Inuktitut—English Bilingualism in the Northwest Territories of Canada

J. Iain Prattis
Jean-Philippe Chartrand
Carleton University

Cet article situe les statuts linguistiques, légaux et historiques de la langue Inuit dans le contexte de la politique bilingue du Canada dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Ici, l'analyse théorique démontre comment le bilinguisme peut encourager un groupe minoritaire à maintenir son caractère culturel distinct par un usage approprié de l'anglais. On présente un aperçu du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans le domaine des média et de l'éducation. Les informations présentées ici peuvent servir utilement à l'établissement d'un programme bilingue et biculturel en faveur des Inuits.

This paper places the linguistic, legal, and historical status of the Inuit language within the context of Canada's bilingualism policy in the Northwest Territories. A theoretical approach is presented which shows how bilingualism can encourage a minority group to maintain cultural distinctiveness while communicating with the dominant culture through the effective use of English. Bilingualism and biculturalism in the media and in education are outlined, and data are presented in order to derive a minimal blueprint for implementing an effective bilingual-bicultural program for the Inuit.

INTRODUCTION

Minority languages spoken by populations in the peripheral areas of modern nation states are under severe pressure, and fears that these languages may soon diminish beyond the point of no return are very real. The case of Inuit language and culture in the Canadian North is no exception. The wider political economy of Canada has placed the Inuit in a position of dependency (Brody 1975; Rea 1976; Prattis 1980b, 1983; Valaskakis 1982). This defines a perpetual situation of unequal power relations. One reflection of the dominant character of external political and economic linkages at the local community level is in the erosion of mother tongue usage, and very often in the passive acceptance of anglophone mass culture.

This is the context within which we propose to delineate the minimal conditions for the cultural survival of Inuit communities in the Canadian North. The empirical focus for this essay is the Eastern and Central Arctic. This area is isolated as a primary concern because of the constitutional changes presently being negotiated between native groups and the federal government of Canada. The Penner Report (1983) underlined federal cabinet approval for native self government and the settlement of outstanding land claims as part of the ongoing constitutional

rearrangements which are taking place within Canada. In the Eastern and Central Arctic, there are negotiations to establish Nunavut, a regional territory for the area. One of the priorities of this negotiation has been the adoption of Inuktitut as an official language. Thus, the language issue is immediate, urgent, and pressing. Although we allude to events and situations elsewhere in the Canadian North, our attention and proposals are directed specifically to the Eastern and Central Arctic regions because this is where Nunavut will take shape. Out of a total population of 25,390 Inuit in Canada (Statistics Canada 1981), an estimated 16,000 reside within the proposed boundaries of Nunavut.

The major focus of this paper is bilingualism as a means of maintaining Inuit cultural identity. Bilingualism will be placed not simply within the educational context of school curricula, but also within broader community programs of biculturalism. Our argument is that the participation of adults in community and cultural education is as necessary as a bilingual school curriculum in order to reduce the extreme intergenerational cultural gap that has developed in northern communities. A broader bicultural program which encompassed bilingual education would create an articulation between the cultural identities of the Inuit and the structure of the dominant non-native society. It should be emphasized that the term cultural identity does not refer to a fanciful return to a traditional and idealized Inuit way of life. Rather, we are referring to an awareness and pride in cultural roots which become part of the Inuit's interaction with the dominant society.

We will begin with a discussion of bilingualism policy in the Northwest Territories (N.W.T.). This will be followed by a theoretical discussion of the linguistic literature justifying minority language bilingualism. The evolution and current status of educational policy in the Canadian North will then be examined. Finally, an examination of survey data will be used as a basis for forming recommendations for policy and the construction of a minimal "blueprint" for bilingualism in the Canadian North.

BILINGUALISM POLICY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES (N.W.T.)

The rapid erosion of the Inuit language, Inuktitut, in recent years is sometimes thought to be due to its incompatibility with concepts and expressions of everyday life in a technologically advanced society. The capacity of Inuktitut as a language of public affairs is frequently questioned, often without foundation.

Brody maintains that:

> If the use of the Eskimo language is declining in the face of new developments in the north, it is because of policies and institutions which undermine, directly and indirectly, the status of the native language. It is not the inevitable result of anything intrinsic to either the native language or its relations with other languages (1977:589).

Osgood has pointed out that the major causes of language loss, particularly in the Western Arctic, were educational practices in the 1920s and 1930s, federal

government policies of settlement and assimilation since the 1950s, and industrial development since the 1960s (Osgood 1983:ix).

The total spectrum of language diversity in the Northwest Territories is beyond the scope of this essay. Instead, we wish to focus exclusively on English-Inuktitut bilingualism. A number of distinct bilingual patterns emerge from the results of a study by Meldrum and Helman (1975). The first pattern is that young Inuit aged 14-24 are less likely than older Inuit to be monoglot Inuktitut speakers. The greatest age differences in native language unilingualism are found among the Inuit of the Arctic Coast, Baffin Island, and the district of Keewatin. In these regions, the majority of Inuit aged 14-24 are bilingual in English and a dialect of Inuktitut, while those over the age of 45 are overwhelmingly unilingual in Inuktitut (Barrados and van Dine 1977:3). Osgood describes a somewhat different pattern of language loss in the Western Arctic:

> Elders in the community are bilingual in English and Inuvialuktun [an Inuit dialect spoken in the Western Arctic] with a bias in use toward Inuvialuktun. Middle aged persons are bilingual with a bias toward using English. Persons in their teens, twenties and thirties have a passive, or comprehending, knowledge of the language but rarely speak it. Children of this latter group acquire little or no knowledge of the language. Unless this pattern is modified, the language could disappear altogether when these children become the adult Inuvialiut of tomorrow (1983:ix).

Federal responsibility for the Northwest Territories did not include any consistent commitment to bilingualism; on the contrary, government policy was initially oriented toward assimilating the Inuit into administered settlements, and thence into the national culture. It was not until the Government of the Northwest Territories (G.N.W.T.) assumed responsibility for education that a stated commitment to mother-tongue literacy in schools was made. In 1971, the publication of *A Handbook for Curriculum Development* by the Department of Education of the Government of the Northwest Territories outlined a program that intended to establish native language fluency and literacy as a priority. An English-language program and a support program for the native language were scheduled to follow, and the result should have been full bilingualism for these students (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:4). However, the intent of this document was never realized or implemented, with the result that to this day, very little real progress has been made in native language literacy in schools (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:10). A "bits-and-pieces" approach has by and large replaced any consistent policy. There seems to be a lack of awareness of what a bilingual program means in terms of preparing minority culture bearers to enter the wider national community, while at the same time supporting the local community. The result is a generation of students ill equipped to fit into either of these two interdependent worlds.

A sensitive but highly important factor that is often overlooked is the voluntary adherence and commitment to the language by Inuit culture bearers in local communities. Writing about Gaelic-language loss in the west of Ireland, Fennell (1981) observed that without a collective will at the grass roots level to prevent

language loss, further linguistic erosion is inevitable. Fennell was referring to the very limited success of the Irish state's involvement in a massive intervention program to preserve Gaelic. He concluded by stating:

> A shrinking language minority cannot be saved by the action of well wishers who do not belong to the minority in question. In particular, its shrinking cannot be halted by the action, however benevolent and intelligent, of a modern centralized state...*A shrinking linguistic minority can be saved from extinction only by itself; and on condition that it acquires the will to save itself, and is not prevented from taking appropriate measures but assisted in doing so* (emphasis added; 1981:39).

Fortunately for the Inuit of the Central and Eastern Arctic, events may have taken them outside the boundaries of Fennell's language loss prognosis. The Inuit Cultural Institute (1978) has reported a high level of local consciousness about language use and an overwhelming desire for educational curricula reflecting Inuit philosophy and culture. When taken together, these various considerations support our emphasis on the wider context of culture and community which requires that formal bilingual education be part of an ongoing program of bicultural education. A necessary prerequisite for successful bilingualism is vigorous biculturalism and broadly-based community educational programs involving the participation of adults as well as children.

While it may be argued that available resources are insufficient for the implementation of a full-scale program of bilingualism and biculturalism, an effective policy could at least pinpoint priorities. For instance, the lack of written material in Inuktitut by Inuit authors sits uneasily alongside vast expenditures on radio and television programing for this northern population.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

Minority Language Bilingualism

The inevitability of social change is a fact that Inuit communities in the Canadian North realize. To date, the major result of social change has been the extensive use of English in education, government, industry, and mass communications. However, this expansion should not obscure the distinct advantages that minority groups can derive from effective bilingualism. A classic statement of these advantages is to be found in the United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) document, *The Use of Vernacular Language in Education*:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (1953:7).

A major contribution of bilingualism studies by Lambert (1969, 1977) has been to repudiate the strongly-held notion that bilingual children suffered educational and cognitive defects in comparison with monolingual children. On the contrary, the results of Lambert's earlier research (1969) suggested that bilinguals had a more diversified structure of intelligence and greater flexibility in thought. Follow-up studies in other settings (Torrance and Gowan 1970; Balkan 1970; Ben-Zeev 1972) and longitudinal studies by Scott (1973) support the argument that, compared with monolingual controls, bilingual children show definite advantages on measures of cognitive flexibility, creativity, and divergent thought patterns.

Once again, contrary to popular expectations, further studies by Lambert and his colleagues (Dubé and Herbert 1975a, 1975b; Lambert, Giles, and Picard 1975; Lambert, Giles, and Albert 1974) demonstrate that the English language facility of bilingual school children who have been educated in a language other than English is superior to that of comparable monolingual English speakers. Lambert (1977) points to the competitive advantages enjoyed by the bilingual child, and his studies demonstrate that an effective bilingual program can change the low standing that minority ethnolinguistic groups typically have on scholastic achievement measures. These studies demonstrate that effective English usage is not discriminated against in a bilingual minority culture. In fact, the use of English is enhanced. It is very doubtful that any Inuit community wants its children to be unable to speak English since it is a recognized fact that effective English is required in today's modern world. The point we are making in light of Lambert's studies is that in a bilingual educational situation, English usage is maintained not in spite of local language usage, but because of it. In this fashion, bilingualism equips children to deal on more balanced terms with the requirements of English usage while preventing alienation from their own linguistic and cultural communities.

We believe that lack of a bilingual education places severe pressure on a native language bearer who enters an English medium school equipped only with mother tongue literacy. The alienation and stress that accompany such a disjunction in linguistic usage is accentuated by the inequality and disadvantages faced by the child in the wider society. It is in the elementary grades that the seeds of trauma are sown, and the wider societal situations of inequality and discrimination for native people produce a cumulative effect. As a result, serious mental and social disturbances are to be expected when elementary children become teenagers and young adults.

Our argument in this paper about the advantages of bilingualism is not antithetical to social change, nor is it concerned with preserving distinctive cultures at all costs. Instead, the argument is part of a "blueprint" for the adaptation and evolution of small-scale communities which permits ongoing, constructive modification from within the community rather than an erosion of community solidarity due to destructive changes which are externally imposed.

Our concern is to establish and implement the minimum preconditions for an effective bilingualism policy. Once bilingualism is effective, other voluntary actions can take place that result in self-sustaining communities rather than in total dependency and all that this implies.

Concepts and Theory

Implicit in our discussion so far have been concepts of cultural boundary maintenance, legitimacy, structural and voluntary feedback, and various models of bilingualism. The theoretical corpus of the paper draws upon Lambert's bilingualism studies, previous work on ethnicity and language loyalty (Prattis 1980a, 1981), Barth's concern with ethnic boundaries and their maintenance (1969), and Fishman's sociolinguistic work on models of bilingualism (1976). Prattis developed a model of ethnic identity maintenance (1980a, 1981) which examined the significance of minority language use and attempted to stipulate the conditions that are minimally necessary for adherence to a minority language. A comprehensive survey by O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976) sought to establish which of several variables correlated most strongly with in-group interaction and ethnic identification. This analysis revealed that ethnic language retention had a correlation coefficient of 0.64 with respect to in-group interaction, and 0.53 with respect to identification. The other variables had significantly lower coefficients. This led Reitz to conclude that:

> Language retention is the cultural characteristic that best reflects current and continued ethnic cohesion; it is perhaps the most distinctively ethnic activity (1980:17).

These different studies lead to the notion of ethnic boundary maintenance (Barth 1969) in terms of attaching great significance to those mechanisms and institutions that define the minority population as distinct from the dominant culture. From Prattis (1981), Reitz (1980), and O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976), it can be concluded that language use is the most significant variable. The argument with respect to cultural identity is then straightforward. When experience, institutions, and activities in the native language reinforce ideas and categories of difference, cultural identity can be retained and reinforced and can also operate as a galvanizer for community solidarity. A corollary to this also follows: if experience falsifies the distinctive cultural categories or demonstrates the lack of relevance of the categories for interaction and day-to-day life, then cultural identity will not persist. In other words the school, home, community, and media must provide constant feedback and support for the use of Inuktitut in order to reinforce a sense of relevance for Inuit identity. Although there are other considerations such as isolation, recruitment to linguistic pools, etc. (Prattis 1981), in this paper we prefer to concentrate on factors which are related to language use.

This narrows down the consideration of factors to two major sets of issues:

1. Institutional support for the minority language: (a) the legal definitions that accompany government initiatives with respect to language use; and (b) the structural definitions that derive from voluntary associations, community education programs, and business and administrative bodies using the language (Prattis 1981:24).
2. Legitimizing minority language use—the place of Inuktitut in the media and broadcasting.

This then leads to Fishman's 1976 classification of bilingualism in terms of predicting what type of bilingualism will evolve from the existing mix of contributing factors: transitional, monoliterate, partial, or full bilingualism.

Legislation would guarantee three basic rights for the Inuit: (1) the ability to communicate with federal, provincial, and territorial governments and with the public sector in their own language; (2) the ability to have court cases tried in Inuktitut; and (3) the opportunity to be educated in their own language. While these rights do not yet exist constitutionally, federal, territorial, and provincial governments recognize a special duty to preserve native languages (Tschanz 1980:18). Although the first two rights are essential, in terms of feedback from everyday experience they would have only a marginal effect on local community life. This implies that resources and attention should perhaps be primarily focused on the right to be educated in Inuktitut. The other major emphases which must be a priority for resources and attention are radio, television, and print media due to their overwhelming effect on household and community life. Thus, we are electing to concentrate on two priorities: (a) media use of Inuktitut; and (b) the educational use of Inuktitut in schools and in community education programs.

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN EDUCATION

Historical Background

Inuit education can be subdivided into four major stages: (1) early schooling carried out by missionaries in local communities; (2) the development of residential school systems; (3) the federal government take-over of education; and (4) the decentralization of responsibility to provincial and/or territorial governments.

Until the late 1950s, the early instruction of the Inuit in most parts of the Arctic was completely under the control of missionaries and carried with it a general policy of cultural replacement. Educational and cultural policies were implemented in a piecemeal fashion, and the quality of school programs depended on a missionary's abilities and attitudes. While some missionaries such as the Moravians in Labrador taught in Inuktitut (Jeddore 1979), their primary motivation was rapid conversion of the Inuit to Christianity. Since Arctic missions also promoted the idea that the Inuit wanted to be educated entirely in English (Tschanz 1980:5), they were influential in establishing a residential school system. The prevailing ideology was that the social context of native communities impeded the "formal" education of children, and they would be better able to learn (i.e., would become more acculturated) if they were removed from their community environments (Tschanz 1980:7).

Residential schools contributed heavily to the loss of Inuktitut. Young children were extracted from Gemeinschaft-type communities characterized by kinship or kin-like relationships and mechanical solidarity and inserted into Gesellschaft-type communities where interpersonal relationships were specialized and differentiated along a hierarchical structure. This experience confused and alienated Inuit children in terms of status and role expectations with respect

to both their home and school environments. The strict disciplinarian attitude of many missionaries and teachers only made things more intolerable for the students. Inuit children were often subjected to corporal punishment for speaking their mother tongue in any context and for any reason on the school grounds (Tschanz 1980:9). Thus, when the federal government finally assumed responsibility for Inuit education, English had already become the language of learning (Osgood 1983:x).

Because the residential school system was characterized by poor results and exceptionally high drop-out rates, the federal government was prompted to re-examined the whole native educational system. The Indian Act of 1951 paved the way for the integration of native students into provincial and territorial school systems (Tschanz 1980:14). Although these were more localized, they nevertheless had further detrimental effects on Inuit language since their curricula were designed for southern, non-native, middle-class students (Tschanz 1980:14). These programs were characterized by very few provisions for native studies, a total lack of textbooks relevant to life in the North, and little, if any, attempt to link curricula with parents' desires regarding the education of their children (Tschanz 1980:14-15).

Until the early 1970s, federal initiatives in education were still very much a part of general assimilation and language replacement policies which had remained virtually unaltered since contact. Today, federal and provincial authorities are demonstrating an interest in the survival of Inuit culture and language (de Vries and Vallee 1975:49). This is partly a response to the political realities of native land claims and self-government, but is also a genuine effort to strengthen and maintain the cultural and linguistic integrity of the Inuit.

Within the last decade, it has been possible to identify two main trends in government policy regarding bilingualism. First, language replacement policy has evolved into a "synthesis" approach to bilingualism as a means of preparing minority group members to enter the global community while the cultures and languages of these groups are simultaneously being supported, maintained, and possibly revitalized within the context of bicultural or multicultural communities. In the Arctic, most of the actual bilingual programs initiated so far have amounted to little more than Inuktitut-as-a-second language programs or the use of Inuktitut only as far as grade three (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:15). Second, a tendency towards decentralization is occurring at the administrative level; i.e., local curriculum committees have been set up to advise more centralized authorities on the language and cultural contents of school programs (de Vries and Vallee 1975:54). This localized, territorial development is part of a more general transfer of responsibilities from federal authorities to Inuit organizations or to the territorial government. Land claim settlements are an integral part of the transfer process.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Classroom

The majority of teachers in northern schools are non-native, unilingual speakers of English. These teachers comprise a significant portion of the transient

population in the North. In the Keewatin and Baffin regions of Canada, over 75 percent of all teachers have had less than five years teaching experience, and over 50 percent have had less than two years experience (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:20). For many, this is their first teaching experience, and the majority have both limited teaching experience in the North and a limited knowledge of the North and its people. While the number of Inuit teachers has increased over the years, they still constitute only a small proportion of the teaching force (de Vries and Vallee 1975:54), although the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program has now rectified this situation in the elementary grades. However, non-native teachers are now typically staying longer than before, and appear to be making efforts to sensitize themselves to the characteristics of northern life. Most importantly, more attention and training is now being devoted to native classroom assistants (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:22).

In a number of Arctic schools, the input of native classroom assistants has produced educational programs that include the full use of Inuktitut up to grade three, supplementary Inuktitut programs through the elementary grades, and limited courses in Inuktitut up to the high school level (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:22). Due to wide variation in the quality of both materials and teaching staff, these bilingual/bicultural programs have varied drastically from one community to another. It is also correct to say that such programs do not necessarily reflect the linguistic and cultural desires of particular communities.

In short, the formulation and implementation of bilingual/bicultural policies is still very much subject to piecemeal approaches. Generally speaking, the majority of programs which have been established to date are similar to what Kjolseth (1972) has termed "the assimilation model." A radical departure from this rather depressing picture has been provided by the Kativik School Board in Arctic Québec. This school board was established after 1976 as part of the James Bay Agreement, and produced its first bilingual graduate teachers in 1978. The Kativik School Board uses a model of community and professional involvement that corresponds to recommendations which appear later in this paper.

THE NORTHERN SCHOOL SURVEY

In 1981, the general situation with respect northern schools was highlighted by a survey of student expectations on the survival prospects of Inuit language and culture. This survey, known as the Northern School Survey, was conducted by the Inuit publication *Igalaaq* (see Igalaaq 1981). Although there were a number of problems with the process of data collection, evidence gathered by the survey pointed to an increasing and overwhelming dominance of English in a situation of asymmetric bilingualism, especially when compared to the findings of a study by Meldrum and Helman published in 1975. Findings of the survey also pointed to the unintended effects of the *absence* of a clear, systematic policy on bilingualism and biculturalism.

The Northern School Survey was designed to assess the attitudes and ex-

pectations of students toward education, jobs, language, and culture while documenting their relative use of Inuktitut and English in different domains. No measure of respondent proficiency in either language was used. A total of 440 Inuit schoolchildren in northern Québec, Labrador, and the Northwest Territories, most of whom were from 12 to 15 years of age, provided response data for the survey. While there is not space in this article to discuss regional variations, the Northern School Survey demonstrated that despite the great diversity in Inuit students' attitudes, a number of trends are consistent. Most Inuit students do not expect to be educated beyond high school; yet despite assimilation and the increasing use of English, all geographic regions which were surveyed had a majority of students who thought that Inuit culture and Inuktitut are important and should be learned. This finding may represent a parental and community influence that bodes well for the introduction of a more effective bilingual/bicultural educational system.

THE NORTEXT SURVEY

A more up-to-date and methodologically reliable survey was conducted by Nortext Information Design, Limited (1983) during its evaluation of the magazine *Inuktitut,* which is produced by the Inuit Culture and Linguistics Sections of the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in Ottawa. *Inuktitut* has been produced erratically but continuously since 1959, and is currently the only national magazine which publishes cultural material in Inuktitut, the Inuit language. The magazine also has French and English translations for distribution to different populations. Its Inuktitut-English version, which is sent to northern communities, was found to be well-accepted and well-read by Inuit households.

The Nortext Survey consisted of telephone interviews of randomly-selected households. Ninety-five percent of all respondents indicated an overwhelming desire for more material published in Inuktitut. Results of the survey indicated that *Inuktitut* "is read primarily in the North in Inuktitut (59.7%), and then in English (40.3%). Of those who read in Inuktitut, 73.2% read exclusively in Inuktitut. Of those who read in English, approximately half also read in Inuktitut (48.1%E—51.9%I)" (Nortext 1983:101).

These results are encouraging because they draw on a different sector of the Inuit population (e.g., adults) than the Northern School Survey of schoolchildren in 1981. One can conclude from both the Nortext Survey and the Northern School Survey that there is a perceived need by every sector of the Inuit population for the Inuktitut language to be maintained and continually used in schools and in publications, and for the language to be a defining characteristic of Inuit community life.

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE MEDIA

Because the mass media penetrate homes to an extent that the educational system does not, the place of Inuktitut in the media is just as important as its place

in the educational system. At the flick of a switch or the perusal of a book or newspaper, the outside world enters a household's four walls. Thus, the use of Inuktitut and an emphasis on cultural themes in radio, television, and print is a necessary adjunct to any bilingual program in education, and in fact contains the key to successful biculturalism. Television and radio programs, books, and periodicals in Inuktitut would in themselves form a permanent and perpetually growing linguistic-cultural source of feedback that could strengthen Inuit identity. However, the present situation does not provide cause for confidence.

Until the late 1960s, the Inuit had little other than the New Testament and some government brochures as reading materials in Inuktitut (Hill 1983:10). In the last decade, a proliferation of agencies has been created to promote a wider linguistic-cultural development (Roberts 1983:3). However, no single agency has overall responsibility for setting up a comprehensive plan of action to protect the Inuit language, design programs, or regulate programing and funding in television, publishing, or community language projects (Roberts 1983:3). The small market for Inuktitut material makes funding very scarce, and publishing costs must be covered by governments, school boards, and universities (Hill 1983:17). Even under these conditions, economic survival is not guaranteed:

> Over 86 periodicals have been published in Inuktitut since 1970. Unfortunately, most had short lives (Harper 1983:70).

Until recently, northern broadcasting mostly involved the transmission northwards of programs designed for southern audiences. Although the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) established a northern radio service in 1955, Inuktitut was not used in this service until 1960. By 1972, less than 20 percent of the CBC's shortwave service was in the Inuktitut (Valaskakis 1982:22). A similar pattern emerged with northern television. The Anik Satellite System permits the CBC to broadcast 112 hours of television per week on its northern service, but the content of this television programing is very rarely about the North, and less than one hour a week is in Inuktitut (Valaskakis 1982:20).

In considering radio and television in the North, we have drawn upon position papers published by a government-funded body called the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) titled "Position on Northern Broadcasting" (1982a), and "Proposal for Inuit Children's Educational Television" (1982b), as well as on a federal cabinet document which contains the government's response to the IBC (Canada. Department of Communications 1983). These papers provide considerable information on the present status and needs of Inuit broadcasting. The IBC's position is:

> No single feature of southern culture was as profound in its effects on the Inuit way of life as television. It destroyed old habits and social behaviors; it imported new values and attitudes. It became an alternative way of life, particularly for the young (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1982a:i).

In recent years, the North has seen a proliferation of television signals. In 1975, the CBC initiated an Accelerated Coverage Plan to provide radio and television coverage for all communities with a population of 500 or more residents which were not already receiving services in the appropriate official language. In 1981,

the Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) granted a network license to Canadian Satellite Communications, Inc. (CANCOM) which now offers four television stations from southern cities, seven radio stations from across Canada, and a channel capacity for two native language radio signals. Supplementary services include seven pay-television channels, two educational services, and even programing packaged in France. In 1983, a total of 18 services were available by satellite (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:19). As far back as 1979, while in the process of renewing CBC network licenses, the CRTC stated:

> The technologically-oriented projects establishing a domestic communications satellite and funding the Accelerated Coverage Plan have acted together to create an intolerable situation in the North (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:21).

Furthermore, the CRTC recommended the creation of local and regional programing.

The IBC's position is that there is an urgent need for regulating all aspects of northern broadcasting, and it recommends the establishment of a new body for that purpose. The IBC also advocates increased Inuktitut programing which will be designed and produced by Inuit and broadcast up to 25 hours per week on television and 50 hours per week on radio. These quantities are in line with the "resource requirements" set out by Alcock and O'Brien (1980:24-27) in their study of bilingualism in European communities.

The emphasis on broadcasting native programs during peak viewing periods is particularly relevant to the IBC's situation. The IBC typically signs on after midnight and has roughly five hours of broadcasting time per week at its disposal. This clearly falls short of the minimum recommendations of Alcock and O'Brien (1980). There is, however, a movement toward change.

Important and radical experiments in the interactive use of satellite signals by Inuit communities have proven that the Inuit can operate a broadcasting system to serve their own, self-defined needs. The Hermes and Inukshuk projects demonstrated the feasibility of far-reaching native content, production, and control in northern broadcasting. During these projects, sophisticated satellite technology provided an opportunity for the media to become a positive factor in the development of both the Inuktitut language and Inuit community cohesion, and to serve informational, educational, and entertainment needs (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:45). This, in turn, demonstrated the feasibility of locally-produced educational programs in Inuktitut for adults and children and for community-level discussions of public and local issues. For instance, during the Inukshuk experiment (September 1980-May 1981), sixteen and a half hours of television were broadcast each week during prime afternoon and evening viewing times. This provided the Inuit with the opportunity and momentum to use the latest media technology to serve their own self-defined interests in a highly effective manner.

A major spinoff of these satellite experiments was the establishment of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation in the summer of 1981, with a mandate to broad-

cast in Inuktitut. The main priorities of the IBC are: (1) live programing; (2) relevant news and current affairs programs so that Inuktitut is not restricted to folk and traditional culture, but is also used to discuss contemporary issues; (3) programing to document traditional Inuit culture; (4) presentation of the first three in a reliable fashion on schedule, and without fear of cancelation; and (5) the development of children's programing.

The development of children's programing is crucial to any long-term policy designed to bolster cultural identity. The IBC estimates that it reaches approximately 20,000 Inuit, 50 percent of whom are of school age or younger (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1982b), and who watch an average of four to five hours of television per day. At present, children's programing which is being beamed into the North has a content directed at non-native, urban audiences. Thus, educational television is completely removed from the cultural context of Inuit children and is distorting their culturally-based perceptions of Inuit reality while undermining their distinctive cultural values.

In order to generate an alternative that promotes a positive cultural identity by using role models that Inuit children can relate to, the IBC needs a programing facility which is capable of producing educational programing on a continual basis. The July 1982 report of the IBC (1982b) supports proposals by the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly to establish centers for learning and teaching (Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly 1982) because of the crucial role such centers could play in administration and production. In order to produce relevant programs, programing officials and personnel could periodically consult education specialists and parents and children in local communities. The powerful role of television as an educational complement to schooling cannot be ignored. In addition, television as an entertainment medium can reinforce the idea that learning both traditional and modern aspects of Inuit culture can be fun, particularly where sophisticated, interactive technology continues to be used.

Fortunately, the CRTC encourages native participation in programing. Equally as important, the federal cabinet in Ottawa has recognized the cost efficiency of the IBC (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:31), has approved long-term funding for IBC television production, and in principle advocates the support of policies that reflect regional participation and definition of interests.

Besides cultural benefits, the IBC also provides distinct economic advantages. Since its creation in 1981, the IBC has provided 86 full-time and 40 part-time jobs, 90 percent of which are filled by Inuit. As an employer developing new skills which find their way into other job sectors, and as a source of public education, an expanded role for the IBC is crucial for the survival of Inuit culture.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Decentralization

To date, government programs have by and large promoted language replacement within the wider context of socio-cultural assimilation. The first step toward

altering this approach is to decentralize the structure of decision-making. This implies taking some power away from bureaucracies dominated by non-natives and transferring it to native representatives of local communities who better understand their own linguistic and cultural desires. While local and regional education boards are already encouraging community involvement, these local representatives have no real power to affect decisions on curricula:

> A common feature of successful bilingual education programs is the participation of the local community in the development, implementation and evaluation of programs presented....
>
> Active decision making and control of the program must be exercised, if the program is to receive the full support of the community....(Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:78).

Community involvement in education should be carried out on the basis of an "ongoing concern." Although education departments at the provincial or territorial levels could continue to formulate programs, they should do so with input from local communities. Such programs could both: (1) reflect the linguistic and cultural needs of their communities; and (2) remain efficient through the professional guidance of education officials.

These and other considerations were part of a critical assessment by the Special Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly in its report, "Learning, Tradition, and Change in the Northwest Territories" (1982). This report called for a massive overhaul of the educational structure in the Northwest Territories in order to establish new means of communication with parents about the educational system, new methods for the recruitment and orientation of teachers, and in-service training for school staffs.

The report of the Special Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly also called for the creation of major centers for learning and teaching, for an Arctic college, and for divisional boards of education which would provide a decentralized structure that would be more receptive to the needs of local communities. Two centers for learning and teaching, one in the Western Arctic for the Déne, and one in the Eastern Arctic for the Inuit, would be responsible for the creative and innovative aspects of educational programs and for coordinating the proposed Arctic college with divisional boards of education. One very important feature, the production of regional literature, should be added to the functions of the two centers. As production agencies for regional literature, these centers would be indispensible in the promotion of biculturalism and bilingualism (see below).

This new structure for education in the Canadian North would permit input for curricula, teacher training, and future policy formulation from: (a) local communities; (b) teachers; (c) specialists; (d) political and cultural sources (native groups); and (e) education officials (divisional boards and centers for learning and teaching).

In the area of biculturalism and adult education, the Special Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly recognized three fundamental needs. First, there is the necessity of integrating economic and industrial

developments with local manpower requirements. This would require the participation of the private sector in providing training and experience for local Inuit in return for the opportunity to operate in the North. Second, there should be the provision of adult education and retraining in local northern communities rather than in southern cities. Finally, there is a need to facilitate consultation and control over adult educational programs so that local communities will feel a responsibility for their own education. Adult education schemes could in general be an extension of the proposed Arctic college. Both this proposed college and the two regional teaching and learning centers could provide facilities for training bilingual teachers.

B. Teacher Training

At present, the most critical educational need in the Arctic is for more Inuit teachers. A bilingual program can only be as successful as the teachers' capacity to convey relevant cultural and linguistic information to students. Many Inuit teachers could be recruited from the existing pool of classroom assistants (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:80). The advantage of bilingual native teachers is that they are the only teachers who can offer Inuit cultural insights and perspectives on the teaching of Inuktitut and Inuit culture (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:82). In addition, they provide appropriate role models that come from the Inuit context and create a positive learning atmosphere for Inuit students at the same time as their bilingualism meets the needs of the non-native children of transient southerners. It is important to stipulate that Inuit teacher training programs should receive input from local communities. At present, there is very little input of this nature (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:84).

In 1970, the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) was founded in Inuvik to represent the native people of the Northwest Territories. In 1973, COPE became a regional organization representing the Western Arctic Inuit. An encouraging development for Arctic education has been the ten-week training course for Inuvialuktun language instructors which was conducted by COPE in the fall of 1983. By 1984, graduates of this course had assumed teaching positions in schools in their home communities. Given other elements of support,

> ...dictionaries, grammars, teaching curricula, teaching materials, teacher training, adequate funding, community involvement and support...they may arrest the decline of a language and even, if deployed in an effective combination lead to its revitalization (Osgood 1983:xii).

All this is possible with an adequate support structure and the political will and grass roots commitment to make it happen (Fennell 1981).

C. Regional Resource Centers

A handful of regional resource centers are already in existence (e.g., in the Baffin region, at Eskimo Point, N.W.T., and at Nain, Labrador). Although one of the functions of these resource centers is to produce relevant classroom material, to date the results have been disappointing. As the Northern School Survey con-

firmed, it is imperative that more reading material in Inuktitut be made available. The main problems are cost and co-operation. However, costs of establishing more centers at the regional level could be significantly reduced if the duplication of expensive capital equipment were kept to a minimum. These centers could also be coordinated with one another, and each could provide a specialized service and share it with all others as the need arises (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:102). However, some Inuit groups are reluctant to accept materials printed in a dialect other than their own:

> There is no dialect of Canadian Inuktitut which is considered to be the official standard...few show any willingness to compromise in adopting the dialect of other areas (Harper 1983:74-75).

These internal problems will have to be worked out by the Inuit themselves (Inuit Cultural Institute 1978). However, the demographic situation of the Inuit may be too tenuous to justify policies that resource centers must take all local dialects into account.

The importance of a regional resource center for the production of literature is highlighted by the situation elsewhere in Australia and Northwest Scotland where bilingual programs have been implemented. O'Grady and Hale (1974) have described the bilingualism program implemented in Australia's Northern Territory as "one of the most exciting events in the world." In 1973, the influential Watts Committee in Australia stipulated that the major initial need was to create rich reading environments in the schools. The Watts Committee further stated that such environments could be created in local communities if bilingual materials were available in the following order of priority:

1. Traditional stories told by parents to young children.
2. Stories of high interest to young children which are created by native adults and older school children.
3. Graded reading books in schools.
4. Stories and books of high reading interest to all age groups in the community.

It is no accident that the success of the bilingualism policy implemented in the Western Isles of Scotland coincides with the creation of a literacy production center that produced literature in all four of the above categories (Comhairle nan Eilean 1976).

CONCLUSION

The questions of: (a) understanding the social matrices of the communities concerned; and (b) the presence of community education programs are just as vital as the question of what type of bilingual program should take place in schools. Most Inuktitut language teachers advocate wider bicultural development involving adults as well as the younger school-age population (Hill 1983:17).

It is a mistake to maintain that bilingual education in schools is *the* most critical variable in assessing the effectiveness of a bilingualism policy. It is equally important that different kinds of commitments to Inuktitut are made in the media, business, and public domains. This means that the legal status of the Inuit

language, as well as the implementation and enforcement of this status, are crucial issues in legitimizing the use of the Inuit language.

From our discussion of theory and data, we will now present a "blueprint" of the minimum requirements for an effective bilingualism/biculturalism policy for an Inuit population to secure sufficient responses from everyday experience to retain their identity. In addition, remarks in the introduction of this paper concerning the use of Inuktitut as one of the official languages of the regional government of Nunavut in the Western and Central Arctic are crucial. Our blueprint reflects these dual issues of ethnic identity and constitutional change. It is a realistic compendium of the minimum conditions for effective bilingualism because some of these conditions are being thought about while others are being implemented. However, the most important consideration is that *lack* of such a set of implemented conditions carries with it an intolerable burden of social cost, breakdown, and societal disintegration. Thus, we propose the following minimum conditions for effective bilingualism:

1. Official recognition of Inuktitut.
2. Use of Inuktitut in administrative, bureaucratic, and legal structures.
3. Agreement and support of the local community for the introduction of bilingual education that is part of a wider community education program.
4. Support and financing for Inuktitut medium instruction at all levels in the educational system.
5. Major centers for teacher training, curriculum design, and the production of Inuit literature.
6. Reading schemes at all levels in Inuktitut.
7. Teachers fluent in English and Inuktitut.
8. Support for measures to use Inuktitut in community education and cultural programs in order to increase its social standing.
9. Support for Inuktitut in the mass media, including radio and television programs in Inuktitut for schools, for children at home, and during general broadcasting.

Even with measures, services, and personnel diverted by the government to the establishment and implementation of bilingualism, a situation of full bilingualism may be difficult to attain. There is conflict on this point between the scholars cited in this essay. Fishman's model of partial bilingualism (1976) appears to be at odds with the results of Lambert's research (1977). Fishman maintains that an education program which is partially bilingual would lead to a feeling of inadequacy regarding mother tongue usage because the majority language would still be needed for discourse in the technological and economic spheres. However, the results of Lambert's studies clearly demonstrate that partial bilingual programs in schools produce the opposite effect. While full bilingualism is an ideal goal, research data support the position that a partial bilingualism program contains many advantages for the bilingual child and adult, particularly if such a program is also combined with community education and media use of the minority language. While Fishman may be right in referring to partial bilingualism in schools, this is only one part of the context. The role of bilingualism in the maintenance of cultural identity is a systemic issue which must be considered at every level of the social system rather than simply being confined to an examination of school curricula.

Our emphasis throughout this paper has been on bilingual education as part of a wider program of biculturalism that involves the media and adult and community education in order to ensure feedback and legitimacy regarding adherence to Inuit identity and language. The many advantages of bilingualism and biculturalism are evident. Nevertheless, the implementation of an effective bilingual/bicultural program is problematic, requiring political will and generosity by all levels of government from village councils to the federal cabinet. On the other hand, the social, cultural, and material costs of not having bilingualism and biculturalism in Arctic communities are already apparent (Inuit Cultural Institute 1978), and demand a rapid and drastic reappraisal of the educational, media, and community services provided for Canada's Inuit population. MacDonald (1981:25) has pointed out that Inuktitut is at a crossroads in Canada. The proposed implementation of Inuktitut as an official language of the regional government of Nunavut in the Western and Central Arctic will maintain and develop the language as an active and vigorous definition of Inuit cultural and community life. However, Fennell's views on language loss (1981) must be taken very seriously. Not only must the existing situation be reappraised, but the Inuit and their representatives must have the political will and grass roots commitment to their language and culture to argue convincingly for adequate levels of support from higher levels of government.

NOTES

Acknowledgements. John MacDonald and Frank Vallee made valuable criticisms and suggestions concerning an earlier draft for which we are extremely grateful. Although their many suggestions brought new material to our attention which resulted in a more comprehensive document, they disagreed with several positions that we were not persuaded to abandon. Thus, final responsibility for the argument lies with the authors. This work was issued by the Centre for Research on Ethnic Minorities at Carleton University as a working paper in January 1985. J. Iain Prattis is a research associate of the centre.

REFERENCES CITED

Alcock, A., and T. O'Brien
1980 Policies to Support Radio and Television Broadcasting in the Lesser Used Languages of the European Community. Coleraine, Northern Ireland: University of Ulster.

Balkan, L.
1970 Les effets du bilinguisme français-anglais sur les aptitudes intellectuelles. Bruxelles, Belgique: Aimav.

Barrados, M., and M. B. van Dine
1977 Multilingualism of Natives in the Mackenzie District. North of 60 Publication, Social Sciences Research Note. Ottawa, Ontario: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Barth, Fredrik
1969 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company.

Ben-Zeev, S.
1972 The Influence of Bilingualism on Cognitive Development and Cognitive Strategy. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Ph.D. Dissertation in Linguistics.

Brody, Hugh
1975 The Peoples's Land: Whites and the Eastern Arctic. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.
1977 Eskimo: A Language with a Future? Polar Record 18:582-592.
Canada. Department of Communications
1983 Northern Broadcasting/La radiodiffusion dans le Nord. Discussion paper by Charles Feaver and Shirley Serafini sponsored by the Minister of Communications, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, and the Secretary of State. Ottawa, Ontario: Minister of Communications.
Comhairle nan Eilean
1976 The Bilingual Policy, A Consultative Document. Stornoway, Scotland: Comhairle nan Eilean.
Dubé, N. C., and G. Herbert
1975a St. John Valley Bilingual Education Project Report to the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Unpublished manuscript in the possession of J. Iain Prattis.
1975b Evaluation of the St. John Valley Bilingual Education Program, 1970-1975. Madawaska, Maine: Unpublished manuscript in the possession of J. Iain Prattis.
Fennell, D.
1981 Can a Shrinking Linguistic Minority Be Saved? Lessons from the Irish Experience. *In* Minority Languages Today. E. Haugen, J. D. McClure, and D. S. Thomson, eds. pp. 1-39. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.
Fishman, J. A.
1976 Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publications.
Government of the Northwest Territories
1971 A Handbook for Curriculum Development. Yellowknife, Northwest Territories: Government of the Northwest Territories Department of Education.
1981 Bilingual Education. Yellowknife, Northwest Territories: Government of the Northwest Territories Department of Education.
Harper, K.
1983 Writing in Inuktitut: An Historical Perspective. Ottawa, Ontario: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (published in the Inuktitut language).
Haugen, E., J. D. McClure, and D. S. Thomson, eds.
1981 Minority Languages Today. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.
Hill, H.
1983 Little Funding for Inuktitut Book Publishing. Igalaaq 5(2):4.
Igalaaq (an Inuit newspaper)
1981 Northern School Survey. Educational Supplement to Igalaaq 3(2).
Inuit Broadcasting Corporation
1982a Position on Northern Broadcasting. Ottawa, Ontario: Inuit Broadcasting Corporation.
1982b Proposal for Inuit Children's Education Television. Ottawa, Ontario: Inuit Broadcasting Corporation.
Inuit Cultural Institute
1978 Ajurnarmat—Inuit Language Commission. Eskimo Point, Northwest Territories: Inuit Cultural Institute.
Jeddore, R.
1979 The Decline and Development of the Inuktitut Language in Labrador. *In* Eskimo Languages: Their Present-Day Conditions. B. Basse and K. Jensen, eds. pp. 83-91. Aarhus, Denmark: Arkona.

Kjolseth, R.
1972 Bilingual Education Programs in the U.S.: For Assimilation or Pluralism? *In* The Language Education of Minority Children. B. Spolsky, ed. pp. 94-121. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers.

Lambert, W. E.
1977 The Effects of Bilingualism on the Individual: Cognitive and Sociocultural Consequences. *In* Bilingualism: Psychological, Social, and Educational Implications. P. A. Hornby, ed. pp. 15-27. New York: Academic Press.

Lambert, W. E., and E. Anisfeld
1969 A Note on the Relationship of Bilingualism and Intelligence. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science 1:123-128.

Lambert, W. E., H. Giles, and A. Albert
1974 Language Attitudes in a Rural City in Northern Maine. Montréal, Québec: McGill University Department of Psychology unpublished manuscript.

Lambert, W. E., H. Giles, and O. Picard
1975 Language Attitudes in a French American Community. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 4:127-152.

MacDonald, J. R.
1981 Inuktitut—In the Manner of the Inuit. Special Issue on Inuit Culture. Swissair Gazette 4:8-10.

Meldrum, S., and M. Helman
1975 Summary of Statistical Data from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Northern Manpower Survey Program. North of 60 Publication. Ottawa, Ontario: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Nortext Information Design, Ltd.
1983 Inuit Culture and Linguistics. Evaluation Study Report for the Evaluation Branch, Corporate Policy, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa, Ontario: Nortext Information Design, Ltd.

Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly
1982 Learning, Tradition, and Change in the Northwest Territories. Report of the Special Committee on Education. Yellowknife, Northwest Territories: Special Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly.

O'Bryan, G., J. G. Reitz, and O. Kuplowska
1976 Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism. Ottawa, Ontario: Supply and Services Canada.

O'Grady, G., and K. Hale
1974 Recommendations Concerning Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory. Darwin, Northern Territory: Australian Department of Education.

Osgood, L.
1983 Forward. *In* Basic Kangiryuarmiut Eskimo Dictionary, by R. Lowe. pp. i-xi. Inuvik, Northwest Territories: Committee on Original Peoples Entitlement.

Penner, K.
1983 Indian Self Government in Canada. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government. House of Commons Issues 1-40. Ottawa, Ontario: Queen's Printer.

Prattis, J. I.
1980a Ethnic Succession in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. Anthropologica N.S. 22:215-254.
1980b The Structure of Resource Development in the Canadian North. Carleton University Department of Sociology and Anthropology Working Paper Number Six. Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University Department of Sociology and Anthropology.
1981 Industrialization and Minority-Language Loyalty. *In* Minority Languages Today. E. Haugen, J. D. McClure, and D. S. Thomson, eds. pp. 21-30. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.

1983 The Political Economy of Native Land Claims in the Canadian North. Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University Department of Sociology and Anthropology unpublished manuscript.
Rea, K. J.
1976 The Political Economy of Northern Development. Oshawa, Ontario: Maracle Press, Ltd. for the Science Council of Canada.
Reitz, Jeffrey G.
1980 The Survival of Ethnic Groups. Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Limited.
Roberts, Michael
1983 A Few Parting Words on Language. Igalaaq 5(2):5.
Scott, S.
1973 The Relation of Divergent Thinking to Bilingualism: Cause or Effect? Montréal, Québec: McGill University Department of Psychology unpublished research report.
Statistics Canada
1981 Census of Canada. Native People's Microfiche Documentation. Table SDN81BB4: Population (6) by Age Groups (6), p. 1. Ottawa, Ontario: Statistics Canada.
Torrance, E. P., and J. C. Gowan
1970 Creative Functioning of Monolingual and Bilingual Children in Singapore. Journal of Educational Psychology 61:72-75.
Tschanz, L.
1980 Native Language and Government Policy. London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages of the Department of Anthropology.
United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization
1953 The Use of Vernacular Language. Paris: United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization.
Valaskakis, Gail Guthrie
1982 Communications and Control in the North: The Potential of Interactive Satellites. Etudes Inuit Studies 6:19-28.
de Vries, John, and Frank G. Vallee
1977 Data Book on Aspects of Language Demography in Canada. Ottawa, Ontario: The Canada Council.
Watts, B. H., W. J. McGrath, and J. L. Tandy
1973 Bilingual Education in Schools in the Northern Territory. Darwin, Northern Territory: Australian Department of Education.