitut rules that have to be learned in Nunavut.

2. Has your school helped to promote Inuit language use? How? Do you think that your school should do more to promote Inuit language use? What?

Model speaking Inuktitut amongst staff and always answering in Inuktitut.

From K-3 classes Inuit have homeroom (their own classes), both English and Inuit teachers have homeroom. Inuit teachers in our school, I think need to plan or better or they need to work together when planning for lessons.

Cultural inclusion committee to promote Inuktitut language and culture. Elders hired to work with teachers (in-service).

Yes, the teacher is speaking Inuktitut.

Yes. Traditional activities, club(s) after-school activities (drum dancing, throat-singing)

Yes. Our school has helped to promote our mother tongue by teaching only in Inuktitut first three years of school, but it can improve by having labels, posters, and so on only in Inuktitut.

Yes, there are Inuit teachers majority teacher classes in Inuktitut. We have developed themes with elders. Elders come into school to tell stories, to land programmes such as Iglu Project, Fall Traditional Camp, Spring Outings with elders.

Elementary school - every spring they have an Iglu Project. Students go to the iglu; elders are there.

High School - every spring the HS has an elder/youth programme where they do cultural activities with elders.

Those who support the learning system in Inuktitut help to show it in written forms, then have school in Inuktitut and Inuktitut-related material, and people will see.

3. Do you think that the school could improve the quality of spoken Inuit language of young people, so that it would be spoken as well by them as by elders? If not (i.e. if you think that that "high" goal is not reachable) what goal do you think is attainable in your community?

In Hall Beach, that could be reached if there is more interaction between elders and youth. I think perhaps getting elders from Igloodik.

Yes, teachers nowadays mix English and Inuktitut language when talking in one sentence. I strongly believe that Inuit teachers must be educated or told about how to speak to students.

The teachers (Inuit staff) should have more PD days to enrich their Inuktitut.

Yes. Majority of the students have been crying for elders in the high school of Baker Lake.

In our school we have a bit of difficulty getting understood by elders because we tend to baby talk, according to them so maybe if hiring elders into the classrooms would be the best option to help the teacher.

Elders could be hired to teach language as students work on traditional projects at the high school.

Have an elder Inuktitut instructor. Have an elder in the school full-time.

When speaking Inuktitut, don't mix it with English. Elders say it's what makes you an Inuk and your knowledge.

4. What is the main priority areas which would be needed to improve the Inuit language instruction in your school?

No typing errors and well-used finals in proper places. Maybe a talk from a person that had lost his/her language.

Planning lessons related to culture/tradition; working together as one school (community); let teachers work on one curriculum which could make teaching easier/better understanding.

Materials - different abilities of each individual. Teacher training for high school. NTEP (2 years for elementary certification)

Hire elders to teach inside the classroom because they don't know enough English so that the young students will speak only Inuktitut instead of using elders or resource people only.

Inuktitut language of instruction policy should be supported by DEA and Board.

More materials, make Inuktitut classes a priority. It is just as important as any other course (eg. Biology, English)

5. What suggestions, if any, would you make to improve the English language instruction In your school?

Transition year well-balanced.

English teachers should know that all parents don't read or write with their children at home.

Make it culturally relevant to the community, region, territory.

For the lower grades, it be good to teach English then explain in Inuktitut for those students who have difficulty understanding English.

Recognize that students can learn English when themes and topics are relevant to their culture.

6. Do you use Innuqatigiit Curriculum in your programme? If so, how?

I use it to get ideas for themes from there.

To plan for lessons, get ideas from it; use it to teach themes, working with elders.

When I taught in a classroom, I used the Innuqatigiit and integrated it with other subjects.

Yes, information teaching testing, inviting elders to talk - I try to fit in sewing. Cultural week activities (1 week in May).

Yes, because it is the main foundation to Inuktitut curriculum. It helps us to make the year plans and it has a whole lot of information too.

It's a mandate, integration of all subjects works best. Yes, I make my Inuktitut year plans according to the curriculum and trying to integrate it with other subject areas

7. What language assessment tools are used in your school (for Inuktitut)?

The last I heard it was translating a paragraph from English to Inuktitut.

Asking them after I teach a lesson. Letting them write a test; brainstorming/looking back.

Spelling tests; tongue twisters (Rachel Arnngammaktiq, Baker Lake), terminology.

Oral, written, tests, quizzes and mini-reports or research projects.

1-4 Inuktitut phonics test. Suppose to do one test in Winter and one in Spring. It has to be enforced depending on if school administration is enforcing it.

Junior Secondary - no fixed assessment book, but reading for understanding/syllabics is done one on one with students. Aboriginal Language Test is done to earn more credits.

We need to set up a team to create an assessment tool for High School.

8. We are considering making recommendations that Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun should be phased in as a language of instruction (of certain subjects) in high school. What subjects do you think should be chosen for priority attention?

Social studies.

Biology - working or observing animals etc.

Making an Inuktitut dictionary.

English - more activities could be added.

Art - an Inuit artist could come to class to teach.

Science, Social Studies, Biology.

Nunavut Science/Biology

Social Science
Physical education
Northern Studies - CTS
Home Economics
CALM
Health, Science, Biology, and English.
Keyboarding, social studies, health, language arts
Northern Studies
Social Studies

9. Do you have any other comments to make to this project on the Language of Instruction in Nunavut Schools? Feel free to make recommendations also.

That the younger teachers in camps/summer course on Inuit culture/values. That elder who are used to working in school have a meeting and make recommendations too.

Inuit teachers are translating and interpreting English to Inuktitut when teaching. This is the hardest and a tough responsibility. Sometimes I am overwhelmed. We not only need materials. We need partners to plan for lessons. It's not easy working alone.

Consider the community language(s). Some are strong in Inuktitut (i.e. Clyde River, Pangnirtung, Broughton, Pond, Arctic Bay, Arviat, Coral Harbour)

Will there be some results to this research projects? There have been many researches done in the North and we never hear anything afterwards.

The Inuit teachers should regularly take language enrichment to elders, Mandate, educate, do PR work, promoting Inuktitut as language of instruction.

V. Phase III Community Language Survey

Theme I General community perceptions and concerns

- There is a common concern about the quality of Inuit language in the schools and among young people. The lowering of standards is due to a general weakening of Inuit language use in the home, at school and in the media. We see the difference in quality between older and younger people, and elders must be supported to work with teachers to improve the teachers' quality of language, so that it can be passed on.
- young people may be turned off when Inuktitut is presented as "hard grammar"
- there is some evidence of code-mixing (literal English word-by-word translations into Inuktitut; adding -ing endings to Inuktitut verbs.
- with respect to Inuinnaqtun, we must recognize that there is a low level of mutual comprehensibility between Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut. Some Qitirmiut students have dropped out of Iqaluit courses which didn't respect this linguistic difference. Also, more Inuinnaqtun-Inuktitut interpreters need to be trained. Inuktitut speakers in Qitirmiut cannot simply rely on Inuktitut to make themselves understood.
- There is a great need, and support for, strong school support for Inuinnaqtun. But this must be reinforced by language promotion at home.
- Attention should be given to standardization. German, for instance, and Kalaallasut as another example, are examples of languages which have a standard dialect which covers their territories without serious detriment to local dialects.
- Does the K-6 curriculum reflect IQ and real Inuit learning styles or is it largely a translation of an English curriculum? For instance, pisiiit are not to be sung by just anyone, and yet the curriculum recommends them as a teaching tool.

Theme II General diagnosis of the health of Inuit language

- Inuinnaqtun is in serious danger of being lost
- in Kivalliq and in Baffin outside of Iqaluit, Inuktitut is being maintained (but maybe with declining quality among young parents) but is not growing
- The ideal is not just maintenance, but growth in all regions.
- In Repulse, the elders say that language is important. But other people feel that it is not

a priority in the school – “it’s just something people are playing around with”.

- elders say that the school is where the language is threatened. Non-Inuk principals don’t take the language seriously. “Language is the most important part of the culture” - Repulse elders say.
- in Rankin, there is absolutely no promotion of Inuktitut. The school is completely English. There are two different worlds in Rankin...whites and Inuit...and the two languages are seen as in competition with each other, with English being the stronger (rather than a view of positive maintenance bilingualism). Only the French teacher understands what the issue is, that it is not a competition with one language dominating the other. The other white educators can’t seem to understand this.
- Elders in Repulse: strong, supportive, making sure that the language is healthy. Elders in Rankin: may see as “normal” what is a very uncomfortable situation.
- Sanikiluaq: People feel that language is something which “we are just playing around with, not taking seriously”. They want to hear about the effect of this report! The present system, where English is taught exclusively Grade 4-12 doesn’t work: one girl just went south and failed because of limited English.
- There is a desire among parents for their children to have good quality English and good quality Inuktitut.

Theme III - Past and Present Situation of Inuit language programming in the school

- Inuit teachers see that schools don’t see Inuktitut language as important, and feel that their own role is not taken seriously. They feel that they are not supported. That is why we want the government to take the language seriously in the education system.
- Elders see that the lack of support for teachers is a problem.
- Inuit teachers should unite into one great body - an Inuit Educators Association. This Association should not be a passive body absorbing new policy, but should have a policy-development role. They should also have 3-5 day conferences, with involvement in all aspects of language development: materials development, assessment, work on curriculum.

RECOMMENDATION #1: Inuit teachers should form their own association.

- But, once again, the school can’t stop language erosion on its own! The home must be involved, and the community. An overall promotion, involving school, home and

community is needed.

- Clyde teachers would prefer to hold off the start of English until Grade 5 or 6.
- Qurluqtuuq doesn't have Inuinnaqtun as a language of instruction. Inuinnit teachers are in Grades 1-2 but without the right materials. The language is not taught beyond Grade 2.
- Inuuqatigiit was a guide, but teachers may or may not turn it into a programme, and even fewer have adapted it to include an Inuit language component. Parents in Qurluqtuuq are beginning to appreciate the importance of Inuinnaqtun, and want teachers to teach it. Teachers want to improve their own knowledge of Inuit language.
- "When we got Nunavut, we knew that the government should start helping us with our language." <Qitirmiut
- in Kivalliq, programming has been very dependent on the personal commitment of the Regional Director. If they are in favour, there is progress; if they aren't, there isn't.
- in Kivalliq, there is 15 minutes a day of oral English Grades 1-3.
- in Kivalliq, parents would support a bilingual programme, but they are not being given enough information about bilingual programme. Teachers are not aware of policy, only the DEA.
- Often the DEA is not representative of the population, don't come to the staff on issues, and may underrepresent the community interest in Inuktitut and Inuit culture.
- Younger people can't understand the elders - and vice versa. The elders' traditional language may be hard even for some teachers to understand.

Theme IV What needs improving in language teaching

- We need to connect youth with elders, both in the school and in other places where elders are comfortable. Elders feel that Inuktitut should be taught not only as an oral language, but with reading and writing.
- We can't expect teachers to do everything - make materials, develop curriculum, and develop their own curriculum guides and assessment. They can burn out easily.
- Parents are concerned that their children are switching to English; they want their children to only use Inuktitut.
- Not all teachers know excellent Inuktitut. If we want to expose students to inumarit

language, there needs to be a stronger connection between teachers and elders.
Opportunities for teachers to develop their language; develop guidelines for better use of elders in the schools.

- Not all teachers know of Inuuqatigiit; almost no elders or parents.
- Sanikiluaq: would like more Baffin dialect taught (perhaps Pangnirtung could be chosen). Otherwise, parents prefer their local dialect to be taught.
- there should be a school-community liaison person (not a teacher) because parents often don't open up to teachers, but having a third party would facilitate frank school-community relations. School is pretty intimidating to parents, and they often prefer not to ask questions in order to understand the structure.

RECOMMENDATION #1: Inuinnaqtun phonics should be brought back in teaching.

RECOMMENDATION #2: Improve preparation of Inuit teachers. They should not just be local community hired without training. They must have the right academic background, language level and IQ knowledge. New teacher development programmes must attend to this. Introduce elder-taught courses in NTEP.

RECOMMENDATION #3: Introduce language nests for pre-schoolers in all communities.

RECOMMENDATION #4: A course on IQ in every community for teachers. Make it a requirement for the language allowance.

RECOMMENDATION #5: Introduce a high school graduation paper in Inuktitut.

RECOMMENDATION #6: Study the Qulliq model (Kivalliq) as a general model for Nunavut.

RECOMMENDATION #7: Nunavut Arctic College should offer continuing education courses of importance to teachers, school drop-outs, parents.

RECOMMENDATION #8: Create a post of School-Community Liaison to promote better relations and understanding between school and community/parents. This person should know the school system, but not be connected to the Board.

RECOMMENDATION #9: Develop assessment instruments for Inuktitut. Don't look merely at students' ages; look at their language abilities.

Theme 5 -Leadership and responsibility for language promotion

- Elders like the idea of taking students out onto the land to teach them. Also, a language centre outside the school would be a good idea - comfortable and welcoming to elders, accessible to students and community.
- (Clyde) We asked parents to come to a meeting to be more active in the school. And to be part of language development. But we didn' t even have a quorum. Things got left on paper. Things need to be better prepared.
- getting children out onto the land (in Sanikiluaq) is good for the language.
- Sometimes meetings involving Inuit and Qallunaat fail because of (a) the language of the meeting is in English and some Inuit feel intimidated; (b) some Inuit parents feel intimidated because they don' t know much about the school system; (c) different interaction styles: Inuit are very blunt with each other. Qallunaat are "polite" and will only tell privately someone they are wrong.
- NTI, Inuit Associations, Government should get together. All have a mandate on language but what are they doing to help? Everyone - separately - wants to promote language, but they need to be pulled together.
- there needs to be funding for community language projects, involving elders, learning and transcribing traditional inummarit language and making this available to the students and the community. Funding should not specify narrowly what communities should do; the communities (Inuit teacher, principal, elders) should be allowed to define how they will use the money.
- There is frustration with the language issue. People don' t know how to approach this issue – it' s too broad. "We just go round and round in circles. We need to sit down and take it seriously." Leadership is needed.

RECOMMENDATION #1: Each community should have a public awareness campaign - meetings, radio programmes, printed material, around bilingual education.

Theme 6 - Community commitment to promotion

- in Rankin, elders and parents would support moves by the government to have schools become a base of support for Inuktitut.
- there is commitment, but it needs leadership; the various elements in support often

work separately. They need to be brought together.

Theme 7 - Information about language and education issues

- Parents and schools have little contact. School meetings are not well-attended. Parents generally don't know much about school policy.
- Some parents still have a "residential school mentality". We give our children to the school, and the parents may see the school as baby-sitters. Parents don't know much about what teachers do. And parents don't want to intrude, be a burden.
- government policy is "too thick" - too hard to understand.
- there are no parent-teacher associations anywhere, which might interpret the school to parents (and vice versa)
- White teachers often uncommitted to the community; but we should try to understand them, and help them to feel more at home in their community. Teachers have trouble relating to parents.
- White teachers need language and cultural orientation - they used to in the old Rankin school, and they do in Cambridge Bay (for Inuinnaqtun), but not all have this type of orientation.

RECOMMENDATION #1: There should be two days per year for staff and DEA to look at policies, at the start of each new year

Theme 8 Keeping youth in school

- Students are beginning to see Inuit in managerial positions. Land skills are useful for tourism. The Options and Alternatives programme in high school is good.
- new, interesting, curriculum initiatives, including introduction to government, democracy.
- Inuuqatigiit at high school is positive, and we need more inuk teachers at high school.
- More Inuktitut in high school would help students gain more confidence. Perhaps their grades would improve. Parents do support more Inuktitut in high school.
- in Sanikiluaq, only 2-5 people graduate out of 20 students who start. There are few role models, lack of encouragement from parents.

- Many students drop out at Grade 10 because they don't have the English needed for academic work in the upper grades.
- "We can talk, but nobody is going to take responsibility. If we are going to prepare Inuktitut teaching in the schools, it has to be done now."

Theme 9 – Let's talk about bilingualism

- Elders want bilingualism. But they want the youth to know the real Inuktitut language. They have to be taught the language seriously.
- In Qurluqtuuq, they want Inuktitut in the higher grades as part of a plan to reverse language shift in the community.
- Inuktitut must be treated as important. It should be taught at least 50% throughout the school system, so that it may be brought back.
 - Improve the language allowance for teachers.

Theme 10 - Inuit Traditional Knowledge

- Nobody in our interviews had ever heard of the term Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit
- "Language specialists" is a mistaken term. If they are not inummarit elders, then they are not specialists. Call them teachers. The gap between this language level and what teachers need to know is even more acute in the case of younger Inuit teachers.
- "Culture" is often stripped down to drum dancing, sewing, carving, throat singing, and yet there is so much that can be contained in IQ.
- There should be an elder-in-residence in each school, permanently, with appropriate pay, to show that their knowledge is respected.
 - The Phase III discussion of themes was extremely valuable as a complement of the other sources of information, and served as essential input to the development of the Discussion Paper.

Conclusion

There is no separate conclusion of the research report, apart from the conclusions which were “carried forward” into the Discussion Paper.

The purpose of the Research project was to evaluate the current situation of the language of instruction in the schools, and to listen to people’s suggestions for improvement. Since it was clear from the outset of the study that there was widespread dissatisfaction with the current situation, we oriented the research toward obtaining a picture of the “platform” of public support for a programme of promotion and growth of Inuktitut within a “strong model” of bilingualism.

There were three sources of data used in this project - statistical, community interview reports (synthesized), and qualitative responses to open-ended questionnaire questions, provided by high school students, parents, Iqaluit teachers and the Inuit educators in the July Arviat course. These four sources, despite the differing flavour of each, offer us a broad general picture of an education system inherited from the NWT in need of significant reform.

There is broad dissatisfaction with the transition model and a sense that both English and Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun have a role to play throughout the school system. The Qulliq model from Keewatin/Kivalliq is worthy of serious consideration. There is also a sense that this is an urgent matter, since much of the authenticity of Inuktitut derives from a strong and meaningful involvement of elders in the education (both inside and outside the school) of Nunavut youth. Elders also have a vital role to play in courses and in-service workshops for Inuit teachers, who enriched by deeper contact with elders, can gain both competence and confidence to pass on inummavit learning to youth. A dynamic understanding of Inuit Qaujimaqatigiit, such as that being developed by Jaypeetee Arnakuk of NSDC and as reflected in CLEY and Education IQ workshop reports, needs to be made accessible to teachers.

There are not enough Inuit being attracted to education as a career, and, since teachers are at the centre of education - happy, fulfilled, respected, supported teachers - the Discussion Paper suggests that it is time for a major reform and restructuring in teacher development in Nunavut. Both in terms of quantity and quality of teachers (and of teacher support), the greatest challenge to Nunavut Education lies in bringing forward a new generation of Inuit teachers, so that by 2020, they will be in a substantial majority at all levels.

What is not wanted is an Inuitization of a rigid Southern academic curriculum, but a new Northern curriculum, rooted in its own place, seasonal rhythms, culture, ways of knowing, while being open to the world, this direction is paralleled at the personal level (bilingual/bicultural) and territorial level (an Inuit homeland seeking self-determination within the Canadian federation), there is a sense that the education system should be in harmony with personal, community and territorial developments.

It will be interesting to meld the findings of Dennis Wall's Curriculum Team and the findings and suggestions of this report.

The research project began with excellent Terms of Reference, and a comprehensive list of documents on the past history of bilingualism in the NWT and Nunavut, many of which we surveyed in volume 2, Sources and Issues. Another strength was the presence throughout the project of experienced Inuit educators. From the very beginning, Rosemary Meyok and Maggie Putulik were instrumental in shaping the questionnaires and enriching understanding of the past and present language situation. The Baffin researchers - Saa Pitseolak, Oleena Nowyook, Martha Kyak, Lissie Kavik, and Jukeepa Hainnu were involved at a later stage, both in their communities and at the Phase III meeting in Iqaluit July 5-9, 2000 and brought great experience and insights to the project. These researchers were a wonderful team to work with, and they should be among those at the core of a future Inuit Educators Association. Finally, an honourable mention to Lynn Aylward, who volunteered her services as project facilitator for Baffin region, and unfailingly provided advice and expertise (and more than a dose of administrative efficiency and grounded wisdom) throughout the life of the project. A big qujannamiik (or a nakurmiik!) to all!

We finish by appending a letter, written by a young woman in Inukshuk High School in Iqaluit. It was originally sent to the Minister of Education, and was kindly provided to the project by one of the Inukshuk principals, who felt that this letter better than any other document, summarized the feelings of Inuit youth in the face of a unilingual education system.

During the administering of the questionnaire at Inukshuk High, we met the young woman, who asked us with all the impatience of youth anywhere when her letter would be answered. Without, of course, having the authority to speak for the Minister, we offered the suggestion to her that, in a sense, the LOI Report and the Curriculum Study were going to help the Minister prepare an answer to her letter.

Dear Mr Purcell,

My name is _____. I am a Grade 10 student at Inukshuk High School in Iqaluit, Nunavut. I would like this letter sent to the Ministers of Culture and Education. Every year, I take a course called Inuktitut that is offered in the school and I have noticed that every year, it gets worse and worse. In the beginning, I thought it was pretty normal. But when two of the Inuktitut teachers quit, they hired an unqualified person to take over. He used to be the janitor. I'm not saying a janitor can't be a good teacher but they should take courses first.

Inuktitut is supposed to be the working language of Nunavut. The high school in Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut, doesn't even have a proper Inuktitut programme.

There is a lot of interest in students to take Inuktitut as a second language but everyone knows that the programme is run poorly. It is well known that nothing is ever taught in Inuktitut class, so poor and lazy students are attracted to it rather than hard-working students.

Whenever we are in Inuktitut class all we ever do is labour-intensive tasks like working in shop or sewing. We used to play soccer. We never discuss the role of Inuktitut in Nunavut government or culture nor do we discuss decision-making processes in the territory.

We need a bilingual teacher so that the Inuktitut teacher can communicate with the students and help with translations.

Since Inuktitut is a majority language, and 90% of the students are Inuk, Inuktitut should be treated like any other course, like French or English.

Sincerely,

[letter kindly provided to the project by Carl Purcell, co-principal, Inukshuk High School.]

High School Students Questionnaire

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, NUNAVUT
LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION PROJECT April-June, 2000
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN NUNAVUT

Name of Community _____

YOUR NAME (optional) _____

How old are you? _____

What grade are you in? _____

What is your home community (if different from this one)? _____

What language did you use at home before starting school? _____

Are you a Nunavut Land Claim Beneficiary? YES NO

Have you ever lived in another northern community? (in Nunavut, NWT, YT) YES NO

If YES, which one? _____ How long? _____

Have you ever lived in a Southern community? (outside of Nunavut, NWT, Yukon)

If YES, which one? _____ How long? _____

I. Your language Use in the community

1. Which language do you use with these people in your community?

Use this scale for your answers:

1 = always English

2 = mostly English

3 = about half Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun and half English

4 = mostly Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun

5 = always Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun

(a) grandparents (write a number, using the scale) _____

(b) parents _____

(c) your siblings in your house _____

(d) peers and friends _____

2. Try to remember the languages your teachers taught you in, at these levels:

Use the same 1-5 scale for your answers:

Kindergarten to Grade 3 _____

Grade 3 to Grade 6 _____

Grade 7 to Grade 9 _____

Grade 10 to Grade 12 _____

3. How often do you use Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun to do the following activities:

- Watch TV _____
- Listen to Community Radio _____
- Use CB Radio _____
- Read Books and magazines _____
- Internet (email) _____
- Listen to music _____
- Write letters and notes _____
- Work (if you are working) _____

Use this scale:

*1 = always 2 = almost always 3 = sometimes 4 = almost never
5 = never*

II. Your language ability

Use this scale:

*1 = fluent 2 = very good 3 = I can get by 4 = just a few words
5 = none*

1. How would you describe your ability to SPEAK and UNDERSTAND

- Inuinnaqtun? _____
- Inuktitut? _____
- English? _____
- French? _____

How would you describe your ability to READ and WRITE

- Inuinnaqtun? _____
- Inuktitut? _____
- English? _____
- French? _____

2. Would you like to improve your ability in any of these languages?
(check as many as you want):

Inuinnaqtun?	SPEAKING/UNDERSTANDING	_____
	READING/WRITING	_____
Inuktitut?	SPEAKING/UNDERSTANDING	_____
	READING/WRITING	_____
English?	SPEAKING/UNDERSTANDING	_____
	READING/WRITING	_____
French?	SPEAKING/UNDERSTANDING	_____
	READING/WRITING	_____

1. Your opinion of the importance of languages

Using this scale:

- 1 = not important
- 2 =
- 3 = somewhat important
- 4 =
- 5 = very important

1. How important are these languages in your community today:

INUINNAQTUN	_____
INUKTITUT	_____
ENGLISH	_____
FRENCH	_____

2. How important do you think these languages were in the past (e.g. When your parents went to school)?

INUINNAQTUN	_____
INUKTITUT	_____
ENGLISH	_____
FRENCH	_____

3. How important do you think these languages will be in the future (e.g. When your children will go to school)?

INUINNAQTUN	_____
INUKTITUT	_____
ENGLISH	_____
FRENCH	_____

2. Your work

1. In the next year or two or so, you will leave school. What type of work do you hope to have when you leave school?
2. What language or languages do you think will be important to you in this Type of work (Use the scale: 1 = not important 5 = very important)

SPOKEN	Inuinnaqtun	_____	WRITTEN	Inuinnaqtun	_____
	Inuktitut	_____		Inuktitut	_____
	English	_____		English	_____
	French	_____		French	_____

3. The future of language in Nunavut

Now that the dream of Nunavut is a reality, and the Government of Nunavut has decided that Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun are official and working languages of Nunavut, there is a new opportunity for these Inuit languages to be used in a variety of ways, both new and traditional.

1. How do you think that Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun will be used in the future (check as many as you want!)

as a language of instruction in the primary school	_____
as a language of instruction in high school	_____
as a subject of instruction in high school	_____
as a means of literature, newspapers and magazines	_____
for communication in the family, between parents, grandparents and children	_____
in the workplace	_____
at community and territorial meetings	_____
on the Internet and for email	_____
to communicate internationally throughout the circumpolar region	_____
by politicians and government officials	_____
to learn more about Inuit Traditional Culture and land skills	_____
in music, theatre and the arts	_____
on TV and radio	_____
for science and technology	_____

4. Inuit Traditional Knowledge

1. Were you taught Inuit traditional knowledge in the school? YES NO
2. If you answered YES, list some activities that you learned:

3. In your opinion, should Inuit Traditional Knowledge be taught in the schools
(circle one):

More than now		About the same as now		Less than now
1	2	3	4	5

5. **Open question**

Do you have anything to say to the Department of Education of Nunavut, as It develops its policy for the language of instruction in the schools? (You can write back on the back of this page)

Parents Questionnaire

Name of Community: _____

Dear Parents,

This survey is being sent to a random sample of parents in this community as part of the Language of Instruction in the Schools project. This survey is part of Department of Education's process of planning a fundamental part of our children's education-language. As you may know, the Government of Nunavut wants to promote the use of Inuit languages (Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun) in the schools, and is discussing a new Education Act that would encourage the teaching of Inuit languages in the schools.

Inuit languages may be taught either as the language of instruction of (if English is the language of instruction) or as a school subject. In this way, graduates of Nunavut schools will be bilingual in an Inuit language and in English. This would not prevent other languages, such as French, from being taught, if there were a community wishes to do so.

We are sending one questionnaire to each family. Feel free to discuss the answers with other family members if you wish to do so.

We invite you to fill out the questionnaire and return it to _____ before _____.

Thank you for participating in this important survey.

Research Team
Language of Instruction Team
Department of Education

Introduction

1. How many children do you have in school now?
2. What grades are they in?
3. Is this your home community? YES NO
4. Are you a Nunavut Land Claims beneficiary? YES NO
5. What is the language use situation in your home? (circle one)
 - a. INUKTITUT ONLY
 - b. MOSTLY INUKTITUT, SOME ENGLISH
 - c. HALF-AND-HALF: ENGLISH and INUKTITUT
 - d. MOSTLY ENGLISH, SOME INUKTITUT
 - e. ENGLISH ONLY
 - f. OTHER _____ (please state)

The importance of languages in my children's life-today

6. How important is SPEAKING and UNDERSTANDING Inuit language today for my children?

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
NOT VERY IMPORTANT
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
VERY IMPORTANT

7. How important is READING and WRITING Inuit language today for my children?

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
NOT VERY IMPORTANT
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
VERY IMPORTANT

8. How important is SPEAKING and UNDERSTANDING English for my children?

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
NOT VERY IMPORTANT
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
VERY IMPORTANT

9. How important are READING and WRITING English for my children?

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
NOT VERY IMPORTANT
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
VERY IMPORTANT

10. How important is FRENCH for your children (same scale)

The importance of these languages is your children's future:

11. (Using the same scale) English
 Inuit Language
 French

Bilingualism in school

- 12. Does your child (children) learn Inuktitut at school? YES NO
- 13. Does your child also learn English at school? YES NO
- 14. Are you satisfied with the amount of time spent on Inuktitut in your child's school?

VERY DISSATISFIED
DISSATISFIED
SO-SO
SATISFIED
VERY SATISFIED

- 15. If you answered (VERY) DISSATISFIED in 14, how should the amount of Inuktitut be changed from the situation in the school today?

THERE SHOULD BE A LOT LESS INUKTITUT TAUGHT -1
THERE SHOULD BE LESS INUKTITUT TAUGHT -2
NOT SURE/DON'T KNOW 3
THERE SHOULD BE MORE INUKTITUT TAUGHT -4
THERE SHOULD BE A LOT MORE INUKTITUT TAUGHT -5

- 16. Are you satisfied with the quality of the Inuktitut programme in your school?

VERY DISSATISFIED
DISSATISFIED
SO-SO
SATISFIED
VERY SATISFIED

- 17. If you answered (VERY) DISSATISFIED in Question 16, please state your opinion on how the quality of the Inuktitut programme should be improved. *(check as many as you want)*

- a. There should be more books and materials available. _____
- b. There should be more emphasis on reading and writing _____
- c. There should be more support for the teachers (curriculum) _____
- d. The Inuktitut teachers should be better-trained _____
- e. The programme should challenge students more _____

Do you have other suggestions for improving the quality of the Inuktitut programme?

18. Are you satisfied with the quality of English your child learns at school?

VERY DISSATISFIED
DISSATISFIED
SO-SO
SATISFIED
VERY SATISFIED

19. If you answered “DISSATISFIED” or “VERY DISSATISFIED” in question #18, please state your opinion on how the quality of English teaching could be improved.

- a. There should be more books and materials available. _____
- b. There should be more emphasis on reading and writing _____
- c. There should be more support for the teachers (curriculum) _____
- d. The Inuktitut teachers should be better-trained _____
- e. The programme should challenge students more (it’s too easy) _____

Do you have any other suggestions to make on how to improve the English programme for your children?

Responsibility for promoting Inuit Language

20. The Nunavut governments discussing what kind of priority it should give to promoting the Inuit language. Do you think that promoting Inuit language should be?

NOT A PRIORITY AT ALL	1
A SMALL PRIORITY	2
DON’T KNOW/NO OPINION	3
ONE OF THE PRIORITIES	4
A TOP PRIORITY	5

21. Some say that a whole community needs to see Inuit language as a priority if it is to be developed in Nunavut. Do you think that, for your community, that question of promoting Inuit language is?

NOT A PRIORITY AT ALL	1
A SMALL PRIORITY	2
DON’T KNOW/NO OPINION	3
ONE OF THE PRIORITIES	4
A TOP PRIORITY	5

22. Speaking for yourself, would you say that promoting Inuit language is, For you personally,

- NOT A PRIORITY AT ALL 1
- A SMALL PRIORITY 2
- DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION 3
- ONE OF THE PRIORITIES 4
- A TOP PRIORITY 5

Getting information about this issue

23. Would you like to learn more about Department of Education plans around the question of language in the schools?

YES NO

24. If you answered YES in Q#1, what would you recommend?

- | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|
| - a public meeting of parents | GOOD IDEA | NOT GOOD |
| - written information sent home from school | GOOD IDEA | NOT GOOD |
| - TV and radio | GOOD IDEA | NOT GOOD |
| - Do you have a good idea? Please tell us! | GOOD IDEA | NOT GOOD |

Keeping youth in school

25. Do you think that, if the school promoted Inuit language and culture more strongly, Young people would be more likely to stay in school?

- NO, I DON'T THINK IT WOULD MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE
- MAYBE IT WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE
- YES, FOR SURE IT WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Arviat Inuit educators course questionnaire

NUNAVUT DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Languages of Instruction Research Project

Arviat Course: Inuit Teachers' Questionnaire

The Department of Education is conducting a Languages of Instruction research project, coordinated by Dr. Ian Martin of York University. I hope that you can participate by completing this questionnaire. you may return it to Ian today or tomorrow here in Arviat OR mail it directly to:

Prof. Ian Martin
English Department
Glendon College
York University
2275 Bayview Avenue
Toronto ON M4N 2M6

1. What is the current language of instruction policy at your school?
2. Has your school helped to promote Inuit language use? How? Do you think that your school should do more to promote Inuit language use? What?
3. Do you think that the school could improve the quality of spoken Inuit language of young people, so that it would be spoken as well by them as by elders? If not, (i.e. if you think this "high" goal is not reachable), what goal would you think is attainable in your community?
4. What is the main priority area which would be needed to improve the Inuit language instruction in your school?
5. What suggestions, if any, would you make to improve the English language instruction in the school?
6. Do you use the Inuqatigiit Curriculum in your programme? If so, how?
7. What language assessment tools are used in your school (for Inuktitut)?
8. We are considering making recommendations that Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun should be phased in

as a language of instruction (of certain subjects) in high school. What subjects do you think should be chosen for priority attention?

9. Do you have any other comments to make to this project on the Language of Instruction in Nunavut Schools. Feel free to make recommendations also.