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"THERE'S LIFE AND THEN THERE'S SCHOOL": SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY AS CONTRADICTORY CONTEXTS FOR INUIT SELF/KNOWLEDGE

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December, 1998

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Community Education Council of Arctic Bay for granting me permission to carry out the research for this study. I appreciate the warm welcome so many people in the community extended to me. In particular, I thank Morty Alooloo, Najugaq Akpaliakpik, Atagotak, Annie Shappa, Rebecca Williams, Kowtak Joseph and Sandra Issigaitok. I would also like to thank the Qallunaat teachers who extended their hospitality to me, especially Susan Riach. I appreciate the support and interest of the Chairman, Director, and administrative personnel of the Baffin Divisional Board of Education.

I thank the members of my doctoral committee, my supervisor, Prof. Margaret Gillett, my co-supervisor, Prof. George Wenzel, who took over as co-supervisor on Prof. Gillett's retirement, Prof. Carmen Lambert and Prof. Colin Scott. Prof. Gillett encouraged me to undertake this study from the perspective of educational anthropology and Prof. Wenzel insisted that I learn about the system of Inuit kinship before I first went to Arctic Bay. I would like to thank Prof. Arlene Stairs of Queen's University for introducing me to the contemporary issues in educational anthropology, and Prof. George Baylor of the Université de Montréal for his helpful insights with respect to analyzing the data. I would also like to thank Prof. Jean Briggs, my external examiner, for her very helpful critique and suggestions for revision.

I acknowledge the support of a SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship and Northern Scientific Training Grants from 1990 to 1994, and a Max Bell Fellowship from McGill University in 1995.

I am indebted to Margaret Levey for her many hours of assistance in typing and sorting, and I owe a profound debt of gratitude to Vivian Lewin, whose assistance in the production of the thesis was invaluable.

And finally, I would like to thank Lydia Joseph Iyerak, my first friend in Arctic Bay. This thesis is dedicated, with respect, to her memory.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationship between the community and school in Arctic Bay in north Baffin Island. The objective is two-fold: first, to provide insights into the interaction between Inuit community members and school, and second, to describe and analyze the internal changes that school effects among community members. The central concern underlying the thesis is the ongoing process of Inuit cultural change.

This thesis expands the framework for studies in educational anthropology in two ways. First, the thesis examines the interaction between the community and the school from the perspective of the community, rather than from that of the school. Second, it applies anthropological understandings of social structure, social control and social personhood as analytical categories in examining the two cultural contexts. The thesis illustrates the fundamental contradictions in worldview between Inuit and the institution of schooling.

Observations of contemporary life illustrate that Inuit have been able to maintain the organizing principles of their kinship system in the transition from pre-settlement life to the community. Observations of socialization in school illustrate that the social norms and interrelational processes young Inuit learn in school contradict some of the organizing principles of Inuit kinship. Moreover, the responsibilities that Inuit adults are required to undertake as parents of school children impinge on their kinship obligations. The thesis concludes that although Inuit have maintained authentic, albeit modified, cultural practice in the community, the socialization of school, a culturally foreign institution, increasingly impinges on their normative values and social relations.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse porte sur les relations entre la communauté et l'école à Arctic Bay dans le nord de l'île de Baffin. Elle comporte deux objectifs : le premier consiste à donner un aperçu de l'interaction entre les membres de la communauté inuite et l'école; le second vise à décrire de même qu'à analyser les changements internes que l'école provoque chez les membres de la collectivité. La préoccupation principale qui sous-tend la thèse est le processus continu de modification culturelle du peuple inuit.

La thèse élargit le cadre de travail des études en anthropologie de l'éducation, et ce de deux façons. D'abord, elle examine l'interaction entre la communauté et l'école du point de vue de la collectivité plutôt que de celui de l'école. Ensuite, elle utilise les connaissances anthropologiques de la structure sociale, du contrôle social et de l'identité de la personne dans le contexte social en tant que catégories analytiques pour étudier les deux contextes culturels. La thèse illustre les contradictions fondamentales au niveau de la conception de la vie chez les Inuits et dans le système scolaire.

Des observations de la vie contemporaine montrent que les Inuits ont su maintenir les principes organisationnels de leur système de parenté en passant de la vie nomade à la vie communautaire. Par ailleurs, des observations de la socialisation à l'école révèlent que les normes sociales et les processus interrelationnels que les jeunes Inuits apprennent à l'école sont contraires au comportement normatif inuit. De plus, les responsabilités que les Inuits adultes doivent assumer au titre de parents d'enfants d'âge scolaire empiètent sur leurs obligations qui découlent de leurs liens de parenté. La thèse en vient à la conclusion que même si les Inuits conservent une pratique culturelle viable, la socialisation croissante à l'école interrompt les relations normatives continues qui leur sont essentielles pour préserver leur intégrité culturelle.

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PROLOGUE

"It's like they have two parents," concluded an Inuk mother on her return from an open house at the local school. We had just walked up the road leading from the large, low, green building strategically situated in the centre of the community. An unmistakable import from the south, its imposing presence dominates the surrounding settlement. In an equally powerful, but less obvious way, school also pervades the lives of the people who live here; not least affected are the parents.

My companion spoke with respect to the children in her community, for whom, as she sees it, one "parent" is family and the other, school. As she recognized this dichotomy in the children's lives, she also addressed a predicament of her own. Because of her children's participation in school, this mother has had to relinquish much of her customary parenting time. While it is not unusual for a mother's time with her young to decrease as they mature, in this case there is a pointed significance. She knows that when her children are away from her and her kin their alternate "parenting" context is a culturally foreign one. She recognizes that what her children learn in this context, and how and why they learn it, in all

likelihood will not conform to the knowledge she and her kin make available to them.

This remark was made during one of the many conversations we shared over the course of my several visits to Arctic Bay, the High Arctic community in which she lives. I had come here to learn from community members how they were negotiating school control. My interest in the community/school relationship here complemented the community's own concerns. Arctic Bay lies within the new Eastern Arctic territorial division of Nunavut, where self-government will come into effect in 1999. As a result, the residents of Nunavut will have exclusive control of their school system. Moreover, the new guidelines for education will include parents in a broader range of school-related decisions than their current mandate requires.

This thesis examines the experience of Inuit as they respond to school and as they work out how best to accommodate it to their lives. This is not a straightforward matter: the partners in this encounter, the community and the school, have different cultural origins. Hence the actions of each partner spring from a discrete set of fundamental premises as to what constitutes appropriate action. As a result of this cultural difference, incongruences in the relationship are inevitable. Those inherent incongruences, which are both subtle and complex, come to light when members of one group in the partnership either fail to comprehend or feel frustrated by the actions of the other.

Thus, while this research addresses the engagement between members of an Inuit community and the school system, it is not restricted to a study of

schooling. In a context such as prevails in Nunavut, the interaction between community and school inevitably becomes a process of cross-cultural encounter. More specifically, I examine how community members realize their vision of Inuit life while they participate in the school system. And as a complement, I examine how the school system affects Inuit: how it supports their cultural vision, and also how it impinges on it. This thesis, then, addresses both the predisposition of schooling to introduce change into Inuit life and how Inuit respond to that intervention.

In referring to school as a second "parent," the mother articulated and recognized a fundamental dilemma all Inuit parents face. In a parenting context a child learns how to respond to others and what responses to expect in return. In so doing, a child learns the rules of common conduct that unite the immediate group. In short, the basis for a child's self-knowledge is established in a parenting context.

Because of underlying cultural differences, it is inevitable that Inuit families should experience some confusion as they participate in the new interpersonal relations of school. However, despite the attendant stresses, Inuit want to respond constructively to school – their children's alternate parenting context. They have elected a community member as their delegate on the Baffin regional school board. Many of them have accepted their board's request that they share with it the responsibility for making decisions about what happens in school. What is more, some parents are more directly implicated in local school processes as school personnel or Community Education Council (CEC) members. Thus,

while school has curtailed the customary interaction of parents and children, it has also added a new dimension to parenting practice.

Inuit are aware of this and address school concerns in ongoing community discussions. Moreover they try to respond appropriately to the school's expectations that they support their children as students. Inuit are aware of this and address school concerns in on-going community discussions. Moreover, they try to respond appropriately to the school's expectations that they support their children as students. But this is problematic for many parents. First, some parents lack the firsthand knowledge of school that would enhance their ability to respond to the full range of decisions and responsibilities that the school system asks of them. Second, and more importantly, school introduces culturally unfamiliar expectations to Inuit that address the nature of both social relations and social responsibility.

The Arctic Bay mother who conceives of school as a second parent strives consistently to maintain her own cultural integrity as she participates in culturally unfamiliar processes. To illustrate, the community which is now her home was initially planned and structured according to "southern" social and cultural norms. She moved into Arctic Bay with other extended-family members in the late 1960s when she was a young adult. Thus, the process of settlement living in itself has been an experience of fundamental cross-cultural negotiation for her and the people of her generation, nearly all of whom spent their formative years on the land.

Most Arctic Bay Inuit are quick to acknowledge the benefits of community life and appreciate their local model of the southern system. As an indication of their support, they have not hesitated to participate in the local decision-making

responsibilities that permanent settlement life requires. From the perspective of outsiders, a southern-style socio-economic infrastructure undergirds this arctic community and links it to the majoritarian culture of Canada. However, only a handful of community members are needed to actively maintain bureaucratic links with the outside world. From the perspective of most Arctic Bay residents, their own normative cultural practice, based on extended-family obligations, provides them with viable and internally cohesive social integration.

Now that all the young people in the community are required by law to go to school, the significance of school extends beyond the daily routine of students; it is present in the lives of all community members. In an obvious, concrete sense, the physical structure of the school occupies a central position in relation to the surrounding southern-style buildings. But more importantly, almost everyone has some immediate contact with school as a student or parent.

Both parents and children acknowledge the connection between school and their future lives: school is the purveyor of new skills they need for their future survival. But very few people either understand or have experienced the way school functions as the major institution of social integration in the majoritarian culture. They are already socially integrated in a way that makes sense and is effective. Added to this, they recognize that school knowledge, the product of another culture, is embedded in interactions between people that are often at odds with Inuit ways. Thus Inuit family members inevitably experience confusions and contradictions as they engage in the complex processes that accompany the transmission of school-based skills.

In examining the relationship between Inuit and school, this study addresses the nature of the contradictions and confusions Inuit face as they respond to the unfamiliar socialization of schooling. But the discussion is not limited to the two-way encounter between Inuit community and school. Most importantly, this study examines how school affects relations among Inuit themselves, as it introduces new relations of practice and overrides existing ones. Furthermore, in extending its scope in this way, the study addresses how school affects Inuit cultural change.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines how school affects the lives of Inuit in the North Baffin community of Arctic Bay. The central concern underlying the investigation is the ongoing process of Inuit cultural change. The basic question the thesis addresses is how the institution of schooling bears upon Inuit cultural change. The thesis examines the interaction between the school and the community from the community perspective.

1. Purpose of the Study.

This study provides a description and an analysis of the two-way interaction between the community and the school. But it does not end there. That interaction is integral to the thesis, yet the consequences of that interaction within the community at large are the primary concern here. To that end, the study examines the two-sided issue, how community members view school in relation to their on-going lives, and how school bears upon the actions and self-perceptions of Inuit, both as individual people and as a group.

In taking the community as the point of departure, this study explicitly recognizes the fluid nature of Inuit cultural practice. Inuit communities vary in terms of the changes each has effected in its own cultural practice as a result of interaction with mainstream institutions; they also vary with respect to the nature and degree of their adaptation to the institutions of mainstream North American culture. In recognizing the variety among community responses, this study makes

explicit an understanding of culture as dynamic: at once self-maintaining and innovative.

The objective of this thesis is two-fold: first, to provide insights into the interaction between Inuit community members and school, and second, to describe and analyze the internal changes that school effects among those community members. Perhaps its most critical element is to show that although Inuit continue to maintain viable cultural practice, the incremental socialization of school interrupts the ongoing normative relations that Inuit require to preserve cultural integrity.

2. The Anthropology of Education Approach.

Because this thesis examines an Inuit community's encounter with school, the appropriate disciplinary context for the study is educational anthropology (also called the anthropology of education). In the 1950s, at the time of that sub-discipline's inception, its distinguishing characteristic was a focus on cultural transmission – "an anthropological definition of education itself" (Harrington, 1982, p. 329). Since then, the approach has grown to include a broad range of inquiries; the majority of those studies have addressed the school experience of members of minority culture groups.

An anthropological interest in education was far from innovative even the 1950s; historically, studies of the transmission of cultural knowledge and practice have been integral to anthropological inquiry. However, some educational anthropologists considered that many accounts within the corpus of anthropology

stress the results of education – that is, culture as lived – while underemphasizing culture as learned (Gearing, 1973; Spindler, 1963b; Wolcott, 1991).

With their own specific interest in mind, the initial adherents of the approach drew in particular on two anthropological sources for inspiration. One was the classic accounts of child-rearing that examined the culturally-various practices of knowledge transmission between generations (cf. Erikson, 1943; Firth, 1936; Fortes, 1938). The other source was the "culture and personality" school, which maintained that each cultural form engendered a distinct personality type (cf. Benedict, 1935; Mead, 1928; 1930). The research focus of this latter group provided the major theoretical antecedent of educational anthropology: a "concern for the relationship between the individual and culture" (Harrington, 1982, p. 324).

In reinforcing their affiliation with the parent discipline, educational anthropologists considered most of anthropology's characteristic features appropriate to their approach. Thus they sought to apply "anthropological concepts, perspectives, methods of research, guiding models and paradigms, and interpretive principles" in examining the process of education (Spindler, 1987a, p. 2).

To illustrate, they considered anthropology's configurative, case-study approach well-suited to examining cultural transmission; that method of research permits observers to make analytical connections among seemingly unrelated phenomena. In addition, its consistent use in examining education could create a compilation of comparative case studies. These would not only demonstrate "the range of possibilities" in educational structure and process across cultures, but also contribute to a comprehensive theory of education accounting for those

"demonstrated possibilities" (Spindler, 1963a, p. 13). However, because the anthropologist is bound to "accept reality as it is expressed in the uniqueness of each culture and each educational system," comparative analyses are only possible insofar as similar categories of phenomena exist (ibid.).

In line with the need to "accept reality," educational anthropologists considered they should honour two interpretive principles in particular: objectivity, and a search for implicit meanings in observed behaviour (Spindler, 1963a). As a further confirmation of their anthropological stance, those researchers acknowledged the need to understand the social structure in settings where they examined cultural transmission. In particular, they recognized the importance of clarifying the connection between social structure and social control (Spindler, 1963b).

In addition, Spindler considered the anthropological view of culture as a dynamic process highly relevant to the study of education. In particular, he singled out "those processes of cultural change and stability that are frequently included under the heading acculturation" as useful to the new discipline (1963b, p. 60). Spindler defined acculturation as "subsuming those processes that occur as a society (or a group of people) with a distinctive culture adapts to changes in the conditions of life brought about by the impact of another population and its culture" (ibid.).

However, Spindler maintained that, for his purposes, a thorough understanding of cultural dynamics entails a more detailed investigation into the processes enacted by individual cultural agents than is typical of most

anthropological enquiry. In particular, his interest lay in how role relationships bear upon cultural transmission; of particular importance in this process are "the values that are activated by educational events and in educational settings" (1963, p. vii).

Arguing that culture change is "mediated by what is transmitted by parents and teachers to children," Spindler suggested that educational anthropologists, through monitoring transmission, could provide insights into how people interpret and adapt to change (1963, p. 60). To this end, he regarded individual cultural agents as "variables" who mediate change or maintain stability (ibid.). Spindler's focus on how group members transmit culture aligned his interest with the personality and culture school. In fact, he considered the concepts espoused by that particular anthropological orientation, along with the concepts associated with analyses of cultural dynamics, of foremost significance in examining cultural transmission [1].

In view of Spindler's comprehensive interpretation of education, it would seem logical that he should equate that process with socialization. Indeed, he contended that education should be "interpreted functionally and holistically"; an anthropological examination of education should stress "the interdependence of educational systems and functions, teacher roles, cultural norms and values, and cultural process." (1963, p. vii). Nonetheless, he considered socialization to be a more comprehensive process of "education in the total sense...[the] total process of growth and adaptation [of the child] to human, group-accepted status" (1963b, p. 58). Within that broader process, Spindler delimited the appropriate disciplinary sphere of enquiry as "what is done to and for a

child, by whom, in what roles, under what conditions, and to what purpose" (ibid.). In particular, his interest lay in "how education functions to preserve culture" (Spindler, 1963b, p. 60).

By the mid-980s, Spindler summed up his notion of the discipline's focus as "*intentional intervention* in the learning process": older society members intentionally intervene in the lives of the young to ensure that they learn societally-required knowledge (1987a, p.3). Nonetheless, he recognized that the young inevitably learn "concomitant information" at the same time. Elaborating on that point, Spindler claimed that in internally consistent cultural systems, few incongruences exist in a child's total learning; in internally inconsistent or changing systems intended and concomitant learning will often be incongruent (ibid.).

While Spindler's definitive views inspired the disciplinary focus, he was not alone in giving theoretical direction to the anthropology of education. Nor, in fact, did his peers consider his views as paramount. As is frequently the case in social scientific inquiry, theorists have maintained an ongoing debate with respect to the discipline's nature and focus.

The nature of both culture and cultural transmission proved to be inevitable foci of discussion for educational anthropologists; in addition, theorists continue to debate the scope of their field of inquiry. With respect to the first concern, one theorist contended that while educators seldom define culture, for the most part their stance conveys an implicit essentialist understanding of the concept. That is, culture is not only self-generating, but it also exists at an "objectively posited level of reality" (Brameld, 1963, p. 89). Such a conception of culture in turn fosters one

of learning as a process of "stimulus-response," directed towards "unity with the already given cultural environment" (ibid., p. 90). An uncritical acceptance of the concept "cultural transmission" adds weight to that view (ibid.). Advocating a critical stance towards research, Brameld urged educational anthropologists to clarify their understanding of culture; doing so would enable them to make clear the "intricate linkages" between the cultural experiences they examined and their theoretical categories (1963, p. 86).

A number of educational anthropologists considered that Spindler's definition of cultural transmission, what people do "consciously and explicitly to transmit culture," was too restrictive (Wolcott, 1987a, p. 31). They considered that the discipline should honour the anthropological view: cultural transmission and socialization are one and the same (ibid.). To illustrate, according to Gearing, culture is transmitted both intentionally and unconsciously in "formal educational" and "familial" settings; the settings comprise "two aspects of socialization" (1973, p. 1224). For his part, Harrington claimed that "within-culture differences" occur during socialization (1982, p. 329). Researchers bring those differences to light through monitoring the "differentiation and change" that occur during the process (ibid.). While perspectives of this nature enlarged on Spindler's interpretation of cultural transmission, individual learners remained the central subject of most research.

This was certainly the case in the 1980s for researchers who examined how people acquire culture. In Wolcott's view, cultural acquisition is "tangentially related" to cultural transmission; nonetheless that transaction warrants critical

attention in its own right if one is to fully examine the transmission process (1991, p. 255). However, Wolcott cautioned those researchers who choose to emphasize "cognitive domains and individual learners" not to neglect the "social settings and interactive processes that are the stuff of cultural anthropology" (1991, p. 256). In fact, echoing Brameld, Wolcott urged his colleagues, whatever their specific focus, not to overlook "culture" itself (1991; 1987b).

In a somewhat similar vein, Kimball maintained that "psychologically based theories of learning...have proved a detriment in understanding the importance of community" (1982, p. 126). More to the point, while he acknowledged the significance of culturally distinctive learning processes, he stressed that many learning theories fail to take the organized social context into account as a variable. In his view, knowledge sharing processes "evoke organizational regularities"; people both learn and preserve their accrued knowledge in organized communities (ibid.). Thus he considered the community, rather than the individual learner, as the significant – and logical – point of departure for anthropological examinations of learning.

In sum, in the foregoing exchange of views disciplinary theorists delimited a field of anthropological inquiry that addresses the transmission of culture. Their central concern is "the relationship between the individual and culture"; their focus of inquiry emphasizes individual processes. At the same time, they recognize that cultural transmission should be explored within a communal setting and interpreted "functionally and holistically"; they consider that social structure and social control warrant particular attention.

The theorists are less explicit in elaborating the notion of "culture." Moreover, while most of them agree that cultural transmission is synonymous with socialization, they fail to make clear the distinction between the "social" and the "cultural." Furthermore, while they recognize culture as a dynamic process, and recognize that people themselves generate cultural change, they fail to provide insights into the underlying logic of cultural process. They nonetheless urge researchers to make clear their own understandings of culture.

As the preceding exchange of theoretical perspectives suggests, the anthropology of education focus did not result in one unified approach. Moreover, cultural transmission was a weighty concept; it proved challenging to codify both thematically and theoretically. Gearing (1973) suggested a preliminary classification based on the nature and size of the society in which one was examining the process. He distinguished between cultural transmission in small societies, large uniform societies, and "heterogeneous societies" as follows (ibid., p. 1237). Those early anthropological accounts that inspired the new sub-discipline illustrate the process in small societies; Spindler's studies of social change and schooling (1963c; 1974) as well as classic accounts of schooling in Germany (Warren, 1967) and Japan (Singleton, 1967) exemplify the second category. The third type, heterogeneous societies, are characterized by an extensive range of ethnic, rural-urban and socio-economic differences among society members (Gearing, 1973). Cultural transmission in this third type of society assumes significant and complex dimensions, and has inspired much of the recent and current research in educational anthropology. This is particularly the case in North

America, where the discipline had its genesis. Accordingly, anthropologists in that setting have examined the school experiences of social and cultural minority groups in both urban centres and isolated communities.

Educators have been continually concerned with the schooling problems of children from minority groups. Some of them attributed the problems to the ways minority students differed as learners from mainstream students and categorized the differences as genetic inferiority or cultural deprivation. Proponents of the "deficit theory," who adopted this stance, advocated extra, enriched classes; these classes were intended both to compensate for presumed deficiencies in the students' background experience and to assist them in mastering basic school skills (Jensen, 1980; McLaughlin, 1994; Neisser, 1986; Swisher and Deyhle, 1989). In contrast, educational anthropologists sought other explanations of the school-related difficulties of children from minority groups.

2.1 Specific Research Orientations in Educational Anthropology.

Educational anthropologists have examined how cultural differences bear upon schooling in a variety of insightful and constructive ways. To illustrate, structural analyses of the relationship between school and minority culture students address how school socializes people into previously existing social groups in mainstream culture. At another level of analysis, school-focused research has addressed the discrepancies between standard school processes and the interrelational processes in the students' home communities.

At this second level of analysis, one group of researchers has examined students' cultural practices in their home settings with a view to introducing some

of those practices into school; they have anticipated culturally compatible schooling contexts. A second group of researchers has examined the [mis]communication between students and teachers. That group has explored in depth both how the communication practices of minority students, including aboriginal students, differ from those of mainstream teachers and, further, how those differences affect the children's performance in school. A third group, consisting of both mainstream and aboriginal educator-researchers, has attempted to "negotiate" a broad range of culturally appropriate schooling processes. The various approaches will now be examined in some detail; summaries of the studies of the last two groups of researchers, those that address communication practices and culturally negotiated schooling, specifically address the schooling of aboriginal students.

Ogbu (1982; 1986; 1992) is the most significant proponent of the structural explanation for low school achievement. He has discerned a wide range of differential levels of school achievement among cultural minority groups, and considers that deficit theorists' emphasis on how, rather than why, students achieve is misplaced. He directs his focus to the nature of sociocultural heterogeneity and locates the cause of low school achievement for some students in the social arrangements of mainstream society.

Ogbu distinguishes between two groups of cultural minorities. Involuntary minorities, such as Native and Black Americans, are born into their minority positions; voluntary minorities have chosen to be members of North American society. Ogbu argues that the low school achievement rate of involuntary

minorities is inevitably structured into the North American social system; like "castelike" minorities world-wide, those students limit their academic efforts to accommodate their future expectations. In contrast, voluntary minorities – in particular new immigrants, such as those from Asia – expect to work hard, and frequently do exceedingly well in school (Ogbu, 1982; 1986; 1992).

In adopting another perspective, Ogbu (1990) characterizes the negative attitudes towards school of involuntary minority students as a form of cultural resistance. Those students consciously or unconsciously oppose school through both low academic performance and in-group language use in order to maintain their own "cultural frame of reference" (p. 160).

Ogbu's focus on cultural difference at the societal level illustrates how school operates to integrate cultural minority groups into mainstream society. At the same time, his findings illustrate how intended socialization can provoke members of minority groups to assert their identity. However, his explanations appear to be based on the assumption that all participants in North American society have no alternatives other than to resist or adapt to the individual achievement goal of mainstream culture. Ogbu fails to consider that some members of those groups may have alternate visions not only of society, but also of desirable social ends. Through this omission, he fails to address how school may either enhance or interfere with other goals; his deterministic approach leaves no leeway for exploring how group members may choose to determine their social goals for themselves.

The scope of the foregoing approach contrasts with research that examines conflicts between the interrelational processes of school and those of the students' home communities. Different views exist not only of what constitutes the nature of the difficulties, but also of how to resolve them. One of those approaches seeks cultural compatibility between the school and the home.

To illustrate, some educators and researchers believe that introducing culturally compatible learning relationships and settings into school will improve students' achievement. Accordingly, these researchers have modified school settings to accommodate the preferred interpersonal and learning behaviours of minority culture students. Researchers in mainstream American schools have noted the positive results of this approach; both Italian American and Hispanic children have not only performed more effectively but they have also been more satisfied with school (Goldenberg and Gallimore, 1991; Moll and Diaz, 1987; Shultz, Florio, and Erickson, 1982). As another example, practitioners affiliated with the Kamehameha Early Education Program in Hawaii discovered that children learned more readily when school was socially rearranged to incorporate the Hawaiian mode of story-telling and sibling-type work groups (Au and Jordan, 1981; Jordan, 1985; Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1987).

Expanding on the approach, Moll (1992) has attempted to make school relevant and immediate by exploiting local "funds of knowledge" (ibid., p. 21). He has sought ways for school to reflect not only compatible practices, but also the skills and knowledge practiced by adults in the surrounding community. This

approach envisions cultural congruency or compatibility between the community and school.

Other researchers have sought to determine the nature of minority children's school difficulties through closely monitoring their interaction in school. As an example, ethnographers of communication have examined the face-to face interaction between minority students and their mainstream teachers. They have concluded that the differences between minority culture students' customary interrelational processes and mainstream schooling are the source of conflicts.

The method as used to examine communication in schools developed from linguists' interest in communication in the 1960s (Hornberger, 1993). As the goal of those researchers was to gain a better understanding "not so much of what language is... but of how language is used," they emphasized the context of communication rather than language itself (Hymes, 1972, p. xii). Hymes and his colleagues considered that people with the context-based knowledge needed to use language effectively have "*communicative competence*" – a term they introduced from linguistic theory to the analysis of schooling processes (ibid., xxxvi).

Instances of microethnographic research highlight some of the problems that occur in situations of communicative incongruence. To illustrate, when teachers are unable to understand children's efforts to communicate, they not only deny those children the opportunity to participate in school, but they may also fail to perceive the children's true abilities (Byers and Byers, 1972; Cazden et al., 1972). Furthermore, communication is impeded in contexts that include a variety of communicative styles if some participants view the communicative behaviour of

others as socially inappropriate (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, 1972). As an additional point, the abstract questions of mainstream teachers make little sense to children who are accustomed to a holistic conversational style (Heath (1982a, 1982b).

2.2 Schooling and Aboriginal Communities.

Because this thesis seeks to examine the relationship between an Inuit community and school, other studies that address schooling in aboriginal communities help to establish the focus. Some of those studies document the nature and patterns of communication between teachers and students. Others illustrate how researcher-educators are introducing elements from the aboriginal culture into the life of the school or classroom. First-hand accounts by members of aboriginal communities describing their experience as school teachers offer especially valuable insights.

Research that addresses the differences between the communicative behaviour of aboriginal students and mainstream teachers is of particular interest to this study (Dumont, 1972; Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; McCarty, Wallace, Lynch and Benally, 1991; Paradise, 1994; Philips, 1972, 1983; Ryan, 1989, 1988; Scollon and Scollon, 1980a, 1980b; Wax, Wax and Dumont, 1964/1989; Wolcott, 1984). Those anthropologists who include the aboriginal community within the scope of their critical examinations enlarge on the range of social processes that are affected by school.

Most of those researchers acknowledge the habitual silence that characterizes the school performance of aboriginal students; Dumont (1972) concludes that it

results directly from the teacher-student learning exchange. Philips (1972; 1983) examines the problem in greater depth in a Sioux community not only by analysing classroom interaction but also by observing the customary communicative interaction among Sioux themselves. She concludes that students' frequent reluctance to participate verbally in class arises from a lack of "appropriate social conditions for speech use" in many school settings (1972, p. 375). Philips applies the term "participation structures" to the various conditions under which teachers organize verbal interaction with and among students (1972, p. 377). She observes that students are reluctant to speak, and at times refuse to do so, either when the teacher requests them to speak or they have to speak in front of the whole class. In contrast, students willingly speak with the teacher individually when they themselves initiate the interaction; they also speak up readily in small work groups of students in class. However, Philips observes that the dominant classroom participation structure is that in which the teachers control students' verbal participation within the context of the whole class.

That interaction context contrasts with other settings on the Sioux reserve. There adults refrain from overt control of children whatever the nature of their participation. Philips infers that "learning through public mistakes" is inappropriate for Sioux children; on the reserve, the young learn through extensive observation and incremental participation (1972, p. 381). She concludes that the children are "more engaged and productive" when they are learning in the context of social relations over which they have "more control" (1983, p. xvii).

Philips considers that teachers' lack of sensitivity to students' normative behaviours, and their insistence that students adapt to school interaction, exacerbates the student's school difficulties. Furthermore, she argues that it is the teacher's need for overt and direct control that eventually transforms the children's silent response into a learned behaviour. Thus while school practice prompts the students' response, many teachers automatically attribute resistant attitudes to aboriginal children without understanding the initial source (1983).

Scollon and Scollon (1980a, 1980b) enlarge on that point. They identify three problematic situations in which the behaviour of mainstream teachers and aboriginal students differ: the presentation of self, the expected degree of self-disclosure in both initiating conversation and responding to questions, and speaking turns and introducing topics.

Broadening their analysis to a comparison of Athabaskan and English speakers, Scollon and Scollon argue that speakers of English initiate conversation to get to know strangers, yet feel little need to talk with those they know well. In comparison, Athabaskans only talk with people they know well and observe strangers in order to get to know them (1982b). Furthermore, some Athabaskan students are confused by the teacher's right to ask questions, and then to remain silent while the student answers. These authors claim that changes in patterns of communicative behaviour "may have serious consequences for personal and cultural identity" (1980a, p. 17). In fact, Paradise (1994) contends that behaviours in and of themselves convey and create a context of mutual understanding; she

underscores the central role of nonverbal interaction in the social learning of aboriginal children.

As another example of behavioural contrasts, Erickson and Mohatt (1982) monitored Ojibway students interacting with both an Ojibway teacher and a mainstream teacher. They conclude that the Ojibway teacher's interactive style – which includes her movement, her overall timing of activity and her proxemic relations to students – was more congruent with that of the students. However, they point out that both teachers use behaviours from the other's culture – the Ojibway teacher to be more teacher-like, and the mainstream teacher, to accommodate her students' interaction needs.

Other researchers interpret student silence as resistance; moreover, some of them conclude that students control the teacher's level of operation (Wax, Wax and Dumont 1964/1989; Wolcott, 1984). In fact, Wax, Wax and Dumont discovered that peer solidarity was the most striking feature of the school experience of Lakota Sioux youth. They attribute that solidarity to three causes: the students' isolation from their usual sources of authority, the lack of communication between parents and teachers, and the students' inevitable misinterpretation of the teacher's directives.

Taking another tack, and a mainstream teacher's perspective, Ryan (1988, 1989) argues that formal educators' attempts to accommodate obvious cultural differences will not suffice in solving problems of alienation between indigenous students and the school system. For one, he argues that attempts to improve the students' school experience by introducing features that are culturally compatible

do little good because teachers have great difficulty modifying their traditional schooling practices. But, according to Ryan, an even more profound cause of student alienation from school is the fact that the institutional practices and values of mainstream society inevitably permeate the school. Those practice and values are manifested in particular in school by the school's need to control. As a result, students develop negative self-perceptions and low self esteem, both of which inhibit their school success.

The central issues of the three previously examined research trends – an awareness of "involuntary minority" status on the part of community members, and the problems that attend both cultural incompatibility and miscommunication – are also addressed by those researchers and educators who have been developing an approach to schooling in aboriginal communities. They refer to their approach as "cultural negotiation."

Proponents of this approach to schooling seek not only to address a broad range of cultural differences between school and aboriginal communities, but also to include community members as essential participants in both the planning and teaching of culture-based courses (Lipka and McCarty 1994; Lipka, 1991, 1994; Stairs, 1994a). The approach can be viewed as issuing from changes in societal relations as well as in both anthropological and educational theory.

The most significant change lies in the shifting relations between aboriginal communities and mainstream society, whereby the former have gained increased autonomy. Aboriginal communities have begun to control school locally, and proclaim their cultural distinctiveness through introducing aboriginal curriculum,

and fostering the professional development of aboriginal teachers (Barman et al., 1986; Battiste and Barman, 1995; Burnaby, 1993; D. Jordan, 1986; Leavitt, 1991; Stairs, 1994b, 1991). However, an anthropological approach that views culture as situated in human practice (Ortner, 1984) and changing views in educational theory that address both knowledge and learning (Brown et al., 1989; Prawat, 1989) are two other certain influences on the "negotiation" approach.

In addition, initiatives to transmit aboriginal knowledge in school have also been a significant component of the cultural negotiation approach. While schools in aboriginal communities have incorporated aboriginal knowledge, for the most part that knowledge has been permitted a limited representation in the form of cultural handicrafts (Leavitt, 1991). Lipka (1994) describes an example of a more conscientious, negotiated approach to including aboriginal knowledge in school curriculum.

In this instance, a work group of Yup'ik and mainstream culture teachers, in consultation with Yup'ik elders, transformed Yup'ik numeracy concepts by giving them new symbolic representations in order to incorporate them into school mathematics curricula. Lipka recognizes that making a "concrete, contextualized counting system" abstract, changes the "very nature" of the initial activity (ibid., p. 19). Nonetheless, the objective of this initiative was not only to bring cultural content into school, but also to make mathematics more accessible to students. They learn that abstract mathematical reasoning poses an alternative to the traditional concrete Yup'ik approach to solving numerical problems. Those

responsible for this initiative also adapted Yup'ik social processes as the basis for "social interactions and teaching methodologies" (ibid., p. 29).

The advocates of cultural negotiation expanded on the initial compatibility approach by exploring how to incorporate both community knowledge and knowledge transmission processes into school. Thereby their approach reveals a fuller understanding of the implications of cultural transmission. However, the advocates of cultural negotiation have restricted their scope of inquiry to those social processes that bear some analogy to school practices and thus could substitute for or reinforce schooling. Cultural negotiation, then, is a culturally informed approach to initiating a broad range of compatible school practices. School remains the focal point of this approach and the institutional framework to which social practice, albeit transformed, must relate. The approach does not examine the effect of school on the surrounding social reality.

Aboriginal community members as school teachers experience the dilemma of being embedded in one social reality while at the same time being required to fulfill roles as members of another. Accounts of their experience reveal how they feel compromised by conflicting sociocultural norms in carrying out their teaching responsibilities (Burnaby, 1993; Ilutsik, 1994; Roberts and Clifton, 1988; Sharp, 1994; Stairs, 1994).

For example, Roberts and Clifton claim that "the teacher socialization experience has undoubtedly changed Native instructors in a direction that has moved them (some way) toward having a cultural and social profile that is different from that of their students" (1988, p. 216). The accounts of two teachers attest to

their discomfort in that role. For one, Ilutsik (1994) reveals her sense of inadequacy as both a student and teacher. As a student, she was "never quite good enough" for her white teachers, and as a teacher herself, she experienced embarrassment in teaching her fellow Alaskans "how to be 'white'" (1994, p. 7, 8). As a second example, Sharp acknowledges that she sometimes has "no real connection" to what she is teaching. Furthermore, at times her students have no connection "to what they are supposed to be learning" (1994, pp. 8,9). Teacher accounts are significant in that they make the socialization dimension of schooling indisputably apparent.

3. Summary of Research for the Purposes of this Study.

Much research which addresses the relationship between aboriginal communities and school highlights the mutual misunderstanding and miscommunication that accompany the transmission of school knowledge to students. Moreover, observers of aboriginal children in school have consistently noted the children's reluctance to comply with some school interaction practices. In particular, school's requirements for, and restrictions on, communication prove to be a source of frustration and dis-ease for teachers and students. However, most researchers have delimited their focus in line with the social organizational contexts of mainstream society and examined isolated incidents of aboriginal cultural expression. This research scope is inadequate because contexts such as school-based "participation structures," or even schools themselves, fail to accommodate the full range of social processes and interpersonal dynamics in aboriginal communities. As Boas has argued, "hardly any trait of culture can be understood when taken out of its general setting" (1935, p. ix).

In the first section, this introduction addressed different theoretical perspectives of educational anthropology. Existing research suggests that the fundamental cultural difference between aboriginal communities and school needs further examination. A re-examination of the theoretical perspectives in light of the existing research suggests an appropriate direction for studies in educational anthropology.

Harrington, Kimball and Wolcott all insisted that studies of schooling should take into account the social organizational context. The studies in each of the research orientations discussed above illustrate the importance of that view. They lead to the conclusion that accurate understandings of how school processes affect children from minority cultures need to be premised on researchers' knowledge of community processes. Kimball, in fact, emphasized that the community itself should be the starting point if one is to make clear the "organized social context" and its "organizational regularities."

Spindler, it may be recalled, urged educational anthropologists, when possible, to make comparative analyses of educational processes across cultures. Wax and Wax (1971/1989) in a reappraisal of their own study, consider it is no longer useful or realistic for anthropologists to embark on comparative studies of the educative function of schools. In their view, schooling is a "great tradition" of western culture that has universally penetrated smaller, more unified cultures and displaced their "little traditions." As an alternate project, they propose that anthropologists examine how the "great tradition" bears upon the experience of children in those smaller cultures. To that end, they recommend that accounts of

schooling include examinations of both the social roles that schools create and the social processes that occur specifically in relation to schools.

I share the view of Wax and Wax in so far as I propose to examine school as a locus of social processes. However, I take the community as the central element and independent variable in my analysis, and consider the school as being in a tangential, not central, relationship to it. Furthermore, my fundamental concern is the effect of school on contemporary social life in the community. Thus my point of departure is the social relations and social practices that sustain the community.

In addition, I agree with Wax and Wax that comparative studies of the educative functions of schools are no longer necessary. However, if one views school as a culturally informed socialization process, there is another comparison that can more fruitfully contribute to an understanding of the relations between school and an aboriginal community. That is, a comparison between socialization in school and socialization in the community. Such a comparison can take into account the social organization, social roles, and social processes, including social control, in each of the two socializing contexts.

To that end, in Chapter Two I will develop a theoretical approach to apply in such an examination. Building on the work of theorists in educational anthropology, I intend to illustrate the significance of culturally specific behaviours in their own context. As a first step, I propose to examine how theorists in the parent discipline of anthropology have examined the central themes of educational anthropologists.

4. Plan of the Thesis.

Chapter One outlines the research procedure of this study. In Chapter Two, I develop a theoretical approach for examining the relationship between the community of Arctic Bay and school. In so doing, I examine anthropological understandings of the concepts that theorists in educational anthropology consider basic to research in their discipline. The concepts include social structure, social organization, social personhood and socialization. Furthermore, by examining concepts of culture and cultural change, I make clear my understanding of culture and cultural dynamics.

In Chapter Three, I describe the social organization, social structure and socialization of North Baffin Inuit. That chapter is primarily based on data from authoritative anthropological accounts.

In Chapter Four, I illustrate how Inuit in Arctic Bay have modified kinship to accommodate the requirements of contemporary life in a geopolitical community. I illustrate how they have maintained their commitments to the members of their extended families, yet have also applied the ideology of kinship to the community as a whole.

In Chapter Five, I analyze school in Arctic Bay as a context of socialization. In describing how both Inuit and Qallunaat participate in the socialization process, I illustrate how school processes not only depend on specific social relationships, but also imply specific understandings of social personhood and knowledge. In examining how Inuit teachers and students respond to schooling

processes, I show how school regulations and socialization undermine both Inuit personhood and normative interrelational processes.

In Chapter Six, I illustrate and analyze the response to school of Inuit parents. In particular, I describe how Inuit respond to the discrepancies between their own social customs and the responsibilities that school requires them to undertake. The latter include supporting their children as students and making decisions about school content and processes. I also examine the effect of school on the relations among Inuit in the community.

In Chapter Seven, I discuss and analyze my findings with respect to the contradictions between community and school. I illustrate how the requirements and practices of school bear upon Inuit cultural change by both impinging on and disrupting the normative cultural dynamics of Inuit. I conclude by discussing the appropriateness of the theoretical stance I have adopted for examining the relationship between an Inuit community and school.

Note:

[1] The "personality and culture" school held a logical attraction for the early theorists in anthropology and education. The former, as exemplified in the work of Benedict (1935), perceived a direct relationship between the practices of a given culture and the type of person the culture engendered. However, this orientation, which burgeoned in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States, lost favour with many social scientists as it gave rise to detrimental and limiting formulations such as "national character" or "basic personality structure" (Leacock, 1985, p. 69; Wolcott, 1991, p. 251). Nonetheless, the fact that the members of a given cultural group demonstrate a specific range of associated behaviour has remained a fundamental tenet of all anthropological enquiry.

CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH PROCEDURE

My research objective was to gain as much insight as I could into the nature of the relationship between an Inuit community and the institution of schooling. I wanted to distinguish and clarify the many dimensions of that relationship and to understand its dynamics. While I knew that both partners in the relationship participated in it willingly, I was proceeding with my research on the assumption that each partner found many practices of the other to be incongruent with its own, and that these cultural incongruences impeded the relationship's optimal effectiveness. Thus I wanted to bring these incongruences to light and understand them. But most importantly, I wanted to learn from community members what their own perceptions were of the ways in which the presence of school modified their lives, and what means they chose to define for themselves the nature of the relationship.

1.1 Preparation for Field Work.

My objective in practical terms was to observe, describe and interpret cultural behaviour; in other words, to render culture visible. I concluded that the ethnographic method was the appropriate process through which to achieve this (Pelto and Pelto, 1978; Spradley, 1980; Wolcott, 1987). While the ethnographic method combines both interviews and observations, Wolcott suggests that the ethnographer choose to emphasize which of the two approaches "feels right" in the research context (1987, p. 49). Continuing in this vein, Wolcott underscores the dialectical nature of ethnography. He alleges that new information and its

interpretation evolve together, as the group's culture is "inferred from the words and actions" of group members (ibid., p. 41). While Clifford acknowledges the essential nature of this process, at the same time he cautions the ethnographer that when the time comes for interpretation, what is said should not necessarily be contextualized in terms of what is seen (1986). In other words, while people may articulate their ideal views as to how they should proceed, their actions may not always coincide with that view.

In what follows, I consciously foreground my own experience in creating and realizing my research. While I did not wish to intrude into the action I observed, it was unavoidable for me not to shape it in part. I am aware that my previous knowledge and experience, added to my condition as a white, middle class, mature woman, contributed to the lens through which I observed events. But more than that, my condition influenced who my interlocutors were and what they chose to tell me.

In line with my interests, and encouraged by the advice of Arctic specialists, I decided to carry out my research in a community that was within the new territory of Nunavut in the Eastern Arctic. Here I would have the best chance to get as close as possible to the initial stages of the meeting between an Inuit community and school; in fact, in many Arctic communities Inuit were constructing their first relationships with school. Moreover, integral to this process for most people was an increasing awareness of their own identity as Inuit. This awakened sensitivity is prompting many Inuit to be thoughtfully conscious of their own culture in their relations with "southern" institutions. Given this context, I

hoped my research would not only answer my questions but would also help these Inuit to clarify for themselves the dimensions of their encounter with schooling.

I relied on the advice and knowledge of both "southern" and Inuit colleagues to help me choose my specific research site in the Eastern Arctic. Implicit in my research plan was my need to become familiar with the basic social organization of the community as soon as I could; therefore I wanted to find a site that would not be too large to permit this. But more importantly, I hoped to find a community that had not been "over-researched" and where my presence would not be unwelcome. The Baffin community, Arctic Bay, satisfied these criteria.

I made six visits to the research community between June 1991 and June 1994. While my first visit lasted a week, my next two visits were more extensive, one of three months, the next of two and a half months. My two following visits lasted about six weeks each, and my final visit was again brief, lasting about two weeks. My analysis of my own ethnographic practice in this chapter is drawn largely from my experiences during my second visit to the community. During those early months, the novelty of my experience intensified my self-conscious awareness of the research dynamics.

In March 1991 I wrote to the chairperson and members of the locally elected Community Education Council (CEC) in Arctic Bay. This council is the official liaison between the community and the school, and thus the formal community voice with respect to school concerns. According to board-wide requirements the council meets at least once a month. In my letter I requested the council's approval of my research proposal and its permission to carry out the

proposed research in Arctic Bay. I received a prompt, affirmative reply. I also received affirmative replies to letters I sent to the Mayor and Hamlet Council, and the Director General of the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE) in which I outlined my research. I made commitments to provide all those groups with copies of any publications that would result from my research. Once I had received the letters of approval, I obtained a research licence from the Science Institute of the Northwest Territories.

I preceded my fieldwork with a three-week intensive course in Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit, at Arctic College in Iqaluit. The term "Inuktitut" literally means "in the manner of an Inuk." I found understanding or speaking in this manner to be extremely difficult! However this brief introduction helped me begin to understand how the language orders ideas in relation to one another. Furthermore, I learned how Inuktitut permits the detailing of precise relationships, not only between people, but also between objects, features of landscape, and the natural elements. In sum, this course offered me useful and illuminating insights into the nature of language.

1.2 On Site Research Procedure.

I first visited Arctic Bay for a week's reconnaissance in June, 1991, after completing my Inuktitut course. I wanted to get a sense of my future research site; I also thought the community might want to look me over. My timing was not good: school had just finished and most families were out on the land, including those of the Education Council's chairperson and the Mayor, two of my main correspondents. I did establish some friendships that proved to be durable,

however, and I was able to get an impression of the immediate physical surroundings.

I found this brief visit to the High Arctic exhilarating: I exulted in Arctic Bay's natural beauty. However I was conscious of my status as an outsider in the community. I was aware that a "life" existed around me in which I was not a participant. But on this short trip the unfamiliarity of my physical environment absorbed much of my time and attention, and after some initial attempts with limited success, I left concerted efforts to talk with Inuit until my next visit.

When I returned to Arctic Bay in September, I set about following the plan of action I had outlined in my proposal. Initially, I planned to learn about the basic nature of the community-school relationship here through observing the meetings of the CEC and interviewing its members. To begin with, it was fundamental to my project to know what school-related issues committee members raised. Furthermore, I hoped that through trying to appreciate the nature of those issues, and by monitoring the committee's issue-resolution process, I would gain insights both into the members' understanding of their relationship with the school and into their own interpretations of their responsibilities. Later on, when I assumed I would be more familiar with the community, I planned to interview other Inuit who had associations with the school.

However, this initial plan was frustrated by a series of events. There was no CEC activity for some time: the first three scheduled meetings were cancelled, as there was no quorum. The chairperson of the CEC who had responded so quickly to my proposal had moved to another community two weeks previously. And not

only that, the secretary-manager of the CEC, who had been my main correspondent and helpmate, was about to vacate her position for a year's maternity leave. Other council members were absent from the community or preoccupied with family concerns. The minutes and records of the CEC, although available to me, were inaccessible, piled under plasterboard behind sheets of plastic, as the school was undergoing renovations. I decided to seek out a CEC member who I had been told was proficient in English. While friendly, this member remained formal, a bit distant, and reluctant to discuss the CEC.

After this initial attempt I was hesitant to seek out more CEC members before meeting them collectively and explaining my objectives to them in the council forum. Nevertheless, I felt I needed to establish a purposeful pattern of activities. In the absence of CEC meetings I had no readily available focus nor had I yet met individuals in the community with whom I had established relationships.

1.2.1 Negotiating a "Researcher" Identity.

I quickly became aware of the researcher's need to create a role for herself in the eyes of the community. Its members no doubt had expectations of me, and I wanted them to see that I was committed to learning from them. At the same time, I had expectations of myself: I was anxious to assume a new research role. While I had been planning my research I had been working largely on my own. But now in order to carry out my plan I required the participation of other people.

Accordingly, I began to visit the school for the morning coffee break. I was already beginning to learn that one enters or exits a gathering in an Inuit context without eliciting an acknowledgement from those already present. This pattern

persisted at the school, despite the presence of seven white, or Qallunaat, teachers. School personnel, especially the Inuit among them, had difficulty determining my role in the community. They knew I was neither a teacher nor an educational "specialist," yet they nonetheless seemed to sense that my school-related role had a positive objective and while seemingly disinterested, they were accepting of my presence.

Apart from visiting the school, I decided to observe community meetings in other forums in order to help me determine the norms for community gatherings. As a start, I attended a meeting of the Hunters and Trappers Association (HTA) at which members were to decide how many of the community's annual quota of polar bears should be kept for southern hunters. There was a good turnout and the meeting was lengthy and animated. Many people had a lot to say and they did so with energy and deliberation. Although I could not understand the verbal exchanges, I knew what was transpiring and I enjoyed being part of the gathering. I exchanged smiles with a new acquaintance – a teaching assistant at the school who was the sister-in-law of my hostess. She later related details of the meeting to me in English.

I also began to participate in the weekly sewing group affiliated with the Anglican church. The eight or so regular members were, for the most part, women in their fifties or sixties, and respected members of the community. A few younger members attended less regularly. I "understood" the ambience, and became progressively at ease with this group.

My attempts to participate in the life of the community helped me to feel more comfortably situated. As the number of my acquaintances grew, I started taking the initiative to visit people in their homes. I knew this was a necessary step if I were to form the friendships that would permit me to learn about people's school-related concerns. At first I found this difficult, even though I knew that Inuit expected me to visit them. I had brought my southern visiting habits to the north: first, waiting to be invited, and then, on arrival, expecting to make conversation. I gradually became less self-conscious, and eventually found that I could adopt the new visiting mode with ease. I would drink tea, sometimes share a meal, and just be present in the household's ambience: nothing more was expected of me.

The longer I stayed in Arctic Bay the more kinship links became apparent to me. This helped me understand peoples' responses and reactions to one another. At first, the community members had appeared to me as a group of unconnected individuals, but gradually I began to sort people into families, and then to discover the ties between families.

1.2.2 First Observations of Community–School Decision Making.

By the fifth week of this time period a full community education meeting was called and I was able to return to my research plan in a more focused way. A meeting of the BDBE was approaching and the Board was anxious to get its communities' approval for the proposal that Arctic Bay, Grise Fiord and Resolute students complete the final years of secondary schooling in Pond Inlet rather than

Iqaluit. Here was an opportunity for me to observe as the whole community discussed school-related issues.

From the outset, I was aware that the dynamics of the HTA meeting were absent here. Not only did fewer people attend this meeting, but the participants lacked the energy and ready contributions I had previously witnessed. In this school-focused context I sensed attendant ambivalence and confusion; the mediation of an interpreter between community members and Qallunaat school personnel further constrained interaction that was already stilted. Parents had many school-related concerns apart from those on the agenda and the original concern soon became overridden by more pressing ones. Those present eventually decided that the main agenda item, approval for the locus of grade eleven and twelve students, needed more input from the community at large and should be discussed at greater length over the local community radio.

After observing this meeting I sensed that complex issues obscured communication between community and school. It became evident to me that my research procedure would not be as straightforward as I had envisaged. Indeed, I began to sense my need to rearticulate my research objective, and to reconsider my approach to it. Nevertheless, the community meeting did give me initial insights into the perspective towards school of some parents.

A regular CEC meeting was called the next week to attend to accumulating business and sort out the community's recommendations to the Board. The meeting took place in the school's kindergarten. Although I still did not know any

of the CEC members personally, I recognized some of them by sight due to their prominence in other community contexts.

Following the formal approval of the agenda, individual committee members reported on practical concerns. Those included the condition of the school fence, the cleanliness of the school, and the stock of supplies for the culture classes. The principal reported on the status of staffing assignments, and made minimal reference to course content. In so far as I could determine, no discussion followed the principal's report, nor did CEC members have an opportunity to address on-going schooling practice or content.

1.2.3 Interview Procedure.

After observing these two meetings, I felt it was time to make another attempt at more focused school-related conversations, or in formal terms, open-ended interviews. Here, I was presented with both the practical and the theoretical challenges of working with an interpreter.

With respect to the practical concerns, I had difficulty finding an effective interpreter. I worked with several people before I settled on two individuals in their mid-twenties, both of whom had completed several years of high school and had previous interpreting experience. I found the interpretation worked most effectively for me if I kept the interpreters up-to-date with my ideas. Thus I found it helpful for both of us if the interpreter and I had a chance for a talk before we met with the interviewee. The logistics of trying to arrange a meeting between an interviewee, an interpreter and myself posed another challenge. In the highly structured time-bound southern world one acts on the assumption that a person will be present at a

prearranged time to attend to a predetermined task. I soon learned that Inuit are less rigid in adhering to time constraints. Other concerns often take priority over prearranged ones both for the interpreter and the interviewee, while family members, visitors or young children of either the interviewee or the interpreter, frequently became part of the interview process. In addressing the theoretical concerns, I discovered that my rudimentary knowledge of Inuktitut helped me in phrasing my sentences in English so that they could be more readily translated. However, notwithstanding my attempts to communicate my school-related interests with optimal clarity, I soon discovered the irrelevance of discussing something that is not an immediate preoccupation. For example, individuals who were former CEC members had little to say about the council now. At the same time, I gained insight into this apparent disinterest from another perspective. I learned that Inuit will not make assumptions about other peoples' words or actions. Therefore even when an active council member was talking to me, she or he would not disclose any thoughts on the role of the committee as a whole. Inuit might tell me of their own perceptions and experiences as council members, but they would not generalize to include other members' reactions.

It became increasingly evident to me that my new acquaintances had not thought about schooling or their relationship to it in the ways I had preconceived that they would; it took time for my interlocutors to formulate their own ideas in response to the ideas I presented to them. Also, I soon recognized that the members of my own cultural group are more inclined than Inuit to analyze issues out of context.

But the major obstacle to these early attempts to elicit information lay in the fact that the theoretical concerns I had outlined in my proposal were not, on the whole, translatable. I was confronted with a greater challenge than carefully choosing my words or searching for the nuances that might be obscured through translation. The problem I faced was not so much linguistic but rather a problem of cultural incongruence.

1.3 Reappraisal of Research Procedure.

From a personal perspective, I was not happy with the researcher "persona" I knew I was projecting. I felt I was being unduly intrusive: I had discovered Inuit do not transmit knowledge by answering questions. Nor was I happy with the three-way communication process that interpreting entailed; the immediacy of face-to-face communication allows for the exchange of more than words. Thus the shared confidence that grows between two interlocutors is less easily realized when an interpreter mediates the dialogue.

I had not foreseen the serious barriers which impeded my attempts to create a "dialectical relationship" with the members of the community (Westkott, 1990, p. 62). After several initial attempts at semi-structured interviews, I decided it would be best to let people talk about what was important to them. In this way, I would learn from the representations of the people of Arctic Bay what they perceived to be the relationship between their community and schooling.

While I had premised my research on cultural difference, my initial approach to observing the CEC was grounded in my own cultural experience of the way a community decision-making group articulates with the school. I was

frustrated by what appeared to me to be a lack of significant action on the part of committee members. Despite my acknowledgement of cultural incongruence, I had presupposed a "southern" type of committee interaction on the part of council members as well as a more or less "southern" conception of their roles. Accordingly, I had been taking account of the processes of the CEC on the added assumption that decision-making forums with similar types of responsibilities function in conformity to the same general principles, regardless of culture.

I then recognized I was approaching the CEC in a way I had criticized others for responding in similar circumstances: projecting my idea of how things should be done onto already existing circumstances. I remembered Margaret Mead's counsel: "...the point of going into the field at all is to extend further what is already known, and so there is little value merely in identifying new versions of the familiar when we might, instead, find something wholly new" (1972, p. 155).

My observations in other community contexts helped me to realize that the subtleties of cultural specificity were more complex than I had foreseen. I recognized I needed to know more about the criteria which informed community members' relationships and commitments both to one another and their community, before I could make sense of their relationships to schooling. I realized that even though Arctic Bay Inuit might be in a position to integrate their customs into school decision-making, I was as yet unable to recognize it if they did so.

As my second visit to the community progressed, it was becoming quite clear that for me to continue to focus on the processes of Arctic Bay's CEC without having a more informed understanding of the dimensions of the

community and its own dynamics would not be productive. I wanted to prevent myself from falling into the trap of allowing a set of "methodological principles" to inhibit a more logical procedure (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p. 7). Nor did I want to be bound by a set of analytical concepts that neither permitted sufficient flexibility (ibid.), nor, more importantly, might prevent me from recognizing more significant phenomena.

1.4 Revising the Research Strategy.

In my next visit to the community, beginning in March, 1992, I decided to focus my attention on the community as a whole. I took a fresh approach and a new perspective on learning about the community/school relationship: I did not turn to the school as the centre in my orbit of research. I focused on the rhythms in the community and grounded my observations, as best I could, on the initiatives that community members took in recognizing and responding to their kin responsibilities. In doing this, I hoped to arrive at a clearer conception of the wider context which influenced local education decision-makers.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS, A THEORETICAL APPROACH

Studies in educational anthropology have attempted to find reasons for the seeming lack of mutual understanding between aboriginal communities and school. Most studies have attributed the source of the misunderstandings to the differences between the two cultural contexts. However, many educators and researchers tend to address the symptoms or effects of cultural differences; they have not adequately sought out the underlying causes of those differences.

Theorists in educational anthropology recognize that cultural transmission should be explored within a communal setting; that is, other dimensions of cultural practice should be addressed in examinations of cultural transmission. Some of the other dimensions of practice that they single out include social structure and the relationship between social structure and social control. In addition, they single out the processes enacted by the members of the group; they recognize a connection exists between "social settings and interactive processes." Further to that recognition, they understand that knowledge is practised in organized communities. Moreover, the fundamental tenet on which they base their disciplinary approach is the "relationship between the individual and culture." However, while most theorists agree that cultural transmission is synonymous with socialization, they fail to make clear the distinction between the "social" and the "cultural."

This chapter examines anthropological understandings of those dimensions of social practice with the intent of understanding their full implications. The objective of that examination is to develop an approach to understanding the relationship between the community of Arctic Bay and school. In so doing, it is hoped that some of the underlying issues that obscure communication between the community and the school may be brought to light. As Carrithers claims, "anthropology is quite specifically an affair of understanding, the understanding by those of one society or culture of those of another society or culture" (1992, preface). However, he adds the following caveat: the central problem of anthropology is "the diversity of human social life" (ibid., p. 2). A definition of culture begins the discussion.

2.1 A Definition of Culture.

Culture has been defined as both meaning and the representation of meaning. For example, in D'Andrade's view, culture consists of "learned systems of meaning, communicated by natural language and other symbol systems." People use meaning systems to adapt to the environment and "structure interpersonal activities" (1984, p. 116). Barth (1969) provides a more straightforward definition; he argues that culture is simply a way to describe human behaviour. Gellner (1983) dismisses attempts to arrive at formal definitions; he suggests one should simply examine culture in terms of what it does for its members. Those views suggest that the essential nature of culture has two dimensions. One dimension constructs a common reality. The other dimension has the capacity to provide the rationale for that reality. The following explanation of culture helps make that clear.

To begin, culture can be considered as a common lens through which a group of people view life. A group's "worldview" addresses those elements that comprise the common reality. It is a cultural group's "concept of nature, of self, of society" (Geertz, 1973, p. 127). The cultural specificity of the lens is tempered by a common ethos. Ethos can be considered the moral dimension of culture; it provides the rules that govern interactions between the members of the group. Ethos and worldview need to be in "meaningful relation" to one another (ibid.). In other words, a worldview provides people with a way of seeing the world and an ethos tells people how to go about living in the world. When ethical principles are applied out of context however, they become dysfunctional; almost invariably, they are lost (Geertz, 1973).

According to Geertz, culture is represented through symbols. As representations of ideas, symbols refer to "any object, act, event, quality or relation which serves as a vehicle for a conception – the conception is the symbol's 'meaning'" (1973, p. 91). The symbolic forms that represent "certain distinct categories of persons" are of particular importance (ibid., p. 363). Cultural symbols act as more than simple representations of fact; they synthesize the ethos and the worldview of a group of people (Geertz, 1973; Ortner, 1973). Symbols "sum up, for those for whom they are resonant, what is known about the way the world is, the quality of the emotional life it supports, and the way one ought to behave while in it" (Geertz, 1973, p. 128).

Thus the power of symbols lies in their capacity to order experience; they "identify fact with value at the most fundamental level, [and] give what is otherwise

merely actual, a comprehensive normative import" (Geertz, 1973, p. 128). People who fail to respect the moral prerogatives of their shared symbols are considered "unlearned" or stupid. For example, in Java, small children who are insensitive to symbolic significance are considered "not yet Javanese," not human (ibid.).

Symbol systems provide the members of a cultural group with "blueprints"; people need conceptions of what it is they are doing or attempting to do. In invoking the same blueprint, or pattern, people ascribe similar meanings to events or actions in the external world. The world that a given blueprint delimits can be considered as a context for the representation of cultural facts. (Geertz, 1973).

2.1.1 The Dynamics of Culture.

Understanding culture as purposive symbolic process should not imply that culture as lived is a straightforward transposition from belief or "blueprint" into action. Wagner's (1981) explanation of that process conveys the creative, dynamic nature of culture. Moreover, his explanation illustrates that interactions between people are themselves symbols. In Wagner's view, the meaning of cultural symbols is the essential ingredient in culture.

Wagner maintains that people "invent" culture by introducing conventional symbols into new contexts. He uses the musical meaning of "invention" in this analogy. According to this usage, an invention is a short piece of music in which two (or more) themes interact in counterpoint to one another. That is, a second melody is combined with or set against a primary melody. This works effectively and legitimately with respect to cultural symbols if a symbol evokes meaningful

associations in its new context, and, to carry Wagner's analogy further, affects a melodically resonant whole (Wagner, 1981, p. 44 ff.).

In other words, symbolic elements retain their potency so long as they evoke meaningful connections with the other elements in a given context. In contrast, if the elements in a context are unable to connect because they fail to resonate with meaning – unfamiliar actions or the absence of familiar ones, for instance – then those elements appear as "arbitrary noises, patterns, or motions" (ibid., p. 37).

In summary, a system of shared meanings that, as Ortner describes, "operate as active forces in the social process," lie at the core of a cultural system (1984, p. 131). But the system of shared meanings also delimits the extent of the cultural context. As Ortner claims, that system of symbols "is ultimately the only source from which the natives themselves discover, rediscover and transform their own culture, generation after generation" (1973, p. 1339). As Scott explains this process, the "conventional constraints" of culture inhibit people's capacity for infinite adjustment (1993, p. 328). The dynamics of culture lie in individual acts. Cultural continuity depends on the ceaseless cumulation of individual cultural acts.

If culture is viewed as a process that is both purposive and symbolic, it becomes clear that culturally appropriate acts connect with underlying beliefs and thereby convey implicit meanings; those are two of the theoretical tenets educational anthropologists honour. According to Keesing, the ordered social relations of a given cultural group represent its "shared knowledge and common code" (1975, p. 127).

2.2 Social Structure and Social Organization.

A group's common social structure provides the framework for ordered social relations; it comprises the ideas – the blueprint – that make a given society cohesive. According to Firth, social structure "consists of continuities, the persistent and invariant in social life (cited in Moore, 1978, p. 43). A social structure informs people as to how they should act as social beings; it structures, or systematizes how they relate to one another. A society's social structure is realized in its organizational regularities, that is, in its forms of social organization.

Societies appear to organize themselves in the direction of one of two tendencies; those tendencies either collectivize or individualize people. The collectivizing tendency gives rise to a holistic or sociocentric model of society. It integrates people into the social whole; moreover, in this type of society, the social whole itself is privileged over individual people (Shweder and Bourne, 1984). Societies based on the principles of kinship exemplify the sociocentric tendency.

The individualizing tendency privileges individual people over the social whole. As a result, "society" becomes an abstract notion (ibid.). In North America, the mainstream societies of Canada and the United States represent extreme examples of the individualizing tendency in social organization.

Those societies are products of modern Western culture. As with all cultural orientations, modern culture is a consequence of "value decisions whose ground is anterior to instrumental decisions" (Tambiah, 1990 p. 153). However, those value decisions inform the heart of the modern worldview. As Geertz (1973) has argued, worldviews are the loci of the basic difference between cultures.

The organizing principles of modern culture promote a worldview whereby the physical world is objective and separate from the social world. That scientific worldview has had a profound effect on modern social life. In becoming separate from the physical world, the social world becomes secondary to it (Lewontin, 1991; Tambiah, 1990). Not only that – the mechanistic dimension of the scientific worldview has had a further effect on social life. Mechanism implies that, like the pieces of a machine, people work together, and in combination, create larger pieces; nonetheless, each individual "piece" retains its autonomous properties. When this view is transposed to human society, society is nothing more than a comprehensive representation of autonomous individual people. Social relations in modern mainstream societies are premised on this view of how people act (Lewontin, 1991).

Kinship societies are those societies in which no other significant social organizational mechanisms exist apart from those of kinship (Heinrich, 1963). In those societies, established patterns of kin interaction serve the same organizational purpose as stable, large-scale social structures. According to Ingold, patterns of kinship "impose a cultural ordering" on socially productive activity (1981, p. 73).

In many societies that are organized according to the principles of kinship in the contemporary world, kinsmen are unable to actively honour the full range of their customary norms; nonetheless, the institution of kinship "continues to affect patterns of social relations in crucial ways" (Keesing, 1975, p. 121).

Keesing (1975) argues that societies based on kinship can change their forms of social organization, yet their underlying cultural principles will stay the

same. For example, the nature of a group's productivity may change due to new technology or changes in the environment. If changes in productive activity require the group to reorganize its residence pattern, eventually the group's cultural rules will evolve to accommodate their new social organization. In the course of time, the group's transformed conception of social organization will likely be represented by changes in normative behaviour and kinship terms (ibid.).

Wallace (1970) makes the point that change is an expected and normal feature of cultural groups – change gives culture its dynamism – and that culture group members are continuously, and quite naturally, engaged in organizing the diversity that lies within the group. Therefore change and heterogeneity do not of themselves imply disorganization at either societal or interpersonal levels.

Wallace suggests that cultural groups frequently experience disorganization during periods of accelerated change because the problems of sociocultural organization that accompany change "may exceed" the organizational capacities of group members (1970, p. 162). Rapid change exposes group members to more opportunities for personal choice as they take part in new experiences. But it also exposes them to "privation and frustration" if their normative social organization is unable to accommodate their new and different needs (ibid.).

2.3 The Relation of Individual to Society: Social Personhood.

Personhood, as Hallowell claims, is "a culturally identifiable variable" (1955, p. 76). Understanding that variable depends on situating the person as a social being: "human existence is no more conceivable outside social relations, than are social relations without subjects" (Morris, 1985, p. 736). Other

anthropologists agree (Fortes, 1973; Geertz, 1973, 1983; Hallowell, 1955; La Fontaine, 1985; Leacock, 1985; Lukes, 1985; Mauss, 1938\1985; Morris, 1985; Rosaldo, 1984; Shweder and Bourne, 1984). Furthermore, they recognize that notions of personhood address "the perennial problem of how individual and society are interconnected" (Fortes, cited in La Fontaine, 1985, p. 125).

The "self" is worth examining in its own right. While all societies distinguish between the self and the non-self, "the line between the two is not precise, and may be constituted at different places in different contexts by different cultures" (Lock, 1981, p. 23). In addition, notions of the psyche or soul vary culturally (Moscovici, 1981). Many non-complex or traditional societies view human beings as composite creations (Geertz, 1983; La Fontaine, 1985). In contrast, modernist theory cultivates a view of the person as one unified whole "which of itself has significance" (La Fontaine, 1985, p. 126). Geertz considers modern society's conception of the person "as a bounded...integrated motivational and cognitive universe...organized into a distinctive whole" as "a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures" (1983, p. 59). In societies based on kinship, personal autonomy is premised on each person's fundamental commitment to the group (Ingold, 1980; Ridington, 1988). As Ridington claims, the basis for individual autonomy in kin groups is the fundamental understanding of group members that they can "trust in the individual's social responsibility and informed intelligence" (p. 107).

Mauss (1938/1985) was one of the first anthropologists to attempt a classification of social personhood. By means of a somewhat evolutionary

exposition, he differentiated between two general interpretations of the notion. To illustrate, in traditional societies, people as *personnages*, or actors, realize social personhood through fulfilling society's roles (ibid., p. 12). Mauss regarded each role as the locus of specific rights and responsibilities; the role itself has no existence apart from the social context to which it applies. Society members enact, "each insofar as it concerns him, the prefigured totality" of their society (ibid., p. 5). In contrast, in modern mainstream societies people realize personhood as self-contained legal entities who are "independent, autonomous, free and responsible" (1938/1985, p. 18).

2.4 Social Organization and Social Control.

Examining personhood from the perspective of the social processes in which people engage renders the concept dynamic. Marx, who viewed society as "the sum of connections and relationships in which individuals find themselves," considered people to be "nexuses of relations" (as cited in Leacock, 1985, p. 79). However, when one addresses the nature of interrelational processes across cultures, and in particular, the nature of social control, the inevitable dichotomy in principles of organization arises again.

In mainstream societies, social control is exerted with respect to the "egocentric contractual" relations in which people engage (Shweder and Bourne, 1984, p. 192). For the most part, those relations occur in "domains of purposive rational action"; those domains are a function of the institutions that structure and systematize society (Tambiah, 1990, p. 151). Society members participate in those institutions and compete for their roles (La Fontaine, 1985; Lukes, 1985; Young,

1990). Moreover, people establish loyalties to others within their communities of expertise; for many, those relationships equal in importance, if not override, family relationships (Young, 1990). Codified laws protect both the autonomous individual and the associated concept, private ownership (Kymlicka, 1989). In those domains where no clear rules apply, policies prescribe the standards for interaction and reconcile divergent interests (Manzer 1994).

In societies based on kinship principles, culturally determined patterns of kin interaction serve the same organizational purpose as stable, large scale social structures (Keesing, 1975). Social control is effected by the customary behaviour that informs the group's "social morality" (Diamond, p. 389, 1984). Customary behaviour "is intimately intertwined with a vast living network of interrelations, arranged in a meticulous and ordered manner" (Radin, cited in Diamond, 1984, p. 389). In Cushing's view, people who depend on custom "may be said to have written or be writing their statutes and laws in all their daily utterances" (Cushing, cited in Mauss, 1985, p. 5).

Customary interrelations connect and enact meanings. People premise their customary interrelations on what they take for granted about one another, that is, one another's symbolic meanings (Fortes, 1973; Geertz, 1973).

2.5 Socialization.

Socialization teaches people how to participate in the interrelational processes that produce society. According to Egan's characterization, socialization prepares each person "to be a competent social agent within a particular society" (1983, p. 27). Durkheim, for whom socialization and education are synonymous,

claims the process instills "the essential similarities that collective life demands" (as cited in Egan, 1983, p. 28). Egan agrees, claiming "anything that may reasonably be called socializing has implicit in it the impulse and tendency to make people more alike" (ibid.). Burgess particularizes the nature of socialization, claiming "the socialization of the person consists in his all-round participation in the thinking, the feeling, and the activities of the group" (1942, p. 9).

The young encounter socializing influences either on an individual basis, for instance in interaction with a parent or other family member, or as members of a group, such as a school class. In kinship based societies, socialization occurs in the immediate contexts of daily life and is "intensely personal" (Diamond, cited in Leacock, 1985, p. 83). In North American mainstream society, school, rather than the family, is the major institution of social integration; in fact, school functions as a bridge between the family and society. School socialization is standardized; it instills the generalized norms for social personhood and interrelational processes needed for productive social relations. In sum, school teaches the young cultural practices (Moll, 1992; Resnick, 1990; Stairs, 1991).

While school instills generalized rules, it also socializes people into groups. For instance, the quality of schooling in isolated cultural or minority groups may be less than the standard maintained in most parts of the mainstream culture (Giroux, 1992; Trueba, 1994). Students in those communities are frequently socialized to occupy "below average" positions in the mainstream culture (Trueba, 1994, p. 389). Nonetheless, the major effect of school is its integrative function.

Groups of people who prefer to maintain their own social values find ways to resist the influences of mainstream schooling, as the following examples illustrate.

For one, Hostetler outlines how Amish parents limit their children's schooling to the elementary years in order to protect them from the influences of "the outer culture" (1974, p. 125). In another instance, Brantenberg (1977) illustrates how school children in Nain inevitably resist school at the point where the socializing influences of school begin to supersede those of home. In a final example, Willis (1981) illustrates how a group of young men resist their training at a London technical school rather than forego their own standards for status recognition.

Socialization not only imprints the requirements for social personhood; it also initiates the young into the full range of culturally specific social practices and symbol systems that social membership requires. Those social practices include using language, learning, producing thought, and acquiring and producing knowledge. The members of a cultural group modify those practices for the purposes of their own cultural transmission.

2.6 Cultural Transmission.

The activities of learning, thinking and knowing take place in, but also arise from, a culturally informed social world. Accordingly, theories of learning are based on assumptions about the person, the world, and relationships among people, and between people and the world (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

For example, typical mainstream culture explanations of school learning view the process as one in which individual learners internalize knowledge. This

explanation reduces learning to the straightforward process of absorbing and assimilating knowledge that has been previously constructed by other people. In the terms of this explanation, knowledge is largely cerebral, and the individual learner is considered as nonproblematic. When some students have difficulty in mastering school knowledge, their difficulties are attributed to the ways in which they differ from successful mainstream students.

Contemporary theorists are advocating an approach to learning that views the process as social practice. In combining learning theories with theories of social reproduction, they conclude that acquiring and practicing knowledge is embedded in the way a society is produced and reproduced (Brown et al., 1989; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wertsch, 1991). Those theorists advocate that learning should occur in authentic contexts. This is because skills and concepts become personally meaningful when they are acquired in the appropriate contexts. Theorists argue that this is because the situation in which one uses a skill or concept becomes part of one's personal knowledge of the skill. This approach to learning characterizes the "apprenticeship" style (ibid.). Some theorists claim that through the process of acquiring new knowledge, an individual's identity also changes (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

Thought is another social representation that some anthropologists have attempted to delimit or categorize culturally. Their interest, however, lies in more than belief systems or "representational models"; it addresses the very activity of thought. As Geertz argues, while symbols are "the material vehicles of thought," thought itself is the "traffic in significant symbols" (1973, p. 362).

An initial theoretical interest lay in classifying "modes of thought" in terms of "logic and formulation" (Horton and Finnegan, 1973, p. 16). Theorists who have adopted that approach use their own style of thought as a culturally-normative model, then hierarchically rank other models against it. In evoking such comparisons as primitive and modern, their discourse implies "progress" (Shweder and Bourne, 1984, p. 163). Overing (1985) argues against that approach. She claims it is based on the assumption of Western scientists that not only do they have an absolute understanding of humans' intellectual capacities, but in addition, their own forms of reasoning are correct.

Rogoff (1990), Wolfram (1973) and Leacock (1985) undertake another approach to thought; they view thought as constitutive of social activity. To illustrate, Rogoff (1990) claims that unless one understands a cultural group's goals, efforts to understand thought are meaningless. She argues that cultural worldviews delimit the objects of thought, directing it towards culturally valued goals (ibid.)

Leacock (1985) and Wolfram (1973) agree that it is possible to classify thought, and thereby cultural groups, in terms of the "basically similar" or "basically different" ways people address similar types of problems (Wolfram, p. 372). For example, people in scientifically oriented societies seek scientific validation of events. In contrast, people in "traditional" societies appeal to tradition or custom as an acceptable rationale. Leacock characterizes the approach to thought in that latter type of society as one "that takes change, ambiguity, and contextual influences for granted" (1985, p. 82).

Wolfram makes the point that the objective of scientific thought, discovering and establishing truths, differentiates that style of thought from other styles – artistic or practical for example (1973, p. 364). Furthermore, people in scientifically oriented societies tend to compare their "scientific" thinking with other societies' non-scientific thinking; they exclude the other types of thought in their own societies from their comparisons (ibid.).

In Tambiah's view, scientific reasoning is "reluctant, even opposed to, admitting other modes of consciousness or other world orientations into any space it already occupies" (1990, p. 151). Moreover, to the degree that the scientific mode of thought has spilled over from hard science into other domains of life, it has "the monopoly effect of filling all the moral or social space in which we live" (ibid.).

Anthropologists also learn about societies by examining their knowledge systems and related practice. In mainstream society, science as both product and activity is directed towards producing verifiable, objective knowledge about the physical world. According to the scientific worldview, the natural world is separate from the social world. Because science views the natural world both as separate from the social world and as the object of science, scientific knowledge accentuates the separation of science from the social world. This separation is also hierarchical; therefore non-scientific knowledge and the sphere of its production are both devalued. Scientists strive to control and measure natural phenomena in order to render "positive" knowledge. Those aspects of the natural world that cannot be reduced to scientific data are omitted from scientific calculations.

The notions of objectivity, verifiability and rational causality are central to the modern scientific view (Lukes, 1985; Tambiah, 1990). Those notions distinguish science from both the occult and religion-based knowledge of pre-modern Europe and the so-called "primitive" or "traditional" knowledge of small-scale societies. Furthermore, conceptions of what specific knowledge a society values depend on the current social, economic and political context (Tambiah, 1990; Lewontin, 1991).

Knowledge in such kin-based societies as northern hunting societies operates from a different epistemological basis than scientific knowledge. For example, knowledge practitioners like the Inuit are not reductionists. They understand the working of discrete parts of the ecosystem in relation to the whole system. According to that conception of knowledge, individual elements derive their significance from the systemic relationships that link them to other elements in the total system. In other words, the systemic relationships give meaning to the separate elements (Freeman, 1992).

Feit (1996) makes the point that knowledge is practiced and interpreted within an ethical context. Members of northern hunting groups and scientists may have the same facts; they may even access facts in the same way. However each group interprets and applies the facts towards different ends.

To illustrate, in those northern kinship-based societies knowledge is not viewed as separate from the human world, but arises from an ethical conception according to which it is "reproduced among generations and between men, animals

and spirits" (Feit 1986, p. 61). According to Tanner (1979), the spiritual component is a crucial dimension of knowledge in northern hunting societies.

As with knowledge and thought, language is also socially produced. As Rorty claims, the world may be "out there," but descriptions of it are not (1989, p.5). Rather, descriptions of the world are expressed in the elements of human languages that humans create; both linguistic elements and their use are symbol systems. According to Rorty, the inability to understand the language of another group, is in actuality the inability to understand a mode of the group's behaviour. He suggests thinking of language conjointly with what it describes "as a flag which signals the desirability of using a certain vocabulary" when we are trying to deal with certain descriptions (ibid., p. 15).

Using language as a tool requires specific skills. For example, members of mainstream society depend on language to codify knowledge in books. Thus they value the literacy skills that are required to record and access written knowledge. In contrast, the members of many northern kinship-based societies depend on language to communicate their experiences orally; oral practice requires skills of another type. Thus they cultivate articulate speech, focused attention and accurate memory.

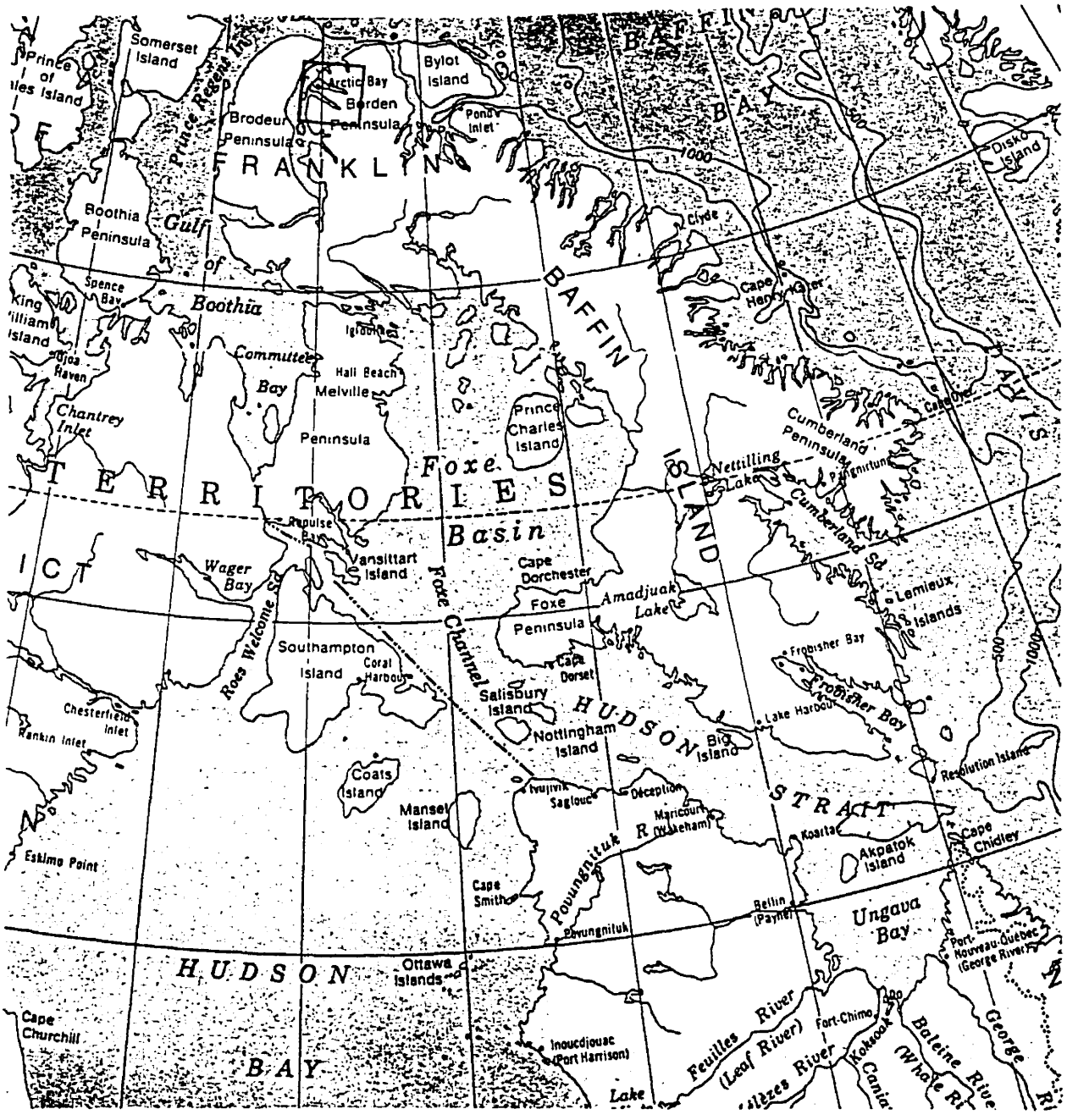
This overview of anthropological literature has illustrated how culture informs society. In so doing it has examined anthropological concepts of social structure, social organization, social control and social personhood. In addition, it has examined both the practice and effects of socialization and cultural transmission. Moreover, it has also shown that a fundamental dichotomy exists in

the way those notions are understood and interpreted. As has been illustrated, this is due to the existence of two fundamentally different, if not contradictory, cultural worldviews. Using those anthropological concepts as analytical categories, the study will now proceed to examine the relationship between an Inuit community and school. To begin, the study applies those concepts in examining Inuit society.

CHAPTER THREE: PRE-SETTLEMENT LIFE

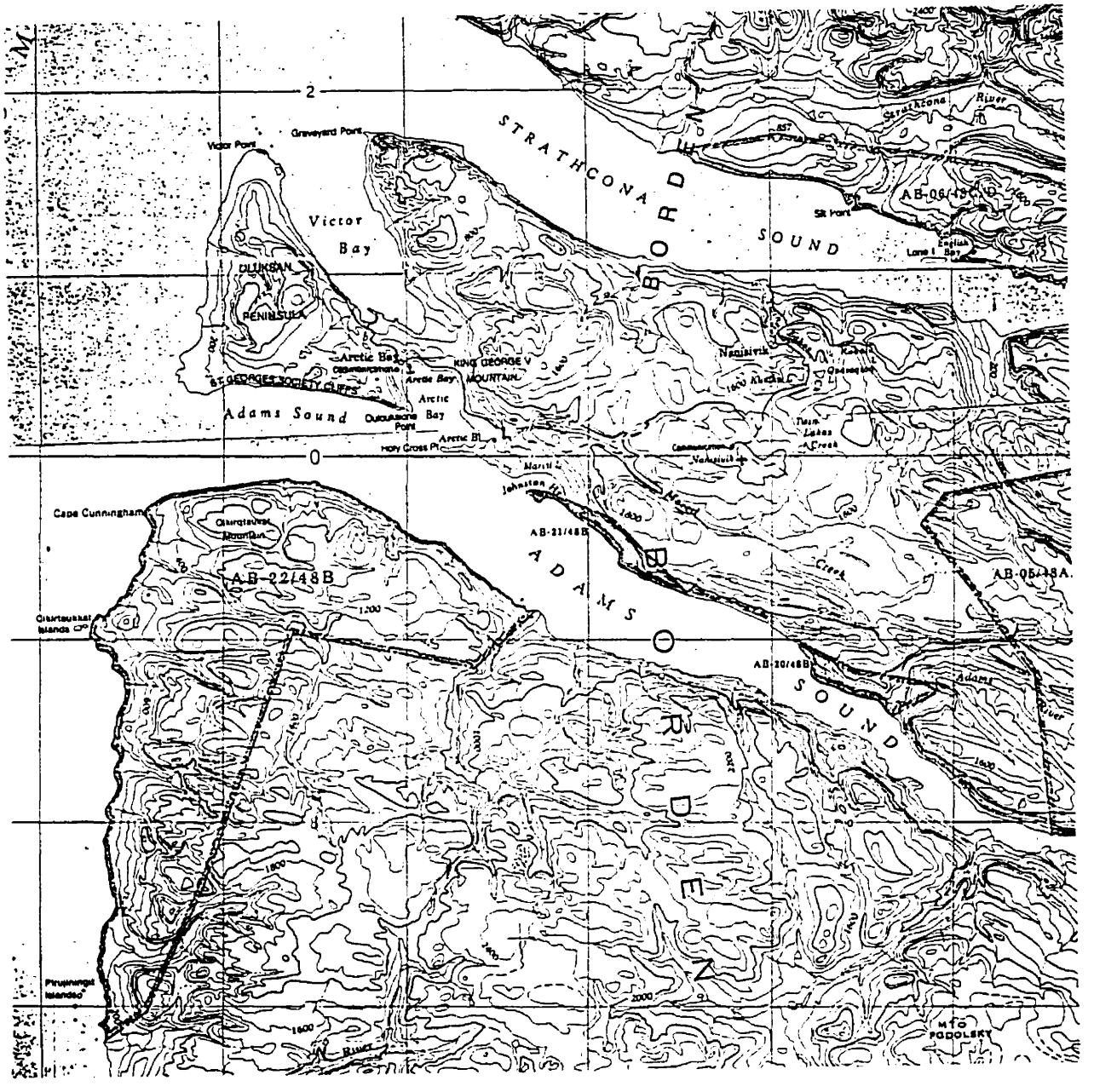
The municipal hamlet of Arctic Bay spreads crescent-shaped around the northern end of a small bay. In Inuktitut this locale is aptly named *Ikpiarjuk*, which means "pocket." The small bay or pocket extends one and a half kilometres to the north from Adams Sound. That sound, which flows east from Admiralty Inlet, cuts deep into the red cliffs of the Borden Peninsula. Admiralty Inlet flows south from Lancaster Sound and divides the northwestern end of Baffin Island into the Brodeur Peninsula to the west and the Borden Peninsula to the east. The Borden Peninsula is covered with low, rocky mountains and deep ravines. Surface travel is hazardous, and few people venture across it except in winter. Inlets, similar to Adams Sound, flowing east and southeast off Admiralty Inlet, provide the best access into the peninsula. However, the inlet itself, rich in marine resources, has been the main source of livelihood for the generations of Inuit who have hunted and settled along its shores and inlets.

Because of its protected southern exposure, Arctic Bay is an ideal setting for human settlement. Not only is the site sheltered from winds and weather by a semi-circle of hills and low mountains, but a long, rocky point stretches across the mouth of the bay from its eastern shore and restrains the more turbulent waters of Adams Sound. To the south, the mountains beyond Adams Sound extend in seemingly endless ranges, continually changing colour and perspective as they reflect the light of the sun. In summer, the change is constant as the sun circles around the Arctic sky. In winter, the same mountains appear etched against a low



Detail of Map of Canada (1973) produced by Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Canada. (Square indicates location of map in Figure 3.2, next page.)

Figure 3.1 Map of Baffin Island



Detail of Map 48 B (Moffet Inlet, NWT, Second Edition, 1995) and Map 48 C (Arctic Bay, NWT, Third Edition, 1993), produced by the Canada Centre for Mapping, National Resources Canada.

Figure 3.2 Map of Arctic Bay

horizon glimmering with orange and purple light that in November heralds *tauvikjuaq*, the darkness, and in January, the return of the sun.

Admiralty Inlet has consistently supported a subsistence population. Boas accounts for 200 inhabitants in 1883 (1914/1964, p. 18). Furthermore, the inlet has always been well travelled; it is part of the main route between Igloolik to the south and Pond Inlet to the east (ibid.). Travel between those three High Arctic communities continues; their residents are linked by kin ties and similar dialects (Cowan, 1976).

Inuit societies designate themselves according to their location. Thus the contemporary residents of Arctic Bay are Ikpiarjungmiut. According to ethnographic precedent, the Arctic Bay Inuit, or Ikpiarjungmiut, are subsumed within the Igloolik Eskimo group (Damas, 1972). The way of life of the forebears of present day residents continues to shape contemporary existence. That way of life will now be examined in full.

3.1 Social Organization.

Three features in particular characterize the social organization of Arctic and sub-Arctic societies. One is the constant fluidity in the size and composition of social groups. A second is group members' dependence on "reciprocal dyadic relationships" (Anderson, 1968, p.154). A third feature is the absence of the type of norms for either descent or residence that tend to structure kin groups in other societies. Anthropologists who examine the economic activity of northern hunting societies recognize the practical ends those characteristic features serve: it allows

people to accommodate the size and location of their groups to the availability of food (Anderson, 1968).

The extended family was the most significant form of social organization for North Baffin Inuit in pre-settlement times; it provided the context for the full expression of daily life. As one High Arctic resident explained, "each family *was* its own community" (Nasook, 1990, p. 50). Extended families are identified by the tendency of family members to share a household and to "maintain closer ties with one another than with other families in the community" (Murdock, cited in Damas, 1963, p. 102). Extended families include at least two conjugal units that are connected by parent-child or sibling bonds (Burch, 1975; Damas, 1963).

Those characteristics were notable features of Iglulingmiut social organization in the early nineteenth century (Lyon; Parry; as cited in Damas, 1963, p. 102). Furthermore, Damas concluded that an extended family could equally well occupy "a cluster of houses" when a dwelling's size limited the number of people it could effectively accommodate (1963, p. 102-103). The accounts of Damas' informants and his own observations confirmed that those organizational features endured over time.

Links between fathers and sons, and, not infrequently, sons-in-law, provided the mainstays of extended family structure. However, solidarity among male siblings has been a consistent and distinctive Iglulingmiut family characteristic (Damas, 1963, p. 64, 107). This is because the knowledge and expertise of male hunters were the most essential human resources for group survival. The practices of virilocality and exogamy reinforced these capabilities.

While strong ties existed between brother and sister, and to some extent, among sisters, exogamy argued against on-going solidarity among sisters.

Meal sharing also characterizes extended families (Damas, 1963). Iglulingmiut tended to limit the practice to the times when a hunting group set out or returned together. However, the Iglulingmiut observed "great looseness in meal routine" (Damas, 1963, p. 103).

Because the Iglulingmiut had a variety of dependable food sources, including large sea mammals, they had no need for organized seal partnerships. Those partnerships were required by the Netsilingmiut to the west, who were largely dependent on the ringed seal (Damas, 1972). When several Iglulingmiut extended families formed a combined winter group, they consistently shared meat and fat within the entire gathering. In addition, families who had food shared with others who were without. This measure ensured group survival during periods of scarce resources; it also ensured all families had an equal share during periods of abundance (Damas, 1972; Mauss 1950/1979). The oldest, most experienced hunter usually oversaw food sharing of this type.

In each extended family the senior hunter assumed leadership. But in addition to hunting expertise, a leader needed skill in resolving potential conflict among family members. Thus he had to be alert and observant (Burch, 1988; Damas, 1972).

While scholars of Inuit societies have stressed the importance of the extended family, Burch takes pains to clarify the fundamental significance of this overriding family unit, in his terms, a local family (1975, p. 237). Burch bases his

assertions on his knowledge of Inupiat societies. However, sufficient similarities exist between those societies and Central Eskimo ones to justify using analyses of the social organization of the former group in the examination of the latter (Burch, 1975; Damas, 1963).

To make his point, Burch precludes the familiar concept, nuclear family, from his analysis. In fact, he claims that to use this concept with respect to Inuit social organization obscures the reality of the extended family as the context for kin cooperation (1975, p. 299). For the purposes of his analysis, Burch distinguishes the level of family organization comprised of a conjugal couple and their offspring – who may live in a separate dwelling – as a domestic family unit (1975,p. 237). This unit is nonetheless a constituent part of the extended family.

Burch supports his view in arguing that the intense interaction at the extended, or local, family level overshadowed the boundaries of individual domestic units. Moreover, while parent-child ties were strong, an Inuk's bonds with other kin, siblings in particular, took precedence over the conjugal tie, which was a relatively weak association in traditional times. Thus it would not be possible to limit an Inuk's critical family relationships to the nuclear family. Moreover, in light of an Inuk's need for extensive kin ties, nuclear family isolation was an undesirable state (1975, pp. 296-300).

3.2 Social Structure.

Keesing's (1975) claim, that any form of social organization presupposes a structural model or system, is reflected by Inuit who have consistently based all their forms of social organization on a systematic kinship structure. The survival of

Inuit societies has depended on the mutual cooperation of society members; close bonds among kin have ensured this (Burch, 1097, 1988; Damas, 1963; Heinrich, 1963). Burch regards kin cooperation as one choice among other possible survival strategies; thus he considers the Inuit dependence on kin ties as "basically an ethical matter" (1975, p. 198). While this emphasis impressed moral value into kinship relationships, at the same time, it did not belie their practical effectiveness (ibid.). In pre-settlement times, an extended family provided the context for functioning relationships; thus it also provided the practical limits for an active kinship system.

Some knowledge of the type and nature of kin relationships is a necessary step towards gaining a basic understanding of the structural patterns that inform Inuit social action.

Traditionally all bonds between blood relatives took precedence over those between affinal relatives, including spouses (Burch, 1975, p. 95). Nonetheless, spouses were bound by close co-operation (Burch, 1975; Damas, 1963). While Inuit traditionally formed the partnership for practical rather than affectionate reasons, spouses frequently, if not usually, developed affection for one another. This union, *nuliariik*, was considered a "requisite kin relationship" as it not only provided children, but extended the kin network in other ways: all affinal kinship bonds which resulted from a *nuliariik* relationship – those with step-siblings or in-laws, for example – remained permanent, even if the partners separated (Heinrich, 1963, p. 83). This partnership also provided the context for the mutually supportive productive labour of each gender (Burch, 1975, pp. 199-200).

A wife, *nuliaq*, held responsibility for the *iglu* and all its appurtenances, while the husband, *uik*, had responsibility for all the hunting equipment, including his means of transportation. Wives assisted their husbands in preparing for and unloading from the hunt, although the extent of a wife's responsibility with respect to game animals varied across Inuit societies (Burch, 1975; Damas, 1963). Because the labour of each spouse was essential for their mutual well-being, a wife's labour was not considered to be of inferior value. In fact, according to an Inupiat belief, the seal selects a hunter who has a good wife, as it is she who is responsible for the allocation and proper use of all parts of the seal's body (Bodenhorn, 1990).

The most solid dyadic bonds in Inuit social life were those between parents and children (Burch, 1975, Damas, 1963). Burch attributes the strength of that bond to the absolute power parents had over their children: under no circumstances were children ever to disobey their parents. At the same time, parents were deeply affectionate and initially, openly demonstrative towards their chidden. As a child matured, the expressive component of those relationships transformed from intense demonstrativeness into controlled restraint (Briggs, 1970; Burch 1975).

The sibling bond came next in importance. Siblings were institutionally required to be affectionate and responsible towards one another. Characteristically, they not only shared equipment or supplies, but also performed needed tasks for one another. Older siblings had authority over younger ones, and while parents and other closely related adults trained them in this hierarchical duty at first, most were quick to recognize their freedom to admonish or direct their subordinates (Burch, 1975).

3.2.1 The Dynamics of Kinship.

Inuit kinship embodies a system of relationships. That system encompasses the behavioural norms that guide all interrelational processes among Inuit. For this reason, some knowledge of the behavioural dimension of kinship is a prerequisite towards gaining insights into the social dynamics of Inuit.

The system's regularity lies in its consistent role behaviour. However, the kinship system itself sustains a context for fluid and flexible interaction. As the system's actors, each Inuk embodies a set of potential roles, each of which may be summoned into action under the appropriate circumstances; prescribed roles are enacted and re-enacted.

The dynamic essence of Inuit kinship lies in the many sets of specific dyadic relationships between kin – mother and daughter, brother and sister, uncle and nephew. Kin respond to one another according to their relative statuses. In other words, the way each kin group member behaves towards another reflects the "expected behaviour peculiar to each particular status" (Heinrich and Anderson, 1971, p. 542).

The statuses identify and classify the actors. However, thinking of a status state as a behavioural role that is symbolized by a linguistic term enhances an understanding of kinship as dynamic. Burch (1975) and Damas 1963) adopt this perspective. Damas refers to Iglulingmiut kinship as a "terminological-behavioural system" in which both the "expected and traditional in social structure...to a large extent, find their loci" (1963, p. 34).

A selective overview of status terminology, illustrating how roles are socially ordered, will precede a discussion of the behavioural significance of kin designations. Damas' (1963) data with respect to the Iglulingmiut will provide the basis for clarifying kinship categories. Regional variations in both classification and terminology exist throughout the Inuit world, even within regions comprised of formerly isolated populations, such as Baffin.

3.2.2 Inuit Kinship Terms.

Both females and males within one sibling group, *nukariit*, use the same two terms to distinguish their same-sex siblings: *angayuk* for older siblings and *nuka* for younger. However, siblings use gender-specific terms for their opposite-sex siblings: a female refers to her brothers, both older and younger, as *anik,* while a male refers to each sister as *naiyak.* Siblings frequently add distinguishing suffixes to the base term, such as *kuluk*, which means "little."

While Iglulingmiut extend opposite-sex sibling terms to their opposite-sex cousins, they distinguish three groups among same-sex cousins. The terminology for those groups derives from the relations of affiliation between parents (Damas, 1963, p. 36). To illustrate, both genders share one term, *illu*, in referring to same sex cross-cousins, that is, the offspring of either parent's opposite-sex sibling. (cf., *illuarik*, which is glossed both as "two adversaries" and "the two which form a pair" (Schneider, 1985, p. 69)).

In Inuit kinship terminologies, *illu* is usually a generic term for all cousins (Briggs, private communication). To designate parallel cousins, Iglulingmiut superimpose *arngnakattik*, for the offspring of mother's sister, and *angutikattik*, for

those of father's brother (Damas, 1963, p. 36). Those terms are derived from the bases, *anguti*, man; *arngnaq*, woman, and *katijut*, "coming together" (Schneider, 1985; pp. 30, 41, 127). Iglulingmiut incorporate the children of their parents' cousins within this class of kin by adding the suffix, *saq*. Iglulingmiut also apply this affix, which Damas glosses as "what will become" or "material for," in a variety of other contexts; occasionally same generation opposite-sex cousins use it with reference to one another (1963, pp. 35, 36).

Each gender uses the same set of four terms in referring to the four distinct categories of consanguinal aunts and uncles. However, some gender-specific variations exist for affines; a female's affinal uncles and a male's affinal aunts are termed *ai*, affinal aunts of a female, *ukkuaq*, and affinal uncles of a male, *ningauk*. These same affinal terms signify siblings' spouses. However both males and females use the terms *ukkuaq* for daughter-in-law and *ningauk* for son-in-law (Damas, 1963, pp. 36, 39).

Gender-specific terms also apply to nepotic relations. To illustrate, a woman distinguishes *nuvvak*, her sister's children, from *angngak*, those of her brother. In comparison, a man refers to his sister's children as *uyuruk*, and to his brother's as *qangiak* (Damas, 1963, p. 36).

As an illustration of how roles combine with one another in sets of reciprocal relations, any individual whom a female signifies as *aiyak* (mother's sister), will, in return, signify her as *nuvvak* (sister's offspring). Both these and other intergenerational reciprocal bonds extend laterally to parents' cousins and to cousins' children.

The variety of terminological role distinctions in one Inuk's generation underlines the importance Inuit ascribe to intragenerational solidarity. Moreover, the extent of same-generation relationships attests to the emphasis Inuit place on extending their kin affiliation laterally rather than lineally (Burch, 1975; Damas, 1963; Heinrich, 1963; Wenzel, 1981). Conversely, the more inclusive terminological labels that connect people to ascending and descending generations illustrate that those lineal relationships become less specific and more generalized.

While it makes practical sense for an Inuk to limit kin to second cousins, in reality, the Inuit kinship system lacks conceptual boundaries. But because non-Inuit observers have been unable either to discern systemic limits to Inuit societies or to readily identity their social configurations, outsiders have frequently assumed that those societies lack organizational form and structure (Burch 1975; Damas, 1963; Heinrich, 1963).

Inuit do maintain organizational regularity, however, but not in prescribed organizational structures at the societal level. That regularity lies in the interrelational processes that kin enact according to their behavioural norms. Moreover, behavioural norms only become effective when kin are actually participating in dyadic relationships with one another (Burch, 1975; Damas, 1963).

3.2.3 The Behavioural Implications of Kinship.

In their totality, the behavioural precepts embedded in kinship bring to light the canon of Inuit social relations. In his analysis of Inuit kinship, Damas (1963) considers each instance of role enactment as a function of either one of two guiding behavioural principles. *Nalartuk* refers to relations of obedience and respect, while

ungayuk refers to relations of solidarity or affectional closeness. Implicit in a role's behavioural injunctions are both the nature of the behavioural response and the degree of intensity of its expression (1963, p. 48).

Many instances exist in which the two behavioural principles closely overlap. To illustrate, while the relations between parent and child – the closest bond in Inuit society – are characterized by affection, those relations are also marked by the child's respect and obedience (Damas, 1963, p. 52). One can understand that this should be so; the parents are the closest and most constant sources of both affection and discipline. For a young Inuk, the next closest bonds in the parental generation – and correspondingly, sources of affection and objects of respect and obedience – are the siblings of parents. For a girl, those would be her mother's sisters; for a boy, his father's brothers. Figure 3.3 illustrates the degrees of intensity with which a young female Inuk responds to the behavioural injunctions of both *nalartuk* (respect and obedience) and *ungayuk* (affection). The figure applies to both the parental generation and to older kin in the same generation.

In all relations between kin, the members of the subordinate generation respectfully obey those of the senior one. Obedience also characterizes the relations between genders; sisters tend to obey their brothers once both have passed puberty, even though an older sister may have been her brother's surrogate mother. When opposite-sex siblings reach adulthood, they demonstrate less affection and increased respect and avoidance (Damas, 1963, p. 53; Heinrich, 1963, p. 71).

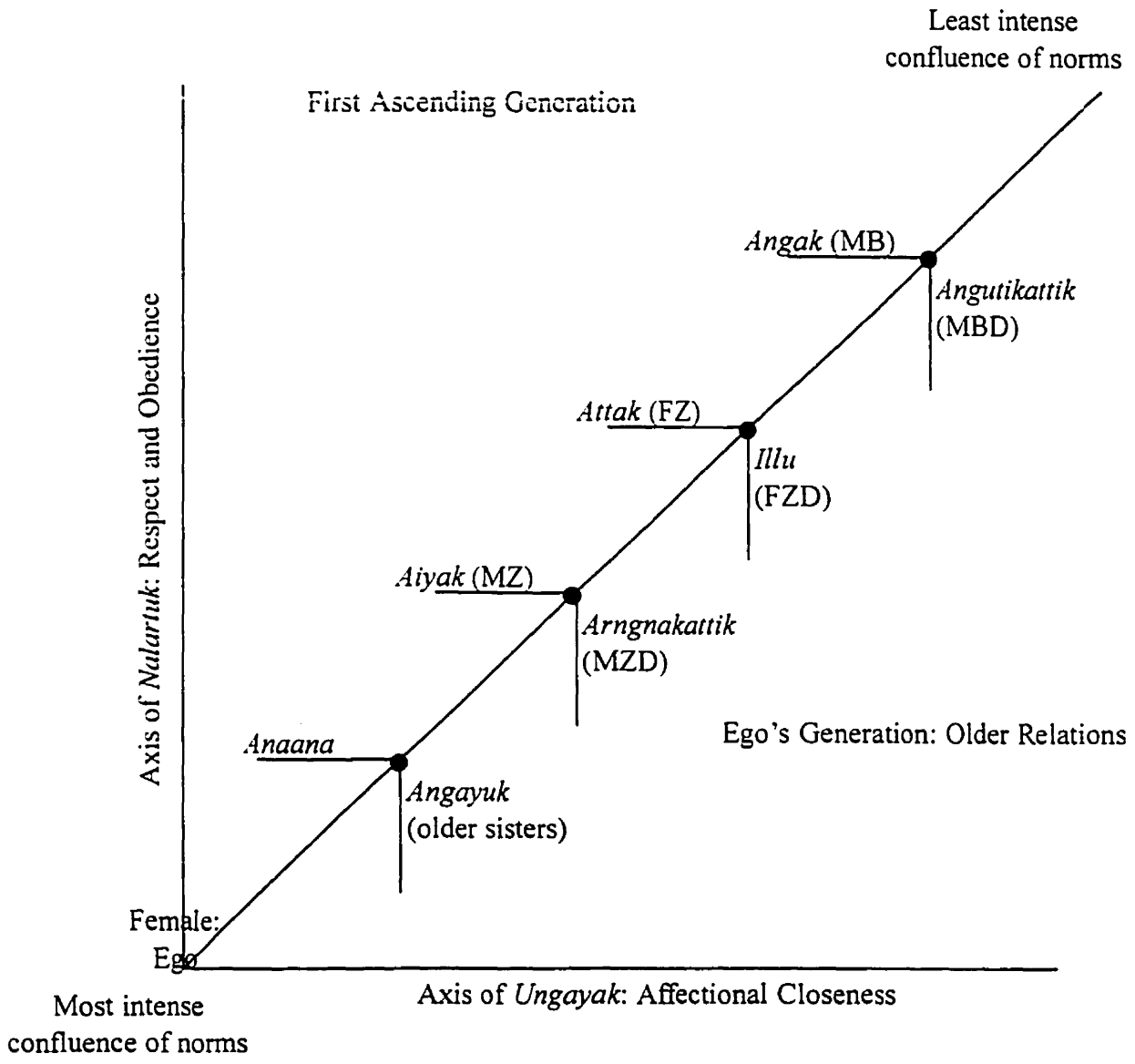


Figure 3.3 An Approximate Representation of the Behavioural Norms of Inuit Kinship.
(Diagram adapted from Wenzel, 1981, p. 88.)

The relations between cousins are similar in kind to those between siblings, but less intense in degree (See Figure 3.3).

The behavioural injunctions for *ai* – opposite-sex in-laws – provide another example of the normative directives implicit in kinship. The avoidance norm is markedly observed between those kin. In fact, that relationship precludes any expression of affection; its participants are essentially prohibited from addressing one another. Other opposite sex relationships imply differentiating degrees of avoidance and respect behaviour. For example, while that behaviour characterizes relations between cross-sex cousins, according to Damas' observations, those kin observe it less intensely.

As just illustrated, the principle of *nalartuk*, obedience and respect, governs certain relationships that are distinguished either by age, gender, or affinal connection. In comparison, the principle of *ungayuk*, affectional closeness or solidarity, underlies all descent relationships to some extent. While that principle finds its fullest expression in the mother-daughter and father-son dyads, it is also strong among same-generation, same-sex siblings and cousins; those relationships characteristically exhibit solidarity (Burch, 1975; Damas, 1963; Heinrich, 1963).

Each relationship in which an Inuk participates with siblings or cousins reflects differentiating degrees of closeness, or solidarity. The intensity of feeling associated with the attachment decreases as the descent relationships become more distant. Using women as an example, after her sisters, a female's maternal parallel cousins, *arngnakattik*, those linked by two female relations, are her closest same-generation kin. Next in closeness are her cross-cousins, *illu*, as they continue to be

linked through two women. Her paternal parallel cousins, *angutikattik*, are more distant, as the bond between the parents, opposite-sex siblings, is, theoretically, a less socially-active link (see Figure 3.3).

The foregoing illustrations should not leave the impression that an Inuk is permanently attached to one place within a fixed structure. Inuit have consistently maintained a cohesive society because their system is highly adaptive; it accommodates creative arrangements among and between kin. Inuit kinship, envisioned structurally, consists of differentiated categories of kin. Because of the features that members of the same category have in common, they are able to substitute for one another. For example, a woman with no available daughters of her own could call upon the daughter of a sister or first cousin for assistance; those young women are members of a subordinate generation who would comply automatically with a request from their superior.

The solidarity principle and role substitution also bond kin across generations. For instance, a child who may have lost its mother, or does not receive its mother's affection, will likely have a particularly close relationship with an aunt, or another older female relative, who, for her part, has undertaken mothering responsibilities towards the child. Along the same lines, an older sister frequently assumes the "mother-like" role towards a younger sibling or cousin, even if the biological mother is still alive. In terms of male solidarity and substitution, cross-generational nepotic bonds have been significant in hunting activity: the need for father or son substitution arises frequently.

Substitution permits flexible rearrangements; a person with the appropriate attributes fulfills a required purpose, usually for a finite period of time. Accordingly, a numerically small group of kin can actualize a wide range of role responsibilities. Group members favoured with the good fortune of having a "lateral reservoir" of kin have options with respect to selecting substitutes, or responding to requests for substitution (Heinrich, 1963, pp. 90, 112). Conversely, "genealogically impoverished" kin have limited choices (Damas, 1963, p. 101). However, the "idiosyncratic rearrangements" that Inuit create through substitution further obscure the nature of their kin system's internal regularity (Heinrich, 1963, p. 103).

3.2.4 Augmenting Kinship: Adoption and Naming.

As illustrated, Inuit kinship prescribes patterns for interaction across an extensive range of kin. While Inuit derive their kin relationships from descent relations and affines, they also derive "fictive" relationships from adoption and naming.

Adoption is a significant means of extending kin relationships. It introduces a new range of possibilities for interaction to those Inuit whose lives are directly affected by it (Damas, 1963, Guemple, 1971, 1979; Heinrich, 1963). Damas refers to adoption as "quasi-kinship" (1963, p. 42). On one hand, adoptive links have the same implications for action as biological bonds, and on the other, biological bonds are also honoured (Heinrich, 1963). As with marriage bonds, adoption bonds are permanent.

Inuit use the term *tiguaq*, "taken," to designate a person who is adopted (Guemple, 1979, p. 5). Inuit usually arrange for a baby to be adopted before it is

born, although sometimes adoption is arranged at birth. If parents or other older kin request a couple's child, the request is seldom refused (Guemple, 1979). Adoption also occurs for practical reasons in later childhood.

Inuit also use names to extend kinship bonds. Inuit "use" names rather than owning them in the southern sense. A terminological correlation exists between *atiq*, denoting "name," and *atuq*, meaning "to use" (Heinrich, 1969, p. 10). According to Heinrich, names "represent that part or attribute of previous society members that remains within the society after death" (1969, p. 12). From this perspective, a name can be thought of as a soul that has its own continual existence (Frederiksen, 1968). Inuit names are not gendered.

Names are powerful social bonds and continually reconstruct the community in new configurations. Parents, or most usually, grandparents, give a newborn the name of a deceased relative. This ensures the name's continued use. The kin of the previous name-user "substitute" the child into the respective dyadic relationships of its former user; thus they include the new name-user among their kin (Heinrich, 1969). As well as identifying people individually, names also identify people as belonging to a specific area or community (Heinrich, 1969, Trott, 1989).

Names "map" a community, in the sense that they provide guidelines for new interpersonal relationships, and the continuation of former ones. Thus names bind people into the network of obligations and roles that the names entail. But apart from their practical use in augmenting kinship, names also serve an important symbolic function.

Morrow suggests that through name use people become "non-specific, symbolic, as it were, of his/her multiple social relationships" (1990, pp. 150). In addition to their implications in the contemporary society, names also symbolize the eternal dimension of the community; the genealogy of the community is contained in its names. Inuit as name-"users" during their individual life spans, are themselves symbolic of the continuing human community.

3.3 Social Relations and Social Control.

Inuit require detailed knowledge of how to respond to and represent the full range of symbolic meanings embedded in kinship; ordered social relations depend upon it. Through adhering to the norms for interpersonal behaviour, each person participates in the balance of attitudes and behaviours – obedience, respect, affection and generosity – that ensures group survival. The systemized network of relationships ensures group continuity.

The group, rather than the person, is the definitive organism. Each person, like a part of a physical body, contributes to the proper functioning of the whole; social identity is a function of this context. Thus social personhood is fluid; each Inuk, as a "nexus of relationships" (Leacock, 1985), enacts multiple symbolic responses within the communal network.

Inuit prefer to avoid conflict, and tend to withdraw from circumstances in which it might occur. They also avoid the explicit expression of negative feelings (Briggs, 1970; Damas, 1963). Inuit express their disapproval of those who fail to observe social norms by either ignoring the transgressors, or in situations that are continually annoying or stressful, moving away from them (van den Steenhoven,

1968). If a potentially conflictive situation does not affect the whole group but is limited to two people, others will not interfere in it. From the accounts of Caribou Eskimos, van den Steenhoven concluded that the worst social offenders are those who are lazy, lie and steal. This is because their antisocial behaviour disrupts the usual routine and thereby adds to the uncertainty of life (ibid.).

3.4 The Transmission of Social Knowledge.

The Inuit socialization process teaches the young the requisite knowledge for social production. The process has two complementary objectives. On one hand, it integrates the young into the social group by impressing them with their fundamental responsibility: contributing to the well-being of the group. On the other hand, socialization teaches the young self-sufficiency. While Inuit have to be self-sufficient in order to survive under uncertain circumstance, adults recognize that encouraging self-sufficient behaviour in the young indirectly motivates them to learn (Briggs, 1991). Moreover, Inuit consider that constant supervision of the young (beyond a certain age) indicates lack of respect for them (Condon, 1987).

The fundamental behavioural norm that underlies all Inuit social interaction is self-discipline. Inuit cultivate self-discipline for two related reasons. First, so that they will consistently maintain right relations with the other members of the social group, and second, to ensure that they will be mindfully observant of their social and natural environments. In the words of a Baffin elder, "We had to be disciplined enough to be able to listen and to respect our elders' decisions" (Inuit Cultural Institute, 1981, p. 11).

Inuit children are repeatedly reminded by older family members of their responsibilities to and for their kin. In pre-settlement life, parenthood was diffuse; all adults in the extended family shared in socializing the young. Briggs observed that adults sometimes engage in a series of teasing games with children in order to discipline the latter to overcome their own desires in the interests of others (Briggs, 1970, 1982, 1987, 1991). While adults exhibit delighted indulgence towards young children, this is premised on their knowledge that in the course of natural growth children will develop reason, *isuma*.

According to Briggs, adults, who "provide highly consistent models of desirable behaviour...frequently state their very consistent expectation that as the child's *isuma* grows, he will pick up the desirable behaviour on his own initiative" (Briggs, 1987, p. 10). Parents consider *isuma* to be a prerequisite for *kanngu*, restraint and shyness, or "a wish to be properly inconspicuous" (Briggs, 1970, p. 116). Briggs also glosses *kanngu* as the disposition "to avoid displaying or exposing oneself before others," adding that the feeling "may occur when one wishes to prevent others from seeing one's person, or one's accomplishments or lack of accomplishments" (ibid., p. 350).

As children mature they learn to adopt normative behaviour. Briggs notes that in the Inuit camp setting adults and children over three tend "to blend unobtrusively into the social background" (1970, p. 350). Briggs also notes that the "absence of self-assertiveness" is the Inuit characteristic outside observers find most striking (ibid.).

The young interacted with older group members more than with their own agemates; not only were the former their teachers, but the latter were generally few in number. They also began to assume responsibility at a young age (Burch, 1975). Their increasing quietness was an indication of maturity and intelligence (Briggs, 1982; Condon, 1987). They also had to reproduce quickly to ensure the continuity of their society; parents arranged future partners for their children when the latter were very young (Burch, 1988; Condon, 1987; Graburn, 1969). Because survival was hazardous, children had to learn the complementary gender-based survival skills as soon as they were capable.

Apart from the interpersonal knowledge that maintained the social body, Inuit developed a corpus of knowledge that addressed their physical survival. This included highly detailed knowledge of the natural world and the abilities to provide food, clothing, shelter and equipment. While technical abilities were gender-based, it was not unusual for the members of one gender to be skilled in the practices of the other (cf. Washburne and Anauta, 1940). Thus many women were able practitioners of hunting and its related skills, as were men of clothing and food-preparation skills (Kasiah, 1986).

There were two sources of knowledge: skilled group members and the environment. Outside observers have noted the spatial skills, acuity of observation and manual dexterity of Inuit (Denny, 1988; MacArthur, 1968; Pallascio, Allaire and Mongeau, 1993). To begin, young Inuit learned through observing senior family members practicing technical skills. The initiates watched those practitioners as the latter incrementally addressed each stage of a given practice.

They also listened mindfully to the accompanying knowledge; their vocabulary grew as, step by step, they learned the names of the component parts of each practice. The young learners only undertook to replicate what they observed after they considered they understood how to do the practice. Then they worked conscientiously without directive intervention from their seniors until, after many attempts, they had mastered the new technique. The learners knew they had accomplished this when the articles they made – a pair of boots or a dog harness, for example – functioned effectively (Kasiah, 1986).

The young also listened to the accounts adults related of their experiences; in this way they learned valuable information about the vicissitudes of the natural environment as well as the endurance capabilities of the human body. Those accounts provided a framework for their own developing experiential knowledge (Bielawski, 1990; Burch, 1975, 1988; Briggs, 1970).

Inuit are expected to take personal responsibility for becoming knowledgeable. Self-discipline is the preparatory foundation to developing necessary expertise. Furthermore, the apprenticeship style in which the young learn skills fosters self-sufficiency.

The goal of Inuit knowledge is group survival; Inuit depend upon one another's knowledge for existence. Therefore each Inuk must become knowledgeable in order for the group to continue (Kasiah, 1986). Adults give children the freedom to initiate and develop an individual experiential basis for knowledge. Autonomy, for Inuit, lies in each person's freedom to both experience

and construct personal knowledge about the natural environment (Bielawski, 1990).

Learning how to think in a socially appropriate manner constituted an essential dimension of personal development for Inuit. According to one of Fienup-Riordon's informants, the socialization process was designed to "wake up" the minds of the young (1986, p. 263). Inuit believe that right thought leads to right action. Thus for the group to function effectively, all its members should think conscientiously about their own actions. That is, one should not limit one's responsibility to others to action alone; action should be accompanied by purposeful thought. At the same time, one knows one is supported by the right thought and action of others (ibid.). As another example of the significance of right thought, Damas observed that Inuit who violated social norms were considered to be *issumakittuk*, that is, "simpleminded" (1963, p. 54).

Moreover, becoming knowledgeable requires conscientious and concentrated thinking; thought is a dimension of experience. According to one contemporary hunter in Arctic Bay, an Inuk must always communicate through thought with his sled, his harpoon, his dogs and his whip. In the words of another, "we learn to think by doing what we are thinking about."

Inuit value their language. While Inuit transmitted technological knowledge with few words, this does not mean they lacked linguistic abilities. On the contrary, Inuit needed to describe actions in and movements through space precisely and specifically (Graburn, 1969). Burch explains that Inuktitut, the language of Inuit, is "even more amenable" than most languages to "expressing

subtle shades of meaning" (1988, p. 116). This is because of its so-called "synthetic" structure. Each word develops from a base to which numerous suffixes may be added in order to enhance its meaning (ibid.).

In addition to applying language for expedient purposes, Inuit developed an esoteric and intricate store of natural and cosmological verbal knowledge. However, years of patient observation and linguistic practice are required before one can participate in knowledgeable exchanges (Brody, 1975; Burch, 1988; Carpenter, 1973).

3.5 Contact with Qallunaat.

The Inuit of Admiralty Inlet encountered agents of the federal government while they still lived in their extended family camps. The first of these were RCMP patrols, the earliest of which arrived in 1918 (Damas, 1993). By the mid-1940s, the federal government assigned Inuit administrative numbers as a means of registering them as Canadian citizens. The numbers of the Admiralty Inlet Inuit began with E5, indicating the region in which they lived (Duffy, 1988). However, those numbers held little meaning for the Inuit. The Qallunaat remained in another world.

This chapter has described the ideal form of pre-settlement Inuit life. While this lifestyle is no longer fully practicable, it is still ideologically powerful for most Inuit in the contemporary community. Thus the chapter is an important prelude to the observations and discussion that follow.

CHAPTER FOUR: SETTLEMENT LIFE

Many Inuit in the Admiralty Inlet region continued to live in extended family camps well into the 1960s. While they visited the post of the Hudson Bay Company and camped on the shores of the bay, they considered the small cluster of buildings to be a place for Qallunaat. The following account illustrates how Inuit have made the community their own place of residence.

4.1 The Creation of a Geopolitical Community.

Representatives of the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) were the first Qallunaat to establish a permanent presence in the Admiralty Inlet area; the Company built a trading post at the northern end of Arctic Bay in the early 1920s. However, that post was closed in 1927 as the Arctic Island Preserve Act designated the surrounding area a musk ox preserve (Flint, 1940). After the HBC established a permanent post in 1936, Inuit gathered there annually in the late summer when the supply of trade goods arrived via sea-lift. Many Inuit also came in midwinter to trade; this was a time at which they were already accustomed to a pre-Christian celebration of the renewal of the year.

When the Canadian government decided to establish a geopolitical settlement in the area, it followed its usual practice of using the HBC as the settlement's nucleus (Damas, 1993; Duffy, 1988). The government regarded the extended family groups who traded at the post as the settlement's population base.

As the settlement took shape, Inuit understood it to be a place where "white," or in Inuit terms, "Qallunaat," values dominated.

Forty years ago, only five interrelated Inuit families lived in the settlement. Some had come to Arctic Bay as guides to the Hudson Bay manager or RCMP detachments; others had been relocated by the federal government from Cape Dorset. The two "southern" enterprises then in operation, the HBC post and the Department of Transport weather station, were the reason for the Inuit's residency.

In 1959 the federal department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources sent the first teacher to Arctic Bay; she adapted an existing building to serve as a school for a handful of students. After a year, the teacher was moved elsewhere and schooling was temporarily discontinued. The federal government built an official school in 1962. More Qallunaat institutions followed. An Anglican church was built in 1965, and by 1967 the settlement had both a Hamlet Council and a Housing Association; two years later, the latter was responsible for 11 houses (Cowan, 1976). As was the case in other Baffin communities, a Qallunaaq settlement manager oversaw the local administration. Looking back to the early days, one long-time resident commented, "Everything at that time belonged to the government."

Despite the federal initiatives to develop the settlement, most Admiralty Inlet Inuit still lived on the land in the late 1960s. The government informed those extended family groups that all children should be in school; Inuit were told they could have houses for $2 a month and receive family allowance cheques. Some Inuit who resided in the settlement joined government representatives in urging

families to move in and place their children in school. The pressure was strong and effective; the community grew rapidly. By the late 1970s Arctic Bay's population was 350, and it is still growing. In the last decade it has nearly doubled; in 1993 it stood at 550. Significantly, 247, or 44% of that number, were under the age of 14 (Arctic Bay, 1993). In 1998 Arctic Bay's population stood at 650.

4.2 The Inuit Response to "Southern" Social Organization.

Settlement living required Inuit to modify their pre-settlement patterns of social organization. Previously, when Inuit visited the settlement for short periods of time, they set up tents along the shore; when they moved in permanently they were to have houses. Despite the government promise, houses were in short supply; initially a number of extended family members shared the same dwelling. However, the prefabricated houses that arrived by sea-lift were small and of southern design; they were intended to accommodate southern-type nuclear families.

Southern officials had already circumscribed Inuit into administrative units, first with numbers and then with surnames. In pre-settlement times those designations had negligible effect. Once in the settlement, however, Inuit recognized that Qallunaat undertook their ongoing interaction with them in terms of Qallunaat administrative practices.

This was particularly the case with the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation; that agency of its own necessity interacted with Inuit as separate nuclear families. Moreover, when Inuit participated in the management and allocation of housing, they had to begin to think about one another in terms of

nuclear families. However, despite the presence of southern administrative organizing principles, Inuit maintained organizing principles of their own.

Inuit recognized the logic of communal measures for determining house occupancy and basic services such as water delivery. They willingly participated in the community administrative organizations because, as one resident said, "they have to do with us." Initially, those organizations worked best for everybody if their membership was distributed among the different extended families. Accordingly, as Inuit moved into the settlement, representative members of each family, usually the extended family leader and a son or son-in-law, joined the administrative committees, such as the Hamlet Council. Those leaders were logical committee delegates; their family members habitually accepted them as authorities. As the separate extended family groups were linked by consanguinal or marriage ties, Inuit as committee members continued to honour kinship norms. Records of committee membership and group photographs document that extended family representation continues, although it is diffused among family members.

In the late 1990s, numerous boards and committees exist in the community; they are all relevant to daily life. They include the Health Board; the Co-op Board; the *Ikajutit* Hunters and Trappers Association; the Alcohol and Drug Committee; the Radio Society; the Anglican Church Vestry, and the Community Education Council. In addition, *ad hoc* committees are organized to address special activities or concerns, as, for instance, a feast to honour elders or the community's observation of Addictions Awareness week. The Hamlet office prints a list of monthly meetings; sometimes two are scheduled on the same night.

Despite those active concerns and the rapid increase in population, contemporary Arctic Bay does not warrant an extensive bureaucratic infrastructure; the local administrative offices function with a minimum of personnel. Those community members who are board members or delegates to regional groups travel frequently to the larger centres of government and administration both in the north and "down south." However, notwithstanding the active participation of community members in southern-style institutions, they continue to honour family obligations; for most Inuit, those take precedence. Not infrequently Inuit resign from office or decline a nomination on the grounds that they want to spend more time with their families.

Inuit try to work out a balance between two sets of cultural values as they participate in culturally foreign organizations. In the words of one resident, "The Inuit only just came into this world, but it's been going on for hundreds and hundreds of years." Those words express a perspective shared by many fellow community members: they have crossed a boundary from one domain of experience into another.

4.3 Modifying Inuit Social Organization.

Settlement life introduced Inuit to an unfamiliar concept of social organization. It also forced changes in their own pre-settlement pattern of social organization. Nonetheless, Inuit "invented" adaptations that permitted them to remain true to their own organizing principles. As one Inuk said, "We have a strong sense of family bonding in Inuit culture."

Southern houses delimit Inuit as nuclear families; they inhibit the normative fluidity of extended family patterns by physically separating kin from those with whom they should be closely interdependent. Nonetheless, in Arctic Bay members of extended families maintain intimate relations. Some units of the same extended family have houses close to one another; when this is not possible, family members maintain their bonds across the community. In the view of one resident, "invisible lines" demarcate family boundaries. In many of the original extended families, the members are still highly interdependent; other families function in a less integrated form.

Most people over 35 were born in their extended family communities on the land. Those who were born in the settlement are inheritors of that life; they have been nurtured by its practitioners. As an illustration of the degree of kin interdependence in pre-settlement times, several adults in the community attest that they did not know the identity of their biological mothers when they were children. Even though the mother lived in the extended family, the main caregivers were older sisters, cousins or aunts.

Extended family members continue to interact according to respect and obedience norms; minding a younger sibling, niece, nephew or cousin, is looked upon as normal practice. A younger sister automatically comes to help a mother look after her new baby. In fact, most subordinate female kin respectfully respond when help is needed; some do not wait to be asked. However, in the contemporary community, a mother may equally well be sewing her family's clothing, attending a meeting or working in the wage economy.

An adult woman with a household of her own will also attend to the daily chores in her mother's house. In like manner, a son or son substitute – nephew, brother or cousin – will accompany senior male kin on hunting expeditions. Furthermore, as in pre-settlement family life, a hunting son-in-law will provide his in-laws with meat if the latter have no resident hunters. As a contemporary transformation of that practice, a son-in-law employed in the wage economy will fuel his hunting father-in-law's skidoo (cf. Scott, 1984, who illustrates contemporary reciprocity among the James Bay Cree). The data of Wenzel (1995) illustrate many of the contemporary modifications in kin relationships for hunting purposes. But more than that, Wenzel's analysis illuminates the importance of understanding the connection between kin relationships and hunting, or subsistence, practices in order to comprehend those practices in their fullest dimension (ibid., pp. 44ff.). While those data apply to Clyde River, they can also be extended to Arctic Bay.

Most adults still recognize that they provide models of ideal behaviour for the young. To illustrate, a mother who is relaxing and chatting with visiting friends may change her demeanour and become serious, if not dignified, should she need to interact with one of her children. A mother's eyes fixed in a penetrating look will usually subdue a child who is not conforming to acceptable behaviour. Nonetheless adults and older siblings are usually lovingly indulgent towards the very young; particularly when they are invoking a kin connection.

Almost universally, family members refer to one another with kin terms; they use the many flexible variations that are suitable under different circumstances. To illustrate, adults frequently address a child named after close kin

by that relative's kin term. Furthermore, name affiliations still take precedence over gender; in some instances, the hair style and clothing of a young child are in keeping with the gender of its most beloved name-giver, that is, the person whose name the child is using.

Inuit purposefully visit close kin as a necessary part of daily activity. Graburn considered visiting to be the "major social recreation" of Inuit (1969, p. 70). However, visiting is not casual in intent. The daily round of visits is one of the means by which Inuit enact the affective dimension of kinship; it confirms the vital links among people. Inuit both enter and depart from one another's dwellings unobtrusively; there is little need to draw attention to one's physical presence in a communal fabric.

Inuit visit in the fullest sense of the term; a visit is a statement of presence. Kinship bonds not only integrate kin for practical purposes; they also integrate kin emotionally. In fact, the physical presence of kin is essential to Inuit; they provide one another with vital spiritual nourishment. According to Burch, kin solidarity is "so intrinsically satisfying that mere participation in it becomes a major goal in its own right" (1975, p. 231).

The sharing of land foods is a major focus of much visiting. Members of those extended families that are still tightly knit will eat together on a daily basis, usually in the house of the family leader. In households with active hunters, land foods are always available. Sharing food with kin is the first concern for someone who returns from a trip. Family and food always elicit joy.

4.4 Reinforcing Community Through Kinship.

Kinship principles ideologically support the concept of "community"; they also provide the means to integrate community members in practical terms. As most families are now interconnected by marriage, adoption and naming, kinship obligations connect Inuit across extended family lines. To the people of Arctic Bay, name connections are an especially important bond.

Names as a dimension of kinship reinforce both extended family and community ties. Thus in sharing names throughout the community, Inuit have enlarged their legitimate sphere of group interaction. Nuttall (1992) provides a detailed account of name use in a contemporary Greenlandic community. He illustrates how names increase the range of kin for practical purposes. But almost more importantly, he describes how names reinforce those connections across generations that maintain the symbolic community.

Inuit have an extensive knowledge of names; some of them say that Qallunaat can never understand all that names imply. In the words of one community member, "People ask us how do you know who everybody is? *We know*; we know so much you could never know." Most adults keep a mental chronology of name use in the community. As evidence of this practice, when a woman in her mid-forties greets a young mother who has recently moved back to the community, she is able to name her three small sons on first meeting. Both women derive great pleasure in reaffirming communal ties.

Furthermore, names are powerful social bonds which augment kin networks and create new community-based affiliations. To illustrate, the name of a

deceased community member is reintroduced when it is given to a new-born child; the kin of the deceased reactivate their former relationships with the new name-user. For their part, the family members of the baby ensure that the new name-bearer honours the obligations of the former name-user. As an example, a young mother whose baby bears the name of a recently deceased man seeks someone to take money to his widow, now ill in hospital; the mother is concerned that her son should help his "wife."

4.5 Other Means of Community Reinforcement.

A respected group of elders lives in Arctic Bay. They are referred to in the community as the *inummariit*, that is, the real Inuit. However, not every elder in the community is automatically a member of that group. One of their number explained how the group works: they consider that their most important function is to talk to people who are having difficulties; in this capacity they are trying to keep alive a tradition.

That tradition is as follows. In pre-settlement times, when someone had committed an anti-social act, the offender would stand in the middle of a circle of elders, who, one by one, would talk to her or him, until the offender repented, having understood the full implication of the offence. Now the elders no longer stand in a circle, but they still talk to social offenders, who must look them in the face while they are doing so. The *inummariit* themselves select new members; the quality they most seek is the ability to talk to people.

They usually meet once a week on a regular basis, but they will meet at other times if there is a specific topic to discuss. The group is influential in easing

local tensions, conflicts and individual problems. For instance, the group is consulted by the current NWT circuit judge when she is determining sentences. Thus collectively, they serve as the leader who oversees the well-being of the extended family. The group is usually honoured by a yearly feast to which the whole community is invited.

The local radio is another means to integrate the community. In many houses the radio is on constantly. Inuit maintain ongoing conversations as the radio broadcasts their telephone calls to the station. The elders will frequently have a special radio time assigned to them when they can reminisce about their early years.

Easter and Christmas, Addictions Awareness Week and Thanksgiving are contemporary rituals celebrated annually in ways that reintegrate the community. Competitive games sometimes accompany those celebrations. Inuit compete keenly; games that test physical skill and endurance are a time-honoured activity for Inuit.

4.6 Communicating Cultural Knowledge.

All Inuit in the community speak their language, Inuktitut. This is also the case with other Baffin communities, all of which have a high language retention rate (Dorais, 1992). This may be one reason that naming practices are still honoured. Soby (1992) claims that continuing language use supports naming practices. Some older people speak a version of the language among themselves few of the young can understand. Moreover, a definite discourse pattern is evident in the exchanges among and between women; it is as if they are reciting time-

honoured narratives. One may comment on a child or a particular situation, and another will respond in agreement. She repeats the concluding words of the first speaker, sometimes stressing or emphasizing the quality under discussion. For example, "She is being helpful to her mother." Response: "Indeed, she is being *very* helpful to her mother."

When Inuit are working at something, sewing or repairing a skidoo, they concentrate and become engrossed in what they are doing. The degree of their evident concentration far surpasses that of the average southerner. Inuit are conscientious thinkers and tend not to speak until they have determined what it is they are going to say. According to one community member, Qallunaat often take advantage of this mode of communication. He explains that Qallunaat do not appreciate that Inuit are giving thoughtful attention to what has been said, and thus assume that silence indicates either lack of knowledge or acquiescence to a request.

As most adults depend on traditional foods, hunting remains important. Seal and caribou are the most sought-after staples. Those foods are augmented by arctic char, ptarmigan, rabbit, narwhal and polar bear. A number of men still hunt full-time while those in the wage economy hunt on weekends or in the evening if time and light permit. Ideologically, Inuit value land-based skills over the new, community-based skills; not only does more prestige accrue to hunters, they can still exercise autonomy.

Because hunting is still important, so too are the sewing skills of women. In fact, Arctic Bay is known for its skilled sewers. Their expertise is evident in the *kamiks*, or boots, that they and their close kin wear. Women outdo one another in

their artistry; they create intricate patterns by juxtaposing light and dark sections of sealskin. Despite the value placed on land-associated skills, Inuit are increasingly dependent on the wage economy for food and material needs. However, while there are usually enough land foods for those who prefer them, most young people prefer store-bought foods; some are even dismissive towards the foods their elders prefer.

4.7 The Effects of Settlement on Social Life.

In their pre-settlement existence, Inuit lived highly interdependently; their customary practices worked effectively in small social configurations. Now, not only do Inuit live in a larger aggregate, new measures for social organization co-exist with their former ones. Moreover, because kinship bonds are no longer the sole regulators of social organization, ties between and among kin are less intense. So, while Inuit still enact principled social personhood, its full expression has been curtailed. In addition, because Inuit have decreased opportunities to use their own social and technological knowledge, it is not only disappearing, it is also becoming less highly valued by the young.

Nonetheless, Inuit manage to participate in two sets of social practices in accordance with their own set of organizing principles. For Inuit, "community" is their conceptual model of the social whole, rather than a geopolitical configuration.

While new forms of social organization have eroded kinship to some extent, the influence of school has a more penetrating effect. In the words of one High Arctic resident "...long after Qallunaat came to the north much of our ancestors' way of life was strong, until a little while ago. It seems when the

teachers introduced the education system to Inuit that a lot of our young people truly seemed to have lost respect for their elders, as well as for traditional and cultural values" (Nasook, 1990). The next chapter will examine the everyday reality of school.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SCHOOL

School was introduced to Arctic Bay in 1959. As the community consisted of five families at that time, there were only nine full-time students. However, they were responsive and diligent. As the first teacher observed, "I found the children among the most intelligent of any Eskimos I had taught up to this time" (Hinds as cited in Macpherson, 1991, p. 125). Those first school students had already been taught to read and write Inuktitut syllabics by their parents (Hinds, 1968).

Miss Hinds also gave individual lessons to camp children when they came into the community. Sometimes fathers who came in on their own would bring the children's school work to the teacher, have it corrected, and return home with the next lesson. Some adult men also requested Miss Hinds to teach them; they were eager to learn English and mathematics. She willingly obliged (Hinds, 1968).

The next teacher concurred with his predecessor's opinion of the students: "Since my pupils were eager to learn, they progressed very rapidly" (Dalby, 1962a, p. 15). Initially, he had eleven students. He said of his girl students that they were "normal girls who portray the self-reliance and perseverance of an individualistic nature" (ibid., p. 16). That teacher also taught some of the camp children; but he was taken by dog sled to three of the camps that were relatively close to the community. On those occasions, as many people as possible would crowd into one house to either participate in or observe the lessons. The fathers

would be particularly vigilant, encouraging or chiding their children according to the accuracy of their responses (Dalby, 1962b).

The first teachers addressed the students by their Inuit names. However one of them found that to be both difficult and confusing: two of the students, one a girl and the other a boy, had the same name, while the name of a third student was changed over night by his grandmother. The teacher counteracted that difficulty by keeping the records in the school register according to the students' E-5 numbers (Dalby, 1962a). By the fall of 1967 the Arctic Bay school had two-rooms and two teachers; by then there were 30 students. By 1976 Inuujaq School, so named after one of the community's first inhabitants, had five rooms (Macpherson, 1991). By 1991, the school enrolment was 200.

As more children attended school, and the teaching staff increased in number, the teachers began to address the students by their Christian names. As one resident said, "When the teachers came, that's when we started using those names." The names were those that the Christian missionaries required Inuit to adopt so that they could be baptised into the Christian church. Although four generations of Arctic Bay residents have those names, they rarely use them in interaction among themselves. Another resident, who was a student in the 1970s, recalls her embarrassment when her mother came to the school to inquire what name the school used for her daughter. A third community member said she used to be frightened when the teacher would call out her name. The unaccustomed use of her name combined with the unfamiliar mode of address alarmed her.

Over the years, the school population has grown and the facilities have been enlarged. But the schooling process has become problematic for many parents and children. This is because the institutional practices of school have become more explicit.

5.1 The Policy Vision of School.

Arctic Bay's Inuujaq School has been within the policy sphere of the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE). The Board is accountable to the Northwest Territories Department of Education, Culture and Employment. The Baffin Board was inaugurated in April 1985 as the Territories' first divisional board; it is responsible to the thirteen communities in the Baffin region in the Eastern Arctic. Each school in this region has an elected Community Education Council (CEC). CEC members in each community in turn elect one of their number to represent them on the Baffin board. In theory, Baffin education policy is made at several distinct levels, ranging from the centralized government department through the more locally oriented divisional board to the individual community.

The Board policy, which applies to this community, supports an intimate interconnection between community, family and school. To affirm this objective, Board policy with respect to educational philosophy reads as follows:

> The Baffin Divisional Board of Education believes that the school must be committed to serving the rights of the child within the cultural framework of the community.
>
> 1. The school must lay the foundation for lifelong education...At the same time it is recognized that the school is not the only vehicle for education.

> 2. School complements the family as a place where the child learns to become an individual and a responsible person. It is an extension of the family which is the primary focus of the child and the first centre of learning. It goes without saying, therefore, that there must be close ties between the school and the family.

The Policy continues:

> 4. The school is a place where young people develop an identity. Where young adults arrive at a realistic sense of what they are, what they want, what they need, and what their responsibilities are to the community...
>
> 5. The school plays a central role in the transmission of the cultural heritage from one generation to the next...Because school plays this fundamental role in cultural transmission and change we must ensure that school reflects the culture of the child (1988a, BDBE).

Board policy with respect to goals and objectives reinforces the vision of interconnection between community and school. Policy here is premised on "an understanding of the role of the school in society and expectations of the school in the community" (BDBE, 1988a). Among goals and objectives are "developing a strong Inuit identity along with a sense of pride and confidence in oneself;" and "preparing students to function well in their own communities" (ibid.).

These policy goals present a multi-dimensioned challenge to both the community and the school. The goals attempt to reconcile two distinct social institutions: the Inuit family and school. This vision is complex, if not contradictory. On one hand, the policy endorses the primacy of the Inuit family as "the first centre of learning." Yet on the other hand, it contends that school is to be not only an "extension of the family" but also the "place where young people develop an identity."

Those policy objectives can be explained in part by the life experiences of those who formulated them. Many Baffin board members represent the interests of the generation of Inuit who attended residential schools. While they value the type of survival skills they learned in school, they also recognize the degree to which school eroded their own cultural knowledge and identity. Thus they advocate school classes in their own knowledge and practice, officially known in school as "Cultural Inclusion." Furthermore, sensitive to the desire of some parents to take their children with them when they go out on the land during the school year, the board members endorse the Territorial Department of Education's attendance regulation that permits that practice if the school is advised ahead of time.

5.2 The Physical Structure of School.

The school, now in its fourth building, sits at the centre point of the curved shoreline and dominates the emerging vista of the hamlet as one approaches by land or across the bay. The building's function as a Qallunaat institution is implicit in its situation and structure. The central section of the school has two stories; a lower entrance, facing south, is accessible from the shore-level road that crosses the hamlet from east to west. The lower section of the school consists of two classrooms for senior students, a large home economics room, and a workshop for the boys' cultural inclusion classes. The gym, which is accessible from within the school, also has an entrance at this level; the gym is used frequently in its alternate role as a community centre.

The school's main entrance faces north and is accessible from the second-level road. This entrance is used by the majority of staff and students; it is also used by visitors. At this upper level, two wings extend from the main core of the school; in 1992 a further extension housing additional classrooms was added to the western wing. Students in classrooms at a distance from the main entrance use the doors at the end of each wing. The school doors are locked before nine, during lunchtime, and after the students are dismissed in the afternoon; when the doors are unlocked, school is officially in progress. The school bell, resonating throughout the surrounding community, punctuates the school day.

An open space that extends above the road is considered as part of the schoolyard before school and during recess; in theory, the second level road is closed to traffic during the school day. More official schoolyard space is enclosed by a link fence at the southwest end of the school; this area contains swings for the younger students. The fence indicates the limits of school property and school jurisdiction.

Inside the school, most of the classrooms are set up in the traditional school fashion; that is, the students sit in desks facing the teacher, the teacher's desk and the chalkboard. The desks are movable, however, and can be arranged less formally. In kindergarten and grade one, students work at round tables. The classrooms for the junior students in particular have plenty of floor space.

5.3 Cultural Transmission in School.

School personnel consists of the principal – in this case, a Qallunaaq – the teaching staff, both Inuit and Qallunaat, and the school-community counsellor, an

Inuk. The counsellor acts as a liaison between the school and the community and in addition, helps students with their non-academic problems. The school also employs an Inuk secretary and Inuit maintenance staff.

Inuit are homeroom teachers up to and including grade 4, although the students have incremental English instruction each year. By grades 5 and 6, the school day is split between Inuktitut and English. Grades 7 through 12 are fundamentally taught in English, with several periods of Inuktitut instruction during the week – the reverse pattern of the elementary grades.

The teachers from grades 1 through 6 use the Baffin Board's *Piniaqtavut* integrated curriculum. This is a thematic curriculum; in other words, a common theme integrates the different subject areas. The objective of this approach is to link language with socio-cultural concepts. Thus, for example, if "the seal" were the theme for one term, the students' language arts, science and social studies would all address or incorporate the seal as their common focus. In fact, teachers frequently do choose the seal; some students find this tedious. As one of them said, with some exasperation, "We're learning about the seal again."

The teachers from grade 7 on use the curriculum of the province of Alberta. This choice is no doubt due to Alberta's proximity to Yellowknife, the seat of the NWT Department of Education. The senior curriculum addresses subjects in isolation – "subject-textbook teaching" in school's terms. The teachers use official textbooks or photocopied material to support their teaching.

Most community members, including some Inuit teachers, refer to the English language standard curriculum as Qallunaatitut. Literally translated, that

term means "in the manner of Qallunaat," or, more colloquially, "the White way." In contrast, Inuit refer to the school curriculum that is taught in their own language as Inuktitut – "in the manner of an Inuk." This is so despite the fact that the content, the core curriculum, and the didactic method are "in the manner of Qallunaat." The Qallunaat staff adopt the language designation of their Inuit colleagues with respect to the curriculum taught in Inuktitut. However, they refer to the language of their own curriculum as English.

Most school personnel restrict those terms, as just described, applying them only to distinguish between the languages of instruction. However, one can also think of those terms more broadly, as applying to distinct knowledge sets. A knowledge set can be construed as the content, the way it is transmitted – including language, and the purposes to which it applies. How a grade 5 student referred to her morning's work in school illustrates that concept. When asked what she had studied, the student replied, "Qallunaatitut." Her Qallunaaq teacher, who was present, contradicted her, saying, "No, you didn't! We studied health and social studies and spelling!" The student looked at the teacher, shrugged, and repeated, "Qallunaatitut." However, the fact that the student's curriculum is thematically based could also account for her response as that approach blurs the distinction between separate subjects.

5.3.1 The Teachers.

The proportion of Inuit to Qallunaat teachers has shifted over the years: the number of Inuit personnel now more than doubles the number of Qallunaat. Board officials make much of the Inuit teachers; they are quite rightly proud of

them. In fact, the board hopes that at least 50% of the certified teaching staff will be Inuit by the year 2000 (BDBE, 1992). However, the obvious favouring of the Inuit teachers by the administration puts the Qallunaat teachers in a less favourable light. Nonetheless, despite the explicit partiality that is directed towards some of them, the members of the teaching staff maintain friendly relations with one another.

Differences in the relative comportment of the Inuit and Qallunaat teachers become evident when the teachers are together, either in the schoolyard or in school. For example, the teachers who are supervising recess will frequently play games with the students, especially with the younger ones. The Qallunaat teachers often act as catalysts, entering into the activity with energy and enthusiasm; but because they are used to controlling the interaction of others, they tend to assume a prominent role. In contrast, the Inuit teachers, who are markedly less directive than their Qallunaat colleagues, are at times barely discernible from the students.

The Inuit teachers appear to be un-selfconscious, and they move in a calm yet purposeful manner. In contrast, the Qallunaat teachers seem self-preoccupied and their motions are more hurried and abrupt. The former group no doubt represent themselves as they do because they were socialized to be unassertive. Despite the professional training of some Inuit, their early training remains with them. The Qallunaat teachers, on the other hand, not only represent their "manner"; they have also adopted the professional identities common to teachers in mainstream society.

In school, some of the Inuit teachers convey evident discomfort when they are required to chair a meeting or speak in front of an assembly. Sometimes they use loud directive tones, quite out of keeping with their usual speech. This is the speech behaviour Inuit see and hear Qallunaat using when they give directives; they recognize it as the normal school announcement mode.

5.3.2.1 Qallunaat Teachers.

The Qallunaat teachers for the most part are very committed both to the students and to their teaching responsibilities. While some may stay five years or more, others leave after one or two years. They are selected in the following way. Two or three members of the school board travel south to interview potential candidates. They then submit a list of recommended applicants to the schools. In each community, a selection committee, comprised of members of the CEC, holds telephone interviews with those teachers they consider to be best qualified. Then, in so far as possible, the committee selects the ideal candidates.

The Qallunaat teachers introduce not only English language use with its concomitant mode of direct expression; they also introduce an interpersonal behaviour style that is seemingly confrontational. This is because they represent the characteristic features of the standard approach to both teacher-student interaction and the transmission of knowledge. Thus, typically, they adopt a "persona" that is authoritarian and a tone of voice that enhances the focus on them. When an Inuk teaching-assistant is also in the classroom, the qualities that represent not only Qallunaatitut but also teacher professionalism become even more conspicuous.

Because the Qallunaaq teaching style is teacher-centered, those teachers tend to demand the attention of students who appear to be distracted from the lesson. Some of them stand at the doors of their classrooms in the morning or at recess, and call out to students who are taking their time returning to class. For many of those teachers, their own appreciation of their professional worth is reflected in the students' learning. For example, during coffee breaks or after school they discuss their concerns about "covering the curriculum" or getting the students "through the year."

Most of the Qallunaat teachers maintain very friendly relations with the students outside class. Some of them invite groups of students for meals at their houses. However, some of them say that certain of their students develop the habit of visiting too frequently.

5.3.1.2 Inuit Teachers.

The Inuit who teach in the school are all community members, who, apart from their teaching responsibilities, participate actively in family life. Several of them are certified teachers, with degrees from the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Programme (EATEP). Apart from the certified teachers, the majority of the Inuit cohort includes teachers-in training, who participate in EATEP courses during the year, classroom assistants, and two or three instructors for the cultural inclusion classes. The teaching style of the Inuit teachers contrasts with the approach of the Qallunaat. However, the contrast is least pronounced among those Inuit who not only have completed their teacher certification, but also have had some years of teaching experience.

The Inuit teachers who have professional certification have been trained in southern-style pedagogy. As schoolteachers, they communicate with students in Inuktitut language. However, the familiar language is contextualized in an unfamiliar setting, as it is used to transmit knowledge and practice in the Qallunaat manner. Moreover, the extensive collection of reading texts that the BDBE produces for the elementary grades standardizes the language. The board does this in order to make the texts accessible to all students in the Baffin region. However, the standardized version of the language increasingly prevails over the local dialects and linguistic variations.

The certified teachers recognize consciously or unconsciously that customary Inuit interaction is a handicap to effective school teaching. Thus they adopt the Qallunaat teaching style and enact what they consider to be appropriate in-school teaching behaviour. The sense of the appropriateness of their own actions causes some of them to deplore an inability to "teach" on the part of non-certified cultural instructors. For example, one of them said, "Those teachers have problems with discipline." And another certified Inuit teacher said, "They don't know how to control a group of students."

Some of the certified teachers are extremely conscientious about order. To illustrate, they make perfect models of times-tables out of cotton balls or other objects. They also encourage their students to keep their desks tidy and they display their students' work with care.

However, although some of these teachers deplore the lack of controlling ability of other Inuit teaching personnel, they themselves control their students in

a less directive fashion than their Qallunaat colleagues. The control they exert takes the form of a kind of "shepherding" – a control over the rhythms of the class as a whole. In this sense, they are "one" with the class in a way that Qallunaat teachers rarely are. Moreover, Inuit teachers expect the students to observe them; no doubt that explains why the Inuit teachers maintain quieter voices.

Some certified teachers successfully manage to fulfill both their professional and family responsibilities. While they have learned Qallunaat skills and are able to transmit school-type knowledge, at the same time they are respectful practitioners of their own culture. Some of the Inuit teachers-in-training have more difficulty working out that balance.

In contrast to their certified colleagues, Inuit teachers who have not yet completed their training in Qallunaat methods exude little self-conscious professionalism. They are, in general, more relaxed and less authoritarian than the certified teachers. Some of them maintain close physical contact with the younger students, curling up with them on cushions to read or draw pictures.

In recent years, the trainees have not been required to leave Arctic Bay for all of their courses. This is because EATEP initiated a programme whereby a series of Qallunaat instructors have spent several weeks in some home communities so that the teachers-in-training could remain with their families. Arctic Bay was one of the communities that participated in that programme. The responses of some trainees to their instructors' expectations of how they should carry out their new roles provide some insights into the contradictions between Inuktitut and Qallunaatitut.

To illustrate, some trainees protested that they could not teach science in Inuktitut language. This caused their Qallunaaq instructor extreme frustration. However, in the minds of the trainees, science is Qallunaatitut. The trainee's hesitancy can be ascribed to two causes. For one, asking questions and learning according to the process of the scientific method – objectifying, decontextualizing, abstracting – is a Qallunaat method for knowledge acquisition and transmission. Therefore the subject matter belongs in the realm of another knowledge set – Qallunaatitut.

The second cause addresses the Inuit understanding of the relationship between knowledge and personhood. The Inuit teachers can teach the students literacy and numeracy; they themselves are experienced in the practical uses of the tools, letters and numbers. However, they lack first hand knowledge of the biology or geography that is described in textbooks. Because they have not accommodated this knowledge through personal experience, they do not know it; they lack the personal authority to teach it. An encounter between an Inuk and a Qallunaaq further illustrates that point. When the latter asked the former to provide an account of a past occurrence in the community, the former obliged. However the Inuk concluded her account with the following caveat: "I don't really know it, I just read about it; I don't know it in my heart" (Frey, 1995).

Another response of the trainees to their instructor's expectations illustrates culturally different understandings of how one becomes knowledgeable. Some trainees did not take time to work with, or understand the concept of, "slow learners." This frustrated a second instructor. However, the

response of the trainees is again understandable in Inuit terms. According to Inuit, a young learner's lack of interest or inability to accomplish a task would indicate that the learner was not yet ready to learn the knowledge. Moreover, Inuit expect learners to put active effort into learning; the onus is not on the teacher to make the learner learn.

In addition, how a teacher-in-training viewed her relationship to her new knowledge provides further insight into the Inuit approach to learning. In discussing two of the required courses she had just completed in Iqaluit, that trainee said, "One of them wasn't very interesting, but I really liked the other one. I think I'll take it again next year." She recognized that in order to become skilled she needed more time to accommodate the new knowledge; furthermore, she assumed she would have that time.

Several of the teachers-in-training dropped out of that particular programme, principally because they found it too time-consuming; they had little time for their other responsibilities. In the words of one of them, "Those teachers don't understand us; Inuit don't live according to schedules. We have to spend time with our families, do our sewing and visiting."

Classroom assistants, a third category of Inuit teaching staff, work with the Qallunaat teachers. In particular, they assist in those intermediate grades where the students are making a transition to English instruction. Frequently they translate the teacher's instructions; sometimes they go from desk to desk helping the students individually.

The classroom assistants also serve another function. When the CEC is unable to fill a teaching vacancy because of a shortage of houses in the community, the board has recommended that the council hire a classroom assistant on a term basis (BDBE, 1988b). No doubt in order to make the recommendation seem attractive, it continues, "This will increase the number of Inuit educators in the school and will support and enhance Inuktitut programs [sic]" (ibid.). In this capacity, an assistant is a pre-service teacher. The board does in fact consider that classroom assistants are preparing to become teachers-in-training, and that they will eventually enrol in the EATEP programmes. Thus those who become classroom assistants are taking a first step towards becoming teacher trainees.

The fourth category of Inuit teaching personnel is comprised of the instructors for the cultural inclusion classes, or *iliqqusilirijiit*. They are skilled both as practitioners and models of Inuit knowledge; they view their school roles in terms of a responsibility to the young. These instructors have little or no first-hand experience with schools; it is therefore challenging to them to subdivide what they know into easily labelled school "subjects." For example, one of them came to the CEC to say he was eager to teach the students, but he needed to be told what he should do (CEC, 5/12/1989).

Those instructors try to adapt the curriculum to their own seasonal activities. For example, one instructor ordered fox traps so that he could teach the boys how to trap and skin fox as soon as the season opened (CEC, 4/11/1992). One of the certified Inuit teachers helps to plan and oversee a curriculum for the

instructors to follow. However, as the instructors are employed by the CEC, they frequently turn to the council for advice about their classes.

While the Qallunaat teachers are at one end of a continuum of teaching modes in the school, the cultural instructors are at the other. The latter undertake their responsibility by using a pedagogical method that conforms to their own understanding; they "model" for the students the skills they have been asked to convey. Each will start to make an object, perhaps mittens for the girls or a fishnet for the boys. They proceed at a steady pace with concentration, absorbed in what they are doing. These instructors start in on their work whether or not the students are present.

The *iliqqusilirijiit* expect that the young will observe them, and then undertake the same task only when they have acquired some understanding of how it should be accomplished. Moreover, in keeping with the canon of their own practice, these instructors respect the autonomy of each student. Thus, while they will encourage students, the instructors do not pressure students unduly to begin working. Nor do they insist that the students pay attention to them. Thus, some Qallunaat colleagues have difficulty recognizing that the cultural instructors are "teaching." For example, during the course of one of the boys' classes, a senior Qallunaaq staff member entered the room and saw several of the students chatting at one end of the room. At the other end of the room, she saw the instructor working with two of the students. Turning to the first group of students, that staff member said, "What are you lot supposed to be doing now?" That remark

illustrates school's expectation that students should be constantly productive and, moreover, that teachers are accountable for the students' productivity.

For their part, the cultural instructors also experience frustration. They sometimes appear to be annoyed when what they do does not seem to be what the school expects; their faces reveal it. However, the *iliqqusilirijiit* continue concentrating on their tasks, working as they themselves have been taught.

5.4 The Students: The Apprentices in Culture.

The principal or a senior staff member stands at the front door and greets each child by name as they enter the school. The majority of those names are Qallunaat, if not Christian, names; however, quite a few students are known in school by Inuit names. The principal's greeting reinforces the individualizing identity that the Inuk child assumes as a school student. This is not to say that students do not use those names with one another outside school, or that those names are not used in some family situations. But name use in school reinforces the Qallunaaq practice of separating Inuit from their web of relationship-designating terms.

This personal greeting is no doubt intended to make the students feel welcome, but it is also a way of monitoring the students' attendance.

School attendance is compulsory; students are rewarded for observing this regulation. Not only is a record of attendance always on view in the classrooms, each month the school has an assembly at which the "perfect attender" awards for that month are presented to students. These are important occasions. The school announces the names of the "perfect attenders" on the radio, and invites parents to

attend the assembly. In school, all the classes gather in the gym. Class by class, beginning with kindergarten, each teacher calls out the names of the award winners. Those students come up to the front of the gym to receive their prizes. Sometimes a prize is given to the class that has the highest number of attenders. At the academic year's end, the students who have had the highest attendance for the year receive certificates. Those awards decorate the walls of many bedrooms in the community; they are one of the rare indications in family dwellings that the household young attend school.

A number of the students, particularly in the primary grades, reflect timidity and constraint in their faces and comportment. According to Inuit themselves, as well as other Qallunaat observers, those qualities habitually characterized Inuit self-expression in the past. However, many other children have learned to be openly communicative and self-assertive, if not cheeky.

This new behaviour is no doubt prompted by the "friendly" atmosphere in the school that the administration intentionally cultivates. To illustrate, the Qallunaat staff acknowledge the students with "palsy" greetings in the halls or school yard. Most students respond in kind. Moreover, the students call all the teachers by their first names. Consequently many students do not exhibit overly respectful attitudes towards the teachers in general. This is because in school students find themselves free from the self-restraint that, for many of them, still characterizes their social interaction with older family members.

5.4.1 Students and the Standard Curriculum.

Despite the students' relaxed attitudes towards their teachers, many of them find that learning school knowledge is hard. As already discussed, some students have difficulty distinguishing the separate subjects taught in English: schooling is either comprehensively Inuktitut or Qallunaatitut. But the difficulty that some students experience in this regard can also be attributed to other factors.

As the predominant language of instruction shifts from Inuktitut to English, the structure of the curriculum also shifts from inclusive themes to individual subjects. Thus not only must the students depend increasingly on English, they are also required to learn how to compartmentalize abstract knowledge. Moreover, some students are not given the opportunities that they need to apply what they learn incrementally. When Qallunaat teachers purvey school knowledge, they are frequently on to the next step before the students have fully grasped the previous one. One student expressed her frustration with the teachers in these words: "Those teachers talk too much."

By the time the students begin the senior curriculum in grade 7, their difficulties become more apparent; in fact the school board expects most students will spend four to five years completing grades 10 through 12. Thus it is not unusual that many students who are unable to absorb enough information to keep up with the teacher's pace fall seriously behind. Some of the students repeat a grade or two, others drop out. It is not because they are unintelligent, but because they are used to learning more thoroughly.

The school's enrolment figures illustrate the students' difficulties; they indicate a decline in the number of students per grade by grade 8. But those figures also reflect that a wide age range exists among the students who do stay in school for the senior grades. For example, the years of birth of the grade 10 students in 1994 ranged from 1973 to 1979. A majority of eight of those students was born in 1976; those students would have been 17 or 18 at the time.

One of the Qallunaat teachers considers that the students' inability to achieve in the school's terms is a learned behaviour. The students say, "It's too hard for me," "I can't do it", "I don't want to do it", "I don't have to do it." That teacher considers this response is almost automatic for some students. At the same time, the teacher is distressed that many students cannot read written instructions in English. Another Qallunaaq teacher said that the students have difficulty accomplishing their work because they do not know how to set goals for themselves.

Moreover, despite the authoritarian manner of the Qallunaat teachers, some of them claim that they are prevented from disciplining the students effectively. One teacher explained that if students complain to their parents that the teacher has disciplined them, asking them to stay after school for example, the parents sometimes get upset and in turn, complain to the principal. Indeed, in just such an instance, the principal asked that particular teacher to apologize to both the student and the parents.

One Inuk community member gave this explanation for the present lack of rigour in the schools. He said it resulted from the political mood of the Inuit Tapirisat in the early 1970s. Inuit who had suffered at the hands of Qallunaat in

school wanted to be sure their children would not have the same experience: "They didn't want their children to stand in the corner or be hit on the hand with a ruler." He said some of the members of the BDBE still think that way, and thus condone a policy of leniency towards students in the schools.

Another school board policy, social promotion, may also relieve students from the pressure to work in school. While the objectives of this policy include keeping students with their own age groups and promoting their self-esteem (CEC, 3/05/1994), the negative effects include cultivating a disincentive to learn and low or ambiguous standards in the classrooms.

While the school is no longer responsible for students who drop out, it imposes no age limit for those who wish to remain. However, as the school is not required to educate students past the age of 15, it can discharge students past that age who do not comply with its requirements. One Qallunaaq teacher said that the oldest among his students attend faithfully, are usually on time, but do little work. He considered them "nice people" who "just like to be in school." He went on to say that many students come to school because they find it to be "a social place."

5.4.2 Students and Cultural Inclusion.

Despite the difficulties many students experience in accommodating school knowledge, they are learning to accept Qallunaatitut as the normative pedagogical mode in school. Both Qallunaat and Inuit teachers give that method priority. In fact, members of the students' own community have undergone years of training to develop that practice.

This may explain why some students respond with ambivalence to cultural inclusion classes in school. Not only are they encountering practitioners of their own knowledge out of context. Young Inuit are also adapting to a way of learning in their other school classes that inhibits their ability to accommodate Inuktitut in the customary way. As school students, they are learning to have expectations that teachers will define a precise task and articulate clear directions for accomplishing it. Furthermore, they assume the teacher will adopt a supervisory stance once the verbal instructions have been concluded. As a result, these students are becoming increasingly accustomed to a teacher-centred pedagogical method, in which they engage as learners by passively accepting instructions. What is more, they have fewer opportunities to enlarge their understanding of Inuit knowledge because their daily participation in school interrupts their ongoing participation in family contexts. Accordingly, many of them are losing sight of the significance of their own cultural skills, and of the detailed and interconnected knowledge that effective practice requires.

Some students start to "fool around" when the instructor either fails to assume a directive role towards them or expects them to begin working at their own initiative. They may wander in and out of the class or listen to their portable radios. Those students show little inclination to apply themselves seriously when they are free from the usual school disciplinary constraints. But more significantly, the need for the young to observe and listen to the more knowledgeable is no longer literally a matter of life or death. Thus the prestige which accrues to experienced practitioners

of traditional skills, while still acknowledged by many adults in the community at large, commands less authority in the eyes of the young.

However, some students do apply themselves in the cultural classes. Those students genuinely like to undertake this work, and will engage in the modelled skill in a culturally appropriate way. This is especially evident in the response of some among both the youngest and, at the other extreme, the oldest, female students. Perhaps this is so for the younger students because they are still unequivocally at ease with a familiar practice. Moreover, they are still inclined to obey the instructor. And in the case of the older students, as young women approaching maturity, they may turn to their own Inuit practice in seeking a validation of social personhood. Some of those students chat with the instructor with the easy familiarity of adult Inuit women.

One of the cultural instructors employed to teach the senior students Inuktitut language undertook to teach the students kinship terms. The lack of this particular knowledge has disturbed some parents; they have discussed it on the radio. That particular teacher said, with considerable concern, that she had to teach the students those terms because some of them were going out with their cousins.

5.4.3 Students and Their Peers.

One of the major effects of school in the community is that it promotes a peer culture among the young, in particular, the teenagers. The peer culture exists because of several factors. The most fundamental has to do with the large number of young people in the community. As indicated earlier, those under 14 constitute 44% of the community's population. Thus not only are they many in number, but the size

of that group is proportionately larger than the number of adults in the community – a reversal of the pre-settlement population balance.

A second factor is the amount of time that the young spend in one another's company. This again is a reversal of the pattern in pre-settlement times. In those days the young were either in the company or under the supervision – although sometimes indirect – of older society members. However, school enforces the segregation of the young into large groups that are separated according to age. Moreover, school's time limits create an "open" time after school hours.

In addition, peer autonomy is a natural consequence when the young reach an age of biological independence. Moreover, many students regard school as a social place where they seek out the company of their peers. As one parent said, "Peer pressure is a very strong influence on the students; peer pressure is stronger than one person."

CHAPTER SIX: PARENTS AND SCHOOL

School needs the support of parents if it is to fulfill its objectives. In fact, school considers parents as responsible participants in the schooling process. In Arctic Bay, parents encompass a broad range in terms of both age and school experience. With respect to age, some among them are barely in their twenties, while others are in their mid to late sixties. The latter group consists largely of those parents who have adopted children two generations their junior. With respect to school experience, the parent body's level of schooling can best be represented in terms of a continuum. To illustrate, some parents have had no schooling, while the experience of others ranges from one or two years to the completion of high school. The school experience of parents can also be differentiated qualitatively. This is because the older schooled parents underwent more rigorous schooling than the younger cohort did; in the 1960s and 1970s school enforced higher standards for both academic performance and discipline. Thus it is also understandable that another continuum exists among parents in terms of their familiarity with and expectations of school practice.

One long-time resident said of her fellow parents, "They are confused." No doubt this confusion results in part from the parents' varied life experiences compounded by the range of differing expectations they hold of school. To illustrate, schooled parents base their understandings of what to expect from school on their own, albeit varied, school experience. In contrast, other parents lack a basis of first-hand experience from which to respond to the culturally

unfamiliar expectations of school. As the School Community Counsellor said in her 1992 report, "For some families, a real barrier of communication exists between them and the school. Some families feel that the school is changing their lives" (Inuujaq School, 1992, p. 2).

6.1 What School Expects of Parents.

School expects parents both to encourage their children to accomplish their school work and to ensure that their children attend school punctually and regularly. At the most fundamental level, this expectation implies that parents will support their children as school students. But the deeper implication of school's expectation is that parents should endorse the full range of institutional practices that constitute schooling. Those practices include institutionalized systems of both social control and knowledge transmission.

The school administration wants school to appear friendly and welcoming to parents; the objective is that parents should feel at ease in school, visit frequently and willingly cooperate as school parents. To this end, the school invites parents to take part in the outings and special events that introduce an ambience of "fun" into the school setting. Those events include "hat day," when students and teachers are invited to decorate and wear unusual hats; "green day," held in mid-March, when all are encouraged to wear something green (although no mention is made of Ireland, St. Patrick, or his prowess with snakes), and the local celebration of such national observances as "Canada Fitness Week" when the school promotes games and outdoor activities. Teachers are also encouraged to incorporate visiting parents into the class activity as best they can. The school

publicizes its activities both by sending home a monthly newsletter via the students and by announcing special events or concerns over the radio.

However, few parents visit the school on a casual basis; even when they are invited to participate their numbers are small. The same handful of parents can be depended upon to attend special events and the regular monthly attendance awards ceremonies. At times other parents augment their numbers, especially the parents of students in the elementary grades.

In large measure, parental absence from school can be attributed to the lack of ease parents experience there. This is how an Inuk staff member described parents' discomfort in school: "They feel tense because they don't know what they are supposed to do; they feel left behind. They don't know how to 'help' in the classroom." One of the parents said she and her peers do not come to school often because, "We don't know each other's languages; the only communication we have is smiling," (Community Education Council, 01/12/1992).

6.1.1 Parents as Supporters of School Work.

Despite the reluctance of many parents to participate in school activities, school tries hard to facilitate parents in supporting their children's school work. Most teachers send an envelope of each student's work home to parents every two weeks, and all teachers send report cards to parents three times during the school year: in November, February and May. Concurrent with the report periods, teachers hold scheduled interviews with the parents of their students.

The school makes a special effort to accommodate all parents when parent-teacher interviews are scheduled. The students are dismissed early so that

the interviews can be held during both the afternoon and evening. Tea, coffee and cookies are offered to parents in the staff lounge. As an enticement to parental attendance, teachers present them with their children's report cards at the interviews rather than sending reports home via the students. Parents are thus obliged to come to school in order to learn of their children's progress. While many of the parents who attend the interviews appear to be content with the procedure, some parents appear to be uncomfortable, and other parents choose not to attend.

Parents provided the following explanations for their hesitation to attend the interviews. To begin, one parent said that some parents do not understand what is expected of them when they meet with a teacher. Several parents said they expect that the teacher will discuss discipline problems – that was the only reason parents were asked to come to school in the early days. Another parent said that some of them do not like to be told their children have academic problems; they leave the school thinking, "I don't like my child to embarrass me like that."

Moreover, the potential for embarrassment the interviews hold for some parents is further exacerbated when they meet with Qallunaat teachers. This is because Qallunaat teachers require an interpreter for most of their interviews; none of them speak Inuktitut, and many of the Inuit parents who have English language skills lack the fluency to discuss academic concerns.

According to one parent, the presence of a third person, the interpreter, makes an already awkward situation even more so: that mother came to a CEC meeting to request that an Inuk teacher interpret for her when she meets with a

Qallunaaq teacher. In her opinion, interpreters who are not teachers look nervous, and this makes her uncomfortable (CEC, 16/01/1990).

One experienced Inuk teacher provided further insights into the particular hesitancy with which parents approach their interviews with the Qallunaat teachers. She believes that the Qallunaat teachers' communicative behaviour intimidates Inuit parents. She says Inuit are sensitive to body language, and that the teachers' predisposition to look directly into parents' eyes discomforts them. The same teacher said many Inuit are also taken aback by the sound of Qallunaat's voices and the forceful manner in which they speak.

The accounts of the interview process provided by several Qallunaat teachers confirmed the perspectives of some Inuit parents. To illustrate, the teachers agreed that most parents who come to interviews are anxious to know if their children listen and obey instructions, and if they are on time. According to the teachers, the expressed concern of many parents is whether their children are "good" in school, good in this case being appropriate behaviour, rather than academic success. In the words of one teacher, a parent queried, "Isn't that what Qallunaat want, that the students are good in school?"

Furthermore, a Qallunaaq teacher's account of one interview sheds further light on why Inuit find the process problematic. That teacher and her colleagues follow the customary procedure for parent-teacher interviews used in "southern" schools. That is, they provide an account of the student's progress, addressing what the student does well and where the student's work needs improvement. As the teacher began to tell one parent, through the interpreter, that her child needed

to improve a particular aspect of school work, the interpreter interrupted her to say, "I can't tell her that!"

That remark reveals the nature of the underlying unease Inuit experience during the interviews. The parent's discomfort at having a child criticized is no doubt increased by the presence of a third person. But more than that, the interpreter's resistance illuminates how the interview process, in which one person speaks critically of another's child, contravenes Inuit norms of respect and non-interference.

6.1.2 Parents as Enforcers of Attendance.

The regulations Inuit parents are asked to comply with in ensuring their children's school attendance also pose a threat to their own normative code of interaction. From the school's perspective, the primary responsibility of parents is to ensure that their children attend school punctually and regularly; school focuses on attendance continually. In fact, parents' obligation to ensure that their children attend school is a legal requirement. The Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories passed a Compulsory Attendance Act in 1986 to that end. According to the Department of Education, the Act "is aimed to encourage parents and the Local Education Authorities [the precursors of CRCs] to accept responsibility of [sic] children attending school" (Northwest Territories, Department of Education, 1987, p. 9).

6.1.2.1 The Compulsory Attendance Legislation.

Despite this legislation, student absences persist. In some cases, students simply do not choose to attend school. But those non-attenders are not necessarily

defying their parents. Many parents have difficulty in committing themselves to the responsibility of ensuring their children will attend school. There are several different causes for this. The following explanations illustrate why some parents find conforming to the legislation, in principle or practice, problematic.

To begin, it is up to each community under the jurisdiction of the NWT Department of Education to accept the attendance legislation. While many people in Arctic Bay assume their community as a whole has adopted it, others have no firm opinion. Even some among those parents who know that the legislation exists consider that it is not universally binding. As late as 1994 the principal herself told the May 17th meeting of the CEC that she was not sure if Arctic Bay had accepted the legislation.

One cause for the reluctance of some parents to endorse the legislation may lie in the historical relationship between Arctic Bay families and school. When schooling first became available, parents could choose whether or not their children would take part. Although at that time government officials encouraged parents to send their children to school, parents were not legally required to do so. The chair of the CEC tried to explain the nature of the new relationship with school: "It's different today; if in the past the parents didn't want the kids to go to school they didn't let them" (CEC, Minutes of General Meeting, undated). However, some parents may still accept those initial conditions as the norm. On the other hand, some parents who agree with the legislation in principle resist accepting either the primacy of the legislation or their stipulated responsibility in enforcing it for the subsequent reasons.

The predictable patterns of their customary life still influence the day to day existence of many Inuit; the rhythms of school attendance inevitably reflect this. As one parent emphasized, "There's life and then there's school." The absentee rate is particularly high at the beginning of the school year in late August and September, and then again, towards the end of the school year in late April and May. To illustrate, the principal reported that during the month of May, 1991, only 50% of the registered students were in school (CEC, 21/05/1991). The students' optimum attendance extends from November to March; teachers claim that this is also the students' best work period. As one of them said, "It's only in the winter that we can accomplish anything."

In August, not only is the weather too fine to be indoors, but also many Inuit families are hunting caribou for their winter clothing. One parent, who believes in the benefits of school and is a faithful parent participant, said it would be better if school did not begin until after the caribou hunting season was over. Other parents have echoed this opinion.

Then in the spring, the lengthening daylight hours again draw Inuit outside and away from the community; the light also keeps them up at "night." One mother explained the inevitable effect of the returning sun on people's daily rhythms: "When the sun comes back, we are so happy to see it, we stay up with it. We keep on staying up as long as we can, so that soon we are staying up all night. Then sometimes we have to sleep when it's the day." Thus extensive day light hours not only cause absence, they also cause chronic lateness for many.

In addition to the cyclical rhythms of Inuit, the nature of the legislation itself poses problems for parents. The Attendance Act explains the criteria that qualify a student to be marked "present" or "absent"; those criteria are many and complex. Students are marked "present" when they attend class and participate in school programmes or school-approved extra-curricular events. Absence is more complicated; students are marked "absent" for a variety of specified reasons, some of which constitute acceptable absences while others do not. The category "Absent with permission" includes "land" or "bush days," when children accompany their parents out on the land – the parents having informed the school of this prior to their departure. However, students are marked "present" if they accompany their parents while the parents are participating in a "school approved, extra-curricular land trip," such as a hunting or camping expedition (Baffin Divisional Board of Education, 1987, p. 2). Permissible absences also include sick days, of which parents must inform the school; "vacation days," when children are taken from school to go on holidays, and lastly, "suspended," when school requests a student to stay at home due to the child's disruptive behaviour. The second category of absence, "truant," includes all those student absences that do not conform to the permission guidelines (ibid., pp. 1-2). Only those students who are truant are classified as "non-attenders" (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1988).

Despite the fact that family land trips are a permissible form of absenteeism, Qallunaat school personnel do not condone them whole heartedly. To illustrate, when one mother arrived at the school during the afternoon coffee

break, a senior member of the Qallunaat staff greeted her in a friendly manner, but then promptly said, with evident frustration, "I know why you're here; you've come to tell us you're taking...[and here she listed the names of four children]...out of school for a few days." Some other Qallunaat personnel are equally frustrated by this permissible practice. For example, one teacher said with respect to a frequently absent student. "I won't be able to get him through the year; he's always going out hunting."

6.1.2.2 How School Monitors Parents.

A final reason that some parents find the legislation problematic lies in the way their compliance with it is monitored. The Attendance Act stipulates that initially, the official parent decision-making body in each community should instruct one of its number to visit parents whose children are not attending school. At the time this legislation came into effect, the NWT Department of Education also encouraged communities to start instituting school-attendance counsellor positions. The name of that role was soon changed to school-community counsellor. The counsellor in each community has the prime responsibility for visiting the families of non-attenders (NWT, 1987, p. 9). The counsellor's responsibility lies in "Counselling parents and students on the importance of education, while being sensitive to their situations" (ibid.). In order to qualify for their positions, counsellors must take a training course of four six-week sessions, followed by a period of practice field work in their home communities.

Arctic Bay had its first counsellor-in-training in September, 1988. The incumbent in the counsellor role during the early 1990s found that office

problematic. She said she preferred to put her emphasis on counselling the students rather than enforcing their attendance. She added, "If students think of me as a law-enforcer and look frightened, I can't really help them." Furthermore, she found that visiting parents was difficult both for them and for her. In her words, "Whenever I go to see a family with poor attenders, they change their face and feel guilty."

Despite the efforts of the school to transform non-attenders into regular attenders and reduce the number of permissible absences, absences persist. One parent, who is himself schooled, a member of the local bureaucracy and a constructive critic of school practices, considers that school attendance is his children's responsibility. He believes that if they want to benefit from school, they will get themselves there on their own. "My wife, who is younger, doesn't agree with me," he added. "She thinks we should make them go." Another parent, who is also supportive of school in principle, is frustrated by the amount of time and effort the school devotes to encouraging attendance. In that parent's words, "We'll always have an attendance problem; we always have and we always will. We should be doing other things."

6.2 How Parents Respond to School's Expectations.

While the school uses its own resources to encourage attendance, it also relies on the support of the elected representatives of the parent body – the members of the Community Education Council. For example, the principal urges the CEC members to come to the monthly attendance awards ceremonies. She

also asks them to alert parents over the radio when attendance is particularly low (CEC, 21/05/1991).

Apart from school's expectation that the CEC will promote attendance, school also expects the CEC to share the responsibility for, and in some instances give direction to, the nature and content of school practices. Moreover, while the school expects the council members to keep all the parents informed about school in general, it also expects that the parents and the community as a whole will direct their concerns and ideas about school through the CEC.

6.2.1 The Responsibilities of the Community Education Council.

The CEC is a legal organization; that means its operation conforms to government regulations. It consists of a minimum of five elected members, one of whom is elected by the municipal council. That member, who has a one-year term, represents the municipal council's interests and serves as a liaison between the community and the school. The other members – whose number may increase to eight – are elected for two-year terms; their elections are staggered. The members elect one of themselves as Chair (GNWT, 1990, Education Ordinance 53.18). In Arctic Bay, the CEC elections are held in December at the same time as other municipal elections.

The CEC is required to meet at least once a month, and meetings are conducted in the language of the majority, in this case, Inuktitut. Both the principal and the school community counsellor are *ex-officio*, non-voting members (GNWT, 1990, 53.21). The CEC's powers and responsibilities include advising the Board regarding both the selection of staff and the opening and

closing dates of school, and reviewing the principal's reports on academic programmes (ibid., 53.24). The CEC is also responsible for organizing those cultural programmes that the school and parents choose to have (ibid., 53.25).

The CEC in Arctic Bay schedules regular meetings twice a month. However, either the lack of a quorum or other concerns in the community can interfere with this schedule. The CEC also holds at least one general meeting a year to which the public is invited. If a parent who is not a member of the CEC wishes to present a concern to the council, that parent comes to a scheduled meeting as a "delegate." The names of delegates are listed on the agenda as the first item of business. After making their presentations, delegates leave the meeting.

The chair of the CEC and the office manager, who serves as secretary to the CEC and is employed by the council, draw up the agenda. The secretary must be fluently bilingual, as the minutes of all meetings are recorded in both Inuktitut and English. The secretary provides CEC members with agendas and the minutes of previous meetings. A copy of the most recent minutes is usually available in the teachers' lounge; minutes are also sent to the Board. An interpreter is always present at CEC meetings to facilitate communication between the council and Qallunaat personnel. Sometimes when a qualified interpreter is unavailable, the meeting is cancelled; alternatively, a bilingual staff member may interpret. While the specific concerns and ultimate decisions expressed in Inuktitut are translated into English, the discussions preceding decisions can be quite lengthy and frequently not translated in their entirety.

The CEC conscientiously fulfills its obligation as outlined in the Education Ordinances. Meetings are conducted formally; the members take care to abide by *Robert's Rules of Order*. However, apart from serving its stipulated function, the council also serves as both a sounding board and a forum of debate for the parent body as a whole. In particular, at the public general meetings parents not only present their views to one another but they also exchange views with the Inuit members of the school staff. In short, parents use the CEC in working out the type of schooling they want the young to have.

While the CEC is not required to inform parents of their obligation to ensure their children's school attendance, it is nonetheless implicated in that responsibility; the records of the CEC over the years reflect the council's constant concern in this regard. For example, in a letter to the local MLA in 1986, the council said it had been "quite active informing the community about the Compulsory Attendance Act and the implications of adopting it. Each family was interviewed and their opinions recorded. The council and the community are committed to raising the school attendance" (CEC, 1986, p. 3). At that same time, the CEC sent a notice to parents informing them that one of its members "will be visiting parents once a month who's children are not attending school regularly" (CEC, undated). Three years later, the CEC debated whether to "put pressure" on the parents of poor attenders (CEC, 05/12/1989). And in 1991 the council approved sending all parents a pamphlet published by the GNWT Department of Education entitled "Your Children's Education is Your Responsibility" (CEC, 7/05/91).

6.2.2. How Parents Interpret the Jurisdiction of School.

The legal requirement that their children attend school raises a complex of interrelated issues for parents in Arctic Bay. The issues address how parents can accommodate school's requirements to their own worldview and normative social relations. Those issues include how to modify their normative interpersonal relations yet keep them intact, how to safeguard their family prerogatives, and how to ensure that school's standards of responsibility for the young measure up to their own. Those issues can be examined with respect to two broad categories: one category addresses the jurisdiction of school, and the other addresses the actual content of schooling. However the categories are not exclusive; some of the issues belong in both of them.

With respect to the first category, the jurisdiction of school, parents need to learn what school considers to be the nature and extent of its own jurisdiction. At the same time, they have to try to accommodate school's interpretation of its role to their own understanding of right action. In other words, they have to understand and fulfill school's requirements on their own terms. This is not always easy.

The implications that underlie both the need for a student curfew and how the curfew is executed illuminate these issues. This is because Inuit parents who participate in implementing a curfew have to modify their normative interaction not only with their children but also with one another. A description of that procedure illustrates this.

The CEC and the parent body recurrently discuss the students' late arrivals at school – a subsidiary issue to attendance. As the students' irregular sleeping hours frequently cause their tardiness in the morning, from time to time the CEC has introduced a community-wide curfew (CEC, 1/05/1987; 15/05/1991; 14/01/1993). However, instituting a curfew requires some preliminary publicity and discussion; the matter is usually debated over the community radio. This is because the CEC takes care to inform parents about their school-related responsibilities; it does not instruct parents to carry them out.

Because activating a curfew is a community responsibility, the CEC asks the Hamlet Council to take charge. Sometimes a member of the Hamlet Council has tried to enforce the curfew in person by making a tour of the community. At other times, the Hamlet Council has decided to effect the curfew by sounding the fire siren at 10 p.m. The siren is intended to elicit the same response as the school bell; the children are supposed to go home. However, it has little effect: the siren wails, the dogs howl, but most children remain outdoors.

While the curfew is directed towards the young, it implicates the parents in overseeing their children. Some parents, in fact, do consider that it is up to them to get their children home at night. To illustrate, one parent asked the other parents attending a general meeting to support her by requiring their own children to come home; her children were not coming home until midnight (CEC, 07/12/1993). During an informal discussion about this issue, a parent then suggested that those parents who live in the same vicinity should share the responsibility for ensuring that all the neighbouring children go home at a

reasonable hour. Another parent said, "We tell our kids when to come home, but many parents just don't care." With reference to parents whose children are habitually late or absent, a third parent said, "They haven't learned how to be parents."

It is true that some Inuit have difficulty learning how to be the parents of school children. The hesitant response of some parents to either accept or comply with the curfew illustrates how normative Inuit socialization can account for some of this difficulty. First, in pre-settlement times all adult members of the extended family shared the responsibilities of parenthood. Today many adults in Arctic Bay evidently consider that this is still the case; some of them let quite young children wander around the community on their own. No doubt the immediate parents assume that other community members will look out for their children. Second, while Inuit children traditionally have been strictly disciplined, they did not have to conform to regular time restrictions; thus punctuality in school's terms is a new constraint for both parents and children.

Third, some Inuit parents resist being explicitly directive towards their children; those parents will not instruct their children when to come home. In contrast, this behaviour is automatic for most parents in mainstream society. Moreover, the reluctance on the part of some parents to be directive includes another dimension. Because Inuit have traditionally encouraged self-sufficiency in the young, some parents resist assuming responsibilities that their children themselves should undertake as they mature. This has already been illustrated above with respect to attendance.

The school's jurisdiction appears embodied to parents in the person of the school-community counsellor. In that capacity, her presence not only arouses implications that address the normative social relations of Inuit; that official's presence also forces Inuit parents to confront the extent to which school impinges on their family prerogatives.

Many parents resent the visits of the school-community counsellor. The natural forbearance of Inuit from being directive towards either their peers or the young explains this in part. But in addition, the mandate of that role is justifiably intrusive to people who value their own and others' self-sufficiency. Indeed, some members of the CEC find the role problematic: one member confessed that he regretted not having cooperated with the counsellor in the past and would try to do so in the future (CEC, 16/01/1990). The counsellor herself has asked the CEC's advice as to what she should do when she needs to talk to parents about their children, but the parents do not want to listen to her (CEC, 19/02/1991).

Apart from transgressing normative behaviour, the counsellor's official visits provoke another concern: the counsellor's presence causes parents to confront the fact that during school hours, in the school's opinion, school legally takes precedence over their children's family obligations.

In the view of some Inuit, family obligations take precedence over school; the observance of one obligation in particular illustrates this. The counsellor has reported to the CEC that too many students are baby-sitting during school hours (CEC, 19/2/91). However, what school labels as "baby-sitting" constitutes legitimate absence according to the Inuit code: most adult women continue to rely

on younger kin to help them with their household tasks. One Qallunaaq teacher said she could exert little influence in eradicating this practice in the families of two or three of her students. However, an Inuit member of the school staff views the practice in school terms. She made the following appeal to parents at a general meeting: "Please don't let our children be baby sitters; let them go to school so that they can have a better future" (CEC, 07/12/93).

While school may intrude its jurisdiction into the family lives of Inuit, parents are learning that the responsibilities and obligations for which school is accountable, unlike those of kinship, are in effect only during school hours and within the boundaries of school property. Furthermore, they are applicable only to registered students. In other words, school's jurisdiction is finite.

Council members and other parents have attempted to understand and cooperate with the precise limits of school's jurisdiction. For example, the CEC has kept the school fence in good repair and sought the Hamlet Council's support in ensuring that no vehicles drive through the designated school yard during school hours (CEC, [undated] 1988; 15/01/1991). In an attempt to keep the students within the bounds of school during the school day, the CEC has asked the local Co-op store not to sell to children during recess (CEC, 20/05/1987). The proximity of the Co-op to the school entices the young off school property. It is important to parents to understand the extent of school's jurisdiction; council members recurrently ask the school if it is responsible for students beyond the limits of school property (CEC, 3/09/1991).

The parents' need to know who is responsible for their children is no doubt due in part to the fact that Inuit parents are accustomed to having the young within their purview. But in this case, their concern can also be attributed to the cultural unfamiliarity of school. Parents recognize that they are unaware of their children's activities during most of the day; thus they want to learn about the influences their children are exposed to at school. In the words of one parent, "Teachers should always inform parents about anything." (CEC, 5/12/1989). On one occasion, a CEC member protested when he learned that the local RCMP officer had visited the school to talk to students without their parents' foreknowledge (CEC, 3/09/1991).

Some parents consider that school personnel are not sufficiently responsive in overseeing the young. Parents with that view express concern that their children sometimes get into fights at recess – a topic discussed more than once at general meetings. To illustrate, one parent said the students get angry easily when they are teased by the other students (CEC, 7/12/1993). Another parent said the students get angry because they see the teachers experiencing anger and frustration, but such expression is "not part of our culture" (ibid.). In conversation, another parent corroborated this. She said expressing uncontrolled feelings was "not an Inuit thing to do."

At a regular CEC meeting, one member suggested that the school employ a supervisor who is not a member of the staff "to make sure that everything is all right" during recess (CEC, 14/01/1993). No doubt this parent considered that a vigilant member of the community could diffuse potential problems. As discussed

earlier, that response was expected from older family members in pre-settlement times.

While parents have tried to introduce their own influences into school's jurisdiction, some of them are distressed that school will not exert any influence over those students who drop out before completing their studies. The school has told parents that it is not responsible for dropouts; they are beyond the jurisdiction of the school and the responsibility of the community. However, some parents consider that school is implicated in this problem and should do something about it. For example, one parent suggested students drop out because they lack interest in school (CEC, 05/12/1989). Another parent suggested that students lack interest because school classes are too large (CEC, 20/11/1990). According to a third, some students may drop out because they have no one to talk to when they have a problem (CEC, 07/12/1993). A fourth parent suggested that dropping out has "something to do with when they get to be 16 they don't like to be told what to do" (CEC, 20/03/1990). That parent went on to say that he thinks the teachers teach the students this; other parents share that view. That parental opinion may be due to the fact that teachers abide by the stipulations of the compulsory attendance legislation.

However, many parents find it problematic that school stops exerting any influence over the young who have dropped out of school and are past the age of 15. Some parents interpret the law that school is only required to be responsible for the young between the ages of six and fifteen in the following way. School tells the young that at 16 they can do what they want: however, in the view of one

parent, school has not yet prepared them to do anything. "When the students grow older, now that they have white teachers, when they're 16 years of age they're free to do what they want; seems like the kids take that home these days. These days when the Inuit turn 16 they don't seem to be capable of taking care of themselves or supporting themselves. When the kids turn 16 it hurts the parents because they do what ever they want" (CEC, 7/12/1993). Parental concerns with respect to dropouts address more than the nature of school's jurisdiction, they also address the content of schooling.

6.2.3. How Parents Respond to the Content of Schooling.

Parents endorse school because it is the source of the skills their children need for their future survival. In addition, some parents are beginning to recognize that they must rely on school to instruct their children in their own customary knowledge. For both those reasons, many parents are vigilant with respect to the content of schooling. Most parents understand the nature of their own knowledge and how it is purveyed. However, some of them are unfamiliar with the content of traditional school skills.

When parents who have not gone to school discuss the new survival skills, they illuminate some of the differences between that knowledge system and their own. For example, with reference to classroom practice, one of them said, "We didn't use to learn things by talking." Another parent, frustrated by his inability to discern any practical applicability in his child's school work, queried, "How can I tell if a piece of paper with writing on it is finished"? He continued by saying he would like the students "to make big things, like houses, not just talk and make

little things." A third parent said, with reference to Inuit knowledge, "Because we don't write it on a paper, you don't call it science."

6.2.3.1 The Standard Curriculum.

Most parents have, nonetheless, learned how to monitor the standards of instruction for school skills. Many of them, both schooled and unschooled, are dissatisfied with the inadequate level of their children's skills: they recognize that their children have mastered few competencies. As one unschooled parent said, "The students should know more than they are presently learning." A schooled parent echoed that sentiment, and emphasized: "We want the students to really learn in school." Some parents believe that their children are not as adept as they should be because school fails to enforce sufficiently rigorous standards; as several parent interviewees said, "School is too lax."

Some parents consider that the teachers are to blame for the low standards because they are not strict enough with the students; they have brought this concern to the CEC. For example, "Grade 10 students should be taught strictly" (CEC, 05/12/1989), and "Teachers should be more strict" (ibid.). In another parent's opinion, "It seems that the teachers can't teach well enough" (CEC, 30/01/1992).

Parents recognize that because the teachers are reluctant to be strict, they fail to instill disciplined work habits in the students. As one interviewee said, he did not want the teachers to make school easy for his children. This sentiment was echoed by a parent who requested that students not be allowed to use calculators in school (CEC, 14/01/1993).

Parents draw attention to the laxity of school's standards by referring to the way their parents brought them up. One said, "We had to obey our parents." And according to another, "Our parents made us finish; sometimes I would be crying, but I had to keep on sewing." Moreover, in the eyes of some parents the young are not only failing to develop disciplined work habits, their overall level of maturity falls short of parental standards. For example, one mother came to the CEC to complain that she has "to treat her daughter as a younger child in order to communicate" (CEC, 1/03/1988).

Some parents believe that the students' skill level would improve if they concentrated exclusively on school work during school hours. One parent said he objected to the students participating in athletic competitions in other communities because they missed school. Another parent suggested to the CEC that "Halloween should not be taught" (CEC, 5/12/1989). The latter concern has arisen frequently. In fact, some parents choose to have their children instructed in another building when the school is celebrating Halloween.

Moreover, some parents think that the students do not try to work hard because of the practice of social promotion. Parents, on the other hand, want their children to earn their promotions. Parents have expressed their frustration over trying to understand why their children are moved to the next level before they have completed the work for their current grade. One of them suggested that parents should be contacted before their children are promoted to the next grade (CEC, 5/12/89). In the same vein, another parent protested that "they always have to ask their students' teacher what equivalent their children are in. When the

school says the students are in grade 10, they are actually in grade 7 or 8" (CEC, 1/12/92). One more parent inquired if the levels of the grades in smaller communities were different from those in bigger communities. As that parent pointed out, "some of the students in grade 10 can't read well" (CEC, 30/01/92).

Some parents acknowledge that the level of schooling in Arctic Bay is lower than that in larger communities. This was made clear to parents and students when the final years of high school were unavailable there. Some students who attended high school in Iqaluit or Pond Inlet were demoted to a lower grade. As one parent said, when his two children went away to high school, he "found out they haven't really been taught in English" (CEC, 19/10/93).

In the view of some parents, their children lack success in school because they do not start to learn English when they are young. According to one parent, "the young ones should learn English skills early in life and the older students [should] learn more English skills." He believes "Grade 7 is too late for them to learn in English" (CEC, 14/01/93). In the view of another parent, "When the students quit when they are in grade 9 or 10 they won't know how to spell or do math and then they won't be able to find any available jobs" (CEC, 2/02/93).

One parent claimed he saw a clear division among parents in the community with respect to their preference for the language of instruction for the standard curriculum: the older people who have not gone to school want the students to learn Inuktitut, while the younger, schooled parents want the students to learn English. Despite that opinion, in reality it is difficult to clearly categorize parental views on language. For example, some unschooled parents are keen for

their children to learn English from the outset; they consider that English language skills provide the basis for future survival. In contrast, other parents who were schooled in English and whose own fluency in Inuktitut has decreased are eager for their children to learn Inuktitut in school.

Some parents who advocate Inuktitut in school are concerned that the school must make efforts to maintain high standards of instruction. In discussing this issue at a CEC meeting, one parent said that "the students should be taught the real Inuktitut language" (CEC, 19/04/1988). Another said that the teaching materials written in Inuktitut were not exact enough (ibid.). In conversing about this, several parents have said that some of the Inuit teachers do not speak proper Inuktitut. One parent said she regretted that some of the children could not understand the elders. As another said, "The sixteen year olds speak like eight year olds." One parent suggested to the CEC that all Inuit applicants for teaching positions should be given a written test and screened for their knowledge in Inuktitut (CEC, 4/02/92). Another parent expressed concern that the school does not maintain proper standards in employing community members as substitutes (CEC, 20/04/1994).

Apart from the teachers' seeming lack of rigour with respect to academic subjects, some of the parents are critical of them for being lax in other ways; they consider that teachers do not encourage students to act with respect in school. For example, one schooled parent objected that teachers permit the students to wear hats and sunglasses in school. He said, "They can get away with anything; we were never allowed to do that."

Furthermore, some parents do not like their children to address the teachers by their first names. In a discussion of this issue, one parent said that when the teachers first came, the students always called them "Miss" or "Mister" followed by their last name. When asked if parents would like that practice to continue, one mother said, "Yes! That's what we want; we want the students to respect them!"

But the students also address the Inuit teachers by their first names; this particularly distresses some of the older parents, even the schooled ones. Two of the Inuit teachers said that they tried to use kin terms in school. However, they found it difficult because most students do not use them with one another.

In discussing name use, one schooled parent said, "People under 40 don't respect the name system." As he explained it, one should not address or refer to anyone older than oneself by name. In fact, one usually should not call anyone by a name: there were different terms not only for relations but also for non-relations. In this parent's word, "The teachers are younger than I am. They don't respect this practice and don't enforce it with their students." The same parent was also distressed that everyone has to have a family name at school. He said that Inuit used not to have surnames. Using a fellow community member as an example, he said, " N - - - [and here he gave that person's most important name] was the only N - - - . There wasn't a N - - - family."

As an antidote to the absence of normative Inuit rigour in school, one parent suggested that "elders should be present in school with the teachers to teach social life" (CEC, 30/01/1992).

6.2.3.2 Cultural Inclusion.

Just as parents in Arctic Bay have made efforts to introduce their own social relations into school, they have also emphasized that they want their children to learn their own cultural skills. Indeed, one cause of parents' pleasure in having a full high school programme in the community is the increased opportunity for the young to go hunting and practice traditional activities. They expressed this sentiment in a letter to their local MLA (CEC, 1986, p. 3). However, at the same time, parents acknowledge that school has had a negative effect on their language and culture. As one of them said at a general meeting, "With the current education system our culture and language have been deteriorating" (CEC, 4/12/1990).

While the standard school curriculum taught in Inuktitut is viewed as authentic schooling – certified teachers teach it – the cultural inclusion classes are not accorded the same value. However, the Department of Education has authorized "Programme Enhancement Days" when students can participate in land activities as a recognized component of schooling (GNWT, 1988). Despite that gesture, Arctic Bay parents have nonetheless attempted to change the status that school officials accord to cultural instruction. In their letter to the local MLA, the CEC affirmed its belief that school shares the responsibility for ensuring not only that the Inuktitut language remain strong and continue to be supported throughout the senior grades, but also that cultural skills should be taught in grade 10 (at that time the highest grade in the community). The council outlined the funding it would need for that programme (CEC, 1986, p. 4).

Over the years, parents have continued to seek official recognition for cultural instruction. For example, four years later, the parents at a general meeting again debated how to include "Inuit Culture and Language [as] a core subject within the Education system" (CEC, 4/12/1990). At that meeting, the parents supported the motion that those presently involved in changing and amending the NWT Education Act "clearly define Inuit Culture and Language and that this be fully implemented into the NWT Education Act" (ibid.). That recommendation had little effect on the status of cultural inclusion classes. Two years later, when some parents inquired why students in the senior grades were not receiving cultural instruction, the principal told them it was not possible to fit those classes into the students' schedules; they needed all the available school time to achieve their academic credits (CEC, 04/11/1992).

Nonetheless, despite the lack of official academic status for cultural inclusion, the CEC and Arctic Bay parents in general have been constantly vigilant in their attempts to maintain high standards in those classes. First of all, they want the best instructors possible. To illustrate, one parent expressed the wish that the instructors be "real teachers" (CEC, 4/12/1990). Another suggested that the community members who are employed as cultural instructors should be voted for "like voting for mayor" (CEC, 7/12/1993).

Secondly, they want the students' work to conform to the proper standards. For example, one parent expressed concern over the inadequacy of facilities for preparing caribou and seal skins (CEC, 19/02/91). As another example, when the girls' instructor reported to the CEC that the kindergarten

students were having great difficulty sewing, the council members nevertheless insisted that they continue to learn that skill (3/09/91). Another parent objected to the fact that some of the girl students were doing easy work like sewing fabric instead of skins (CEC, 04/11/92).

Many parents feel strongly that the students should be taken out of school in winter to learn real survival skills (CEC 15/01/91). At one time, the CEC had entertained the suggestion that school establish a testing system for students who are out on the land with their parents; under those circumstances, the children could be marked "present" rather than "absent" (CEC, 5/12/89). In informal discussions, other parents have suggested this same possibility. As one parent said, "What's the point of learning to build an *iglu* if you don't know how to live in it?"

While parents can exert some influence over the cultural inclusion programme, they know that those courses do not constitute the central element of their children's schooling. Many parents are constantly frustrated over the seeming lack of student progress in the standard skills. However, they recognize that they are implicated in the responsibility for their children's education. In the words of one parent, "Inuit are making changes, but very slowly. It will take a long time to get school where it should be." As the mother who views the school and the community as two parents said, "The parents and the school have to learn to talk together, they have to work together."

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE CONTRADICTIONS AND THEIR EFFECT

This thesis has examined the relationship between the Baffin community of Arctic Bay and school with a view to illustrating the contradictions in self-knowledge that Inuit experience in the two contexts. A comparative cultural analysis of different dimensions of social practice has provided the framework for the thesis. Those dimensions, addressed in terms of conceptual categories, include social personhood, social structure and social control. In Chapter Two those categories were explored in studies that addressed both socio-centric societies – epitomized by societies based exclusively on the principles of kinship, and individualistic societies – typified by North American mainstream society. A consistent dichotomy appeared between the two types of societies as to how society members understood and represented those social categories. When those analytical categories are applied in examining the relationship between the community and the school, they suggest where the source of some fundamental contradictions between the two settings may lie. This is because the social community of Inuit practice on one hand, and school on the other, represent two culturally different social contexts, each of which is informed by its own worldview.

In the contemporary setting of Arctic Bay, Inuit have accommodated the other Qallunaat institutions in the community because they have been able to make adaptations between the institutional practices of kinship and the

organizational roles of those culturally different organizations. In so doing, they have continued to abide by their own social structure, the institution of kinship.

In contrast, Inuit are unable to respond to school with the same adaptive flexibility in their interpersonal relations that they maintain in other instances; the institutional requirements of school are too rigid. This is because school is an institution of intended socialization.

7.1 Self-Knowledge.

Before examining the contradictions between the community and school, the concept of self-knowledge needs some elaboration. This is because within each individual, self-knowledge is the site of personal cultural knowledge. The following explanation should help make that clear. While the notion of self-knowledge bears some relation to that of identity, comparing the two will help to clarify the differences between them. Self-knowledge is the knowledge that one has of one's self; it is an internal awareness of the self. Identity, in contrast, is knowledge of a more superficial nature. Moreover, identity is knowledge about one's self that is not only readily available to others but also distinguishes one from others. At the most basic level, personal identity can be expressed in terms of those categories – such as age, gender, height, language and race – that in combination, differentiate one human being from another. Within a given society, or among people who share some of the same sets of social knowledge, identity can include further distinctions such as personal names, or social and professional statuses, for example, Ms or Mr., teacher or doctor. A group of people or a society can select a range of identifying characteristics in order to specify a group

identity. In formulating this type of identity to demarcate linguistic, racial or other culturally distinct differences for political purposes, a society creates an ethnic identity.

One might say that self-knowledge addresses one's internal identity, while identity itself, as commonly construed, sets one apart from others. Whereas one can also identify one's self in the common terms of identity, others can not "identify" another person's self-knowledge. Thus self-knowledge is more profound than identity; it is one's own knowledge of one's self as a social being. Moreover, it addresses how one knows one's self as a social actor among other social actor's.

A young person cultivates self-knowledge in the immediate social context – most significantly, that of the family. The members of that social context influence self-knowledge by projecting their view of what a young person should know onto her or him.

The members of a group of people who have been similarly nurtured will, up to a point, hold some features of self-knowledge in common. That common knowledge addresses their worldview, tempered by their ethos. That is, they share a common "blueprint" of how things should be. Or as Keesing puts it, they share a common code that informs their social relations.

Thus the worldview that a group of people hold in common is implicated in each person's individual self-knowledge. Accordingly, self-knowledge can be further specified as one's personal version of the group's worldview. Furthermore, because a person's self-knowledge is nurtured by one's immediate

socializers, one can think of the outward manifestation of self-knowledge as social personhood.

But as Geertz has tried to make clear, worldviews are the loci of the basic differences between cultures. Thus we can also think of the various manifestations of social personhood within a cultural group as individual representations of culture.

Included within personal self-knowledge is one's self-awareness as a knowledgeable social agent. That dimension of self-knowledge includes the process of becoming knowledgeable, what one considers to be appropriate knowledge, and the uses to which one puts knowledge. Because young Inuit children are socialized in two separate cultural contexts, their own community of kin on one hand, and school on the other, their own self-knowledge inevitably differs in kind from that of their parents. Moreover, in assuming responsibilities as the parents and teachers of school students, Inuit adults participate in practices that at times are incompatible with their own self-knowledge.

7.2 Contradictions in Social Personhood.

According to the Inuit understanding of society, each person is integrated into the social body. Indeed, that understanding is particularly fundamental to Inuit cultural practice; in pre-settlement times Inuit had to function as a group in order to survive. Many contemporary Inuit still believe this should be the case.

The functioning of Inuit societies depends on constant interaction among society members. An Inuk is always in relationship with other Inuit; that is the social reality. However, that state does not preclude each Inuk from becoming

self-sufficient. While Inuit are socially interdependent, each person is responsible for personal self-sufficiency. Moreover, while the first commitment is to the group, each person's individualism is marked by what is particularly distinctive about her or him.

However, school cannot tolerate self-sufficiency; students are punished for self-sufficient behaviour such as arriving late or failing to attend. Moreover, they are rewarded for forsaking self-sufficiency, as they know it; perfect attenders attain status in the eyes of school.

School enforces permanent identities and individual achievement. The students' permanent identities, one first name combined with a surname, provide a means of regulating the students. They also provide a means of associating a student with one set of parents.Thus, they reinforce nuclear family organization.

With respect to individual achievement, school, as the major institution of social integration in mainstream society, has to prepare the young to function in "work" oriented relations, that is, the social relations of the wage economy, rather than those of kinship. Thus school socializes the young to undertake activity individually. Moreover, school conveys no notion of how the individual work that students do in school is integrated into the social whole.

7.3 Contradictions in Social Control.

The way that social control is exerted in each of the two contexts is intimately related to the two culturally different understandings of social personhood. In fact school's mode of social control has the effect of releasing young Inuit from the obligations of kinship. That is, school releases them from the

interpersonal behaviour norms that regulate Inuit society. This is because school enforces social control through regulations that constrain time, space and the availability of knowledge.

Yet their customary interpersonal behaviour is essential to Inuit if they wish to maintain normative social order. Moreover, in order to participate in normative behaviour, Inuit must practice disciplined self-control. As outlined earlier, in a socio-centric society, socially significant inter-personal connections are crucial to the continuing viability of the social group.

Thus, in order to contravene the absence of their own norms in school, Inuit seek ways to introduce them. For instance, some parents have recommended that elders be present to "teach social life." It is hoped they might dispel potential conflicts, and provide models of normative comportment and speech. Moreover, some parents advocate that their children learn kin terms so that they will more fully understand their obligations as Inuit.

Furthermore, parents urge more discipline in school. They indeed recognize that school must enforce discipline if their children are to learn school skills. But the discipline they seek goes beyond that which school normally enforces. They would like their children to learn self-discipline, the type of discipline that is required for normative Inuit behaviour.

In Inuit society, social control depends upon each person knowing the interpersonal rules; those rules can be equated with customs. Moreover, those rules are circumstantial and adaptable; they apply in specific instance of interpersonal interaction. Because the rules are embedded in interpersonal

dynamics, Inuit need to be constantly alert to the needs of others. That is why correct thinking is so important to Inuit. Thus Inuit who "learn to think for themselves" in school are forsaking their responsibility to others.

The regulation that the young must attend school regularly and be "on time" undermines the Inuit understanding of self-sufficiency. Moreover, it undermines the obligations of kinship. For example, school considers that a young woman who feels obliged to help a member of her family is "baby sitting." However, in the view of many Inuit, child care is not so much "helping" a mother with her children; it is a normal expression of solidarity in an extended family. In labelling this normative kin behaviour according to Qallunaat standards, school isolates it from a context of communal productivity. Furthermore, in this instance, school transforms normative interrelational processes among kin into labour relations in mainstream society. This has two important consequences. The "baby-sitter" becomes an isolated individual and the baby-sitter's task becomes wage labour of low value in the eyes of Qallunaat.

7.4 Contradictions in Knowledge and its Practice.

As Inuit society has not been dependent on literacy or any other external symbol system for storing knowledge, Inuit have depended on themselves and one another as the repositories of knowledge. Each Inuk has been expected to undergo the experiences that provide the foundation for personal knowledge construction. Then, through sharing personal knowledge with one another, Inuit have corroborated and expanded their common store of knowledge.

Because the Inuit socialization process promotes self-sufficiency, the young learn to personalize and individualize knowledge. Through personal experience, each makes knowledge her own. Accordingly, each Inuk becomes an integral part of her or his store of knowledge.

In contrast, school socializes young Inuit to conform to its pre-established standards for knowledge. School's understandings of knowledge, teaching and learning contradict those of Inuit in the following ways. School promotes the modern scientific worldview whereby people are separate from knowledge; thus school knowledge is objectifiable. Moreover, it is controlled by the teacher rather than individually created. Furthermore, the teacher assesses whether or not the students are knowledgeable.

Thus school denies Inuit the opportunity to develop the ontological awareness of becoming knowledgeable that has been customary in their own society. But more than that, an Inuk's self-created knowledge is an essential dimension of personhood. In being denied the opportunity to construct their own individual knowledge, Inuit are denied an important dimension of personhood.

7.5 The Effect of the Contradictions.

For Inuit, the enactment of kin relationships is what "life" is all about. As the young acquire the attributes of a culturally foreign understanding of social personhood, their practice as kinsmen decreases in intensity. They begin to lose the ability to understand and communicate the implicit meanings of kinship. The nature of the relationship between children and parents inevitably changes. Active

kin relationships begin to fall into disuse as Inuit become students and teachers. Moreover, Inuit lose some of their symbolic significance to one another as kin.

From the perspective of the young, the influence of their parents diminishes. Many parents, for their part, are keenly aware of this and suffer because of it. They recognize that they are losing their significance as models of appropriate behaviour. Not only are new models influencing the young, the amount of time many children spend with their parents has become sporadic. Children are no longer able to observe and help their parents in the customary manner. School has not only deprived parents of the more obvious role of knowledge transmitters, it has also deprived them of a parental role in more subtle ways.

Returning to Spindler's interest in examining how education functions to preserve culture, it is apparent that education only functions in this way if the culture group members who are transmitting and receiving it are living vital cultural practice. To teach or transmit "culture" in the absence of opportunities to live it, renders the taught culture meaningless and lifeless. While this applies both to the culture taught in school and the normative behaviour taught in the context of kin, it also applies to the new survival skills that are taught in school. In either case, the learners or initiates need to practice culture in contexts where it is reinforced in order that what they learn has meaning for them.

This thesis has approached the examination of the relationship between an Inuit community and school by attempting to seek out the underlying influences that inform social life in the two contexts. In so doing, the study has illustrated

some of the issues that can be addressed in a cross-cultural examination of an Inuit community and school. It has done this by illuminating contradictions in social categories in the two contexts. Those categories have been examined in order to illustrate, first, what they imply in their own context, and second, what they imply when they are introduced into a culturally foreign context. Social acts are at the same time cultural acts; it is only as the latter that they hold meaning for the participants.

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